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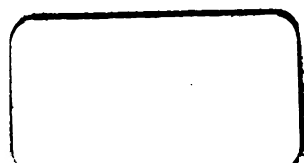
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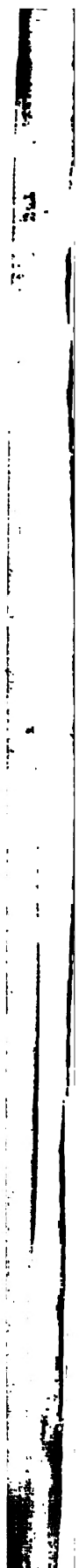
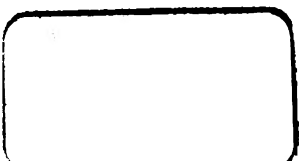
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ROYAL .



ROYAL .



*Royal Society of Antiquaries  
of Ireland*

THE JOURNAL

OF

THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL

ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

VOL. I.

THIRD SERIES.

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1868-69.

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DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

FOR MEMBERS ONLY.

1873.

1 P



487

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.



## PREFACE.

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THIS Volume, being the tenth in consecutive order issued since the formation of the Kilkenny Archæological Society in 1849, was intended to constitute the first of the Third Series of the "Journal," coincident with the change of the title of the Association. Owing, however, to the gracious Letter of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, granting to the Association the honour of using the adjunct "Royal," and the privilege of electing Fellows, received at the close of 1869, it has been deemed right by the Committee to commence a fresh Series—the Fourth, with the year 1870.

It only remains to explain the delay which has occurred in issuing the concluding portion of the Volume; and to express a hope that, although vexatious as preventing for so long the binding of the work, yet this delay will be found to the great advantage of the Association. The second portion of the very important historical contribution entitled "Unpublished Geraldine Documents," together with the numerous Plates and elaborate Pedigrees by which it is illustrated, have been presented to the Fellows and Members by the liberality of Mr. A. Fitzgibbon, who has defrayed the entire cost of the paper, printing, and illustrations—an example worthy of imitation by other descendants of Ireland's ancient families. The great benefit

thus conferred on the Association fully warranted the delay which the preparation and editing of this series of Original Documents and elaborate Pedigrees required. The difficulties of the latter can only be estimated by those who have conscientiously undertaken a similar task ; and the Editor craves indulgence for the inevitable errors which he knows must, notwithstanding all his care, have escaped him.

It is believed that the general contents of the Volume, the character and number of its illustrations, as well as the paper and typography of the work, evince an improvement on its predecessors. It comprises an edition of the Hymn of St. Patrick, being the first of a series of Texts taken from our most ancient Irish Manuscripts, edited by Mr. J. O'Beirne Crowe, B. A. ; whilst in the Proceedings and Papers many valuable facts illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Ireland will be found stored ready to the hand of the Student.

JAMES GRAVES.

INISNAG, *July* 23, 1873.



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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
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ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

*The Kilkenny Archæological Society,*

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

TWENTIETH SESSION,

1868.

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If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

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VOL. I.—PART I.

THIRD SERIES.

DUBLIN:  
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1868.

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THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF IRELAND,  
FOR THE YEAR 1868.

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AT the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the apartments of the Association, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 22nd (by adjournment from the 1st), 1868,

J. H. BRACKEN, ESQ., C. I., in the Chair :

The Report of the Committee for the year 1867 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

“ In rendering their account at the close of the nineteenth year of the Society’s existence, your Committee have once more to review its position and prospects. The roll of Members contained, on the 31st of December, 604 names; of new Members 41 were elected during the year; the names removed in consequence of deaths and resignations were 11; whilst the removals for non-payment of subscriptions were 12. Thus your Committee are able to announce an increase of 17 in the numerical strength of the Society. They do not, however, look on this small increase as affording a sufficiently satisfactory indication of the Society’s prosperity. The Members should exert themselves to make known the objects and acts of the Society whenever an opportunity occurs, and so, by recruiting for new supporters, bring the association up to the strength of former years.

“ The Treasurer’s account for the year 1866 presents a favourable view of the financial position of the Society; the balance in hands being an increasing one, even after paying for the October number of 1866, now nearly ready for delivery.

“ The number of Members who pay an increased subscription in aid of the Illustration Fund is 175; and the thanks of the Society are due to all those who have thus evinced their interest in its prosperity.

"The following Members have been removed for non-payment of subscriptions, with the option of being restored to Membership on clearing off arrears :—

		£	s.	d.
J. H. Lamprey, Esq.	1866-67 .	0	12	0
The Dean of Connor	1865-67 .	0	18	0
Richard Bolton, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
G. W. Bolton, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
Mark Bloxam, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
J. W. Coppin, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
Edmund Hore, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
John Julian, Esq.	1866-67 .	0	12	0
William Lanigan, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
Justin M'Carthy, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
Nicholas Peterson, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0
Robert Stephenson, Esq.	1865-67 .	0	18	0

"Of the Members formerly removed for non-payment, three have availed themselves of the right of re-entering the Society on liquidation of arrears, viz. :—

Edward Athill, Esq.,                      Ralph Westropp, Esq.,  
Jeremiah Kelly, Esq., M.D.,

whilst two honourably discharged their liabilities, at the same time tendering their resignations, viz. :—

Rev. James Whitefield,                      Geo. Hatchell, Esq., M.D.

"The sixth volume of the Society's 'Journal' would have been completed ere now, but that it has been thought advisable that it should comprise three, instead of two, annual parts.

"Your Committee cannot avoid expressing regret at the delay which has arisen in the issue of the 'Journal,' chiefly resulting from the neglect of Members to pay their subscriptions punctually in advance. If this practice continues, and that the Members desire to have the 'Journal' delivered in regular course as formerly, it will be needful to provide a fund to guarantee your Treasurer against loss. The large number of Members who have allowed themselves to run into arrear, and, having received the 'Journal' without paying for it, have fallen away from the Society altogether, show that it is quite possible that your Treasurer might otherwise be made liable for sums which would be ruinous to him. To obviate the present state of things, which is confessedly very injurious to the interests of the Society, Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan has offered to contribute the sum of £5, if forty-nine other Members of the Society will follow his example. Your Committee beg to thank Mr. 'Geoghegan for his generous offer, and to recommend that this Guarantee Fund, if raised, should be invested in the Public Funds, and only used in case of emergency.

"When first established, this Society seemed likely to be confined mainly to the County and City of Kilkenny, but as its supporters soon spread beyond these limits, it was thought advisable to extend the area of its operations to the south-east of Ireland. The good results of this extension were at once apparent in the increase of its Members. The time now seems to have arrived for a still further extension. His Royal Highness the

Heir Apparent of the Crown of the Realm has become Patron-in-chief of the Society, no part of this island has been excluded from its operations, and the Members hail from every county of Ireland. It is time then that the title of the Society should become co-extensive with the field of its operations. Your Committee therefore recommend that the following changes should be made:—

“1st. That the name of the Association be changed to **THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.**

“2nd. That the minimum subscription of all Members elected in future be fixed at 10s. per annum; and

“3rd. That a new series of the Journal be commenced with the year 1868.

“Your Committee have reason to believe that a large accession of Members will accrue from these changes; and, further, that results calculated to secure the permanency of the Society will follow their adoption.

“The thanks of the Society are due to the Marquis of Kildare for a donation of £10 towards the printing of the Kildare Rental; to E. P. Shirley, Esq., for the gift of a large number of costly woodcuts illustrating Dineley's Tour in Ireland; to Mr. Geo. M. Atkinson, for the donation of two lithographic plates illustrative of the Dunloe Ogham Cave; and to Thomas O'Gorman, Esq., for three woodcuts illustrating his paper on the tomb of King Phelim O'Connor.

“The dangerous condition of the ancient and beautiful tower of St. Francis' Abbey, Kilkenny, having been brought under the notice of the Society by Mr. Robertson, Architect, and more recently by Mr. Middleton, a Member of our Society, it was thought desirable to obtain the opinion of an additional architect; and Thomas Drew, Esq., of Dublin, having offered to give his services gratuitously on his expenses being paid, the Committee requested him to inspect and report on the state of the tower. Mr. Drew made a careful examination of the tower accordingly, and has given in a detailed report, which shall be laid before the meeting. Mr. Drew has got an approximate estimate of the expense from a Dublin builder, Mr. Doolin, for £100; and Mr. Doolin offers to begin the list of subscribers with £1, whether he is employed or not. Local tenders have also been obtained by Mr. Robertson, and shall be laid before you.

“The Society have no funds at its disposal for this most necessary work. It has done what in it lies to call attention to the threatened fall of the tower, and it now rests with the public to supply the means of averting that disaster. Surely it shall not be said that Kilkenny allowed one of its most beautiful and graceful old buildings to perish without an effort to save it!”

It was unanimously resolved that the Report of the Committee should be adopted and printed.

The Treasurer's accounts for the year 1865, having been laid before the Meeting, they were referred to Messrs. J. G. Robertson, and P. A. Aylward, who were requested to audit them before the next General Meeting of the Society.

A discussion having ensued as to the desirability of adopting the changes in the name and organization of the

Society suggested by the Report of the Committee, a series of resolutions were proposed, and adopted unanimously, as follows :—

“RESOLVED,—That the name of this Society be changed to that of The Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

“RESOLVED,—That all Members elected from this day forward shall pay a minimum subscription of Ten Shillings per annum.

“RESOLVED,—That all Lord Lieutenants of counties in Ireland, being Members of this Society, shall be Patrons thereof; and that High Sheriffs, who are or may become Members, shall be Vice-Presidents of the Society during their year of office.

“RESOLVED,—That all such changes, as are rendered necessary by the Resolutions passed this day, shall be made in the General Rules of the Society.

“RESOLVED,—That Honorary Provincial Secretaries be appointed, and that George V. Du Noyer, Esq., M.R.I.A., Carrickfergus, be elected Honorary Provincial Secretary for Ulster; and that Richard Caulfield, Esq., LL.D., Cork, be elected Honorary Provincial Secretary for Munster.”

The nomination of an Honorary Provincial Secretary for Connaught was deferred to the next Meeting, and, as the Honorary Secretaries of the Association reside in Leinster, they were requested to act there as Provincial Secretaries also.

The following Members of the Association were then elected :—

The Rev. John Jebb, D.D., Rector of Peterstow, Prebendary and Prælector of Hereford Cathedral; John Edward Hasell, Esq., Gowran Castle; and Edward Hunt, Esq., Belmore, Thomastown: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Very Rev. James Byrne, ex-F.T.C.D., Dean of Clonfert, and Rector of Cappagh; Charles Lyster, Esq., M.D., William-street, Kilkenny; and John B. Fitzsimons, Esq., M.D., High-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. Robertson.

The Rev. J. Henderson, Silver Hill, Enniskillen; Rev. R. Archer Ffennell, Glebe House, Ballybay; and James Kiernan, Esq., M.D., Enniskillen: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Abraham Denny, Esq., J.P., Rock View, Tramore: proposed by James Budd, Esq.

The Committee and Officers of the Association for the year 1868 were elected as follows :—

*President.*—The Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, D. D., Dean of Ossory.

*Honorary Secretaries.*—The Rev. James Graves, A. B., M. R. I. A. ; John George Augustus Prim.

*Treasurer.*—The Rev. James Graves.

*Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library.*—James George Robertson, Esq., Architect.

*Committee.*—James S. Blake, Esq., J. P., Barrister-at-Law ; R. R. Brash, Esq., Architect ; Peter Burtchael, Esq., C. E. ; George Victor Du Noyer, Esq., M. R. I. A. ; Barry Delany, Esq., M. D. ; Rev. Luke Fowler ; John James, Esq., L. R. C. S. I. ; Robert Malcomson, Esq. ; Rev. Philip Moore, P. P. ; Matthew O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C. ; Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C. ; J. G. Robertson, Esq., Architect.

Mr. Graves stated that, in consequence of a recommendation having been made in a former Report of the Committee that a general local museum should be formed in Kilkenny, the Committee had permitted Mr. James G. Robertson, as the surviving Trustee of the Literary and Scientific Institution of Kilkenny, to place in the large spare apartment of their premises the collection of specimens of natural history, geology, &c., which that Institution had formed, by presentations from its Members, during its existence. Mr. Robertson had already brought there a portion of that collection, and it might be desirable that the Meeting would give its formal sanction to the arrangement which the Committee had thus made with Mr. Robertson.

The Meeting unanimously passed a resolution sanctioning the arrangement referred to.

The Rev. Mr. Graves then read the report of Mr. Drew, on the state of the tower of the Franciscan Abbey, Kilkenny, which was as follows :—

“ 60, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET, DUBLIN,  
January 1st, 1868.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—When I visited the Franciscan Abbey on the 13th ultimo, and made a careful examination of the present state of the Tower, I then mentioned to you generally the opinion which I formed. I have now much pleasure in stating it more definitely and fully for the information of the Society.

“ That the present condition of the Tower is most critical, and urgently requiring steps to be taken for its preservation, is beyond all doubt—the immediate danger to be apprehended being on the south side, where a slight deflection from a plumb line is manifest, and where the point of support on which its safety wholly depends has become to a certain, and

increasing degree, disintegrated and disturbed by the action of rain and frost.

"The erection of this lofty Tower, wholly over the void of a great arch, as in other towers of the same type, at all times a daring feat in constructive masonry, becomes doubly critical and hazardous when, as in this case, the very place in which this critical problem is solved, and on the absolute perfection of which the safety of the superstructure depends, becomes in any degree unsound or disturbed.

"Some slight marks to which you directed my attention appearing in the soffit of the arch, are so slight as not to justify me in coming to any definite opinion as to whether any movement has recently taken place; at the same time, the state of the structure is such, that were it not for the judicious precautions taken by Messrs. Smithwick and Sons—although, unfortunately, this portion of the Abbey buildings is not on their property or premises—in placing a temporary roof over the exposed masonry, a single night's frost might, at any time this winter, have been sufficient to destroy the balance of equilibrium, and deprive Kilkenny of a monument of which it is justly proud, and which is, in simple grace, perhaps unsurpassed by any tower of a similar type in Ireland.

"The steps which I would recommend to be taken for its preservation are as follows. I should, perhaps, first premise that it will be an operation which will require to be undertaken with the greatest caution and skill, and not unattended with some contingent risk. At the same time, when the Society has before it the certainty of the loss of the Tower if unattended to—a mere matter of time—it will not, I am sure, be deterred by a risk comparatively remote from at least making an attempt to save it. The work should, in my opinion, be first undertaken on the north side, where the exposed masonry of the haunch should be cleaned and raked out, and thoroughly grouted with Portland cement, the masonry raised to its original level indicated by the dotted line on the rough sketch accompanying this, and then covered with flags, jointed in cement, with a sufficient cover or lap. This completed and properly 'set,' the great arch should be accurately 'centred' and 'braced,' and the openings in the east and west faces also braced. The south wall should then be strongly 'shored,' in the manner indicated by the sketch, to accomplish which it will be necessary to partially unroof a portion of the low building on the south side on Messrs. Smithwick and Son's premises. When this is carefully and efficiently done, the exposed masonry of the southern haunch may then be examined, and raked out; and, if found practicable or desirable, some long stones inserted in the haunch under the line of the face of the Tower, where the most dangerous line of pressure is exerted: the loose masonry, as little disturbed as possible, should be grouted, raised, and covered in a similar manner to the other side. The floor over the arch should be laid with flags in cement, or in such other manner as will prevent the percolation of any water into the masonry. I have had the cost of this work estimated approximately at £100; and I need not say it will give me much pleasure personally to be of any assistance in my power in aiding in so interesting a work.

"I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"THOMAS DREW, F. R. I. A. I.

*"To the Honorary Secretary of the Kilkenny and South  
East of Ireland Archaeological Society."*

Mr. Graves remarked that Mr. Drew, in some further explanatory remarks written to himself, had mentioned that the estimate of £100 need not be taken as quite a definite one, but as an approximation which was certain at least to be sufficient. On going more closely into the matter, it was possible it might be reduced; and one way in which it might be reduced a good deal would be the obtaining of a loan of the necessary "plant" for shoring up the tower and centring the arch.

Mr. Robertson said that the Committee's report intimated that he would be ready to lay tenders of local builders before the meeting. The fact was, he was not prepared to do so, although Mr. Graves had sent him Mr. Drew's specification, and requested him to have local tenders ready for this meeting. The reason of his being unprepared was, that the first local builder to whom he had repaired for the purpose, Mr. Meighan, had made a suggestion as to a considerable saving which might be made, if a portion of the specification could be safely dispensed with. He (Mr. Robertson) considered the suggestion worthy of the consideration of Mr. Drew and the Society, before taking any final step in the matter.

Mr. Graves remarked that, of course, they could do nothing final, under any circumstances, at the present Meeting. All that they could now do would be to consider if they would sanction the proposal to originate a movement towards the preservation of the very beautiful structure which was in such great danger. But the Association could not undertake the work from its own funds; it could only put the matter before the public, and invite the aid of a general subscription for a purpose so desirable.

The Rev. Mr. Brunskill considered that, in originating a movement of the kind, the Association proved its value as a public institution.

Mr. Graves said the Association had previously originated two similar movements, both of greater importance, so far as the amount of money necessary to be expended—the repairs of Jerpoint Abbey, and the restoration of Clonmacnoise—and in both it had been successful. He had no doubt of success in the present instance also.

Mr. Prim considered there was not the slightest doubt that a sum sufficient for such a purpose as was proposed would be readily contributed by the public.

The Chairman, considering the beauty and historical interest of the structure in danger, concurred fully in the opinion that sufficient subscriptions for the purpose would be easily obtainable.

It was then agreed that the Honorary Secretaries should have full power to print and circulate Mr. Drew's report, accompanied by an application for a public subscription for the reparation of the tower of St. Francis Abbey, and to make all other necessary arrangements for the promotion of so desirable an object.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Archæologia," Vol. XL., Part 1, and "Proceedings," Vol. III., Nos. 1 and 2 : presented by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

"Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor, in the County of Cornwall:" presented by the Author, John Maclean, Esq., F. S. A.

"Notes Bibliographiques pour servir a l'Etude de l'Histoire et de l'Archéologie:" presented by the Author, M. Alexis Dureau.

"Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands ; with Notices of Lough Mask:" presented by the Author, Sir William R. Wilde, M. D., V. P. of the Royal Irish Academy, &c.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. VI., Part 1, and Appendix to Vol. VI.: presented by the Society.

"The Archæological Journal," Nos. 91 and 92 : presented by the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for December, 1866, and for March, June, September, and December, 1867 : presented by the Association.

"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Vol. IX., Parts 3 and 4: presented by the Academy.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, Nos. 50-53, both inclusive : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.



"Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," Nos. 7 and 8 : presented by the Institution.

"The Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society," for the years 1865-6 : presented by the Society.

"Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," Vol. VI. : presented by the Society.

"Sussex Archæological Collections," Vol. XIX. : presented by the Sussex Archæological Society.

"The Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society," Vol. III., Part 8 : presented by the Society.

"The Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland," Vol. I., Part 3 : presented by the Society.

"Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland," Parts 22 and 23 : presented by the Society.

"Report presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society," May, 1866 ; "Communications made to the Society," No. 15 ; also, "The Correspondence of Richard Porson ;" and "The History of the Queen's College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard, in the University of Cambridge," being Nos. 8 and 9 of the Octavo Series of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society : presented by the Society.

"Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West-Riding of Yorkshire," for 1865-6 : presented by the Society.

"The Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society," for 1865-6, and 1866-7 : presented by the Society.

"Fourth Annual Report of the Belfast Naturalist's Field Club : " presented by the Society.

An impression of an ancient Chinese porcelain seal, found in Ireland, now in the possession of the Rev. Richard Pack, Bamford, County Kilkenny : presented by J. G. Robertson, Esq.

A flooring tile of red pottery, nine inches square ; a fragment of an old globular glass wine bottle, and some old window glass, discovered in exploring amongst the foundations of one of the dwelling-houses of the ancient, but long extinct, town of Jerpoint, near the ruins of the Abbey of that name : presented by Edward Hunt, Esq., Belmore.

The Rev. James Graves exhibited on behalf of Mr. Hunt an ancient door key, found some time since, near the site of the house alluded to, in raising sand. With regard to these discoveries, the Rev. Mr. Graves said that the only remains of this ancient town at present visible were some piles of stones, pieces of wall, and the ruins of the church. In his young days the line of the streets was quite apparent, marked by the foundations of the walls of the rows of houses. An abutment of the ancient bridge which connected the town with the left bank of the river Nore was also then more obvious than at present; but when the Nore was low the foundations of the numerous arches could still be traced. According to tradition, King William III. marched with his army over this bridge. If that were so, the bridge would seem to have existed at least a century after the town had gone to utter decay, but when the bridge itself had fallen did not appear. At what looked to be the intersection of the two principal cross streets of the town, and which tradition termed "the market-place," stood an immense and aged ash tree, and it was said that people scraping its bark found nails and spikes therein, by which notices and proclamations had been affixed to it in the olden time; one hundred and eighty rings of annual growth having been counted in a much younger and perfectly sound ash tree lately felled close by, this tree certainly had all the appearance of being at least three hundred years old, and therefore might possibly have been growing in the market-place of the town before the latter had been deserted. Having stood the storms of centuries, this giant tree lately, on a calm day, fell from sheer old age, and now lay upon the ground. It was twenty-one feet in circumference beneath the spring of the arms. He had stood at one side of the trunk a few days since, and another person six feet in stature at the other side, and they could not see each other over it. The town, which probably sprung up soon after the founding of the Abbey, and was in existence at all events in the reign of King John, and probably incorporated soon after, if not then, was known as "The New Town of Jerpoint," and sometimes as "New-Town Jerpoint." Neighbouring it was the townland of "Old-Town," where possibly a more early town, of which no trace had

come down to modern times, had existed. In 1375 King Edward III. made a special grant to the Provost and Commons of the Town of Jerpoint, which was on record amongst Irish Patent Rolls of Chancery (Rot. Pat. 49, Ed. III., No. 52), granting them, for the repair of the bridge over the Nore, near the said town, and of the tower and gate on the southern end of the said bridge, &c., the right of levying certain tolls and customs from all saleable commodities carried over said bridge for ten years. No doubt a great source of trade to the town was the supplying of provisions, &c., to the great Cistercian Abbey of Jerpoint, situate within a few hundred yards of it; and probably the chief cause of the town's decay was the loss of that trade when the Abbey was suppressed. The tradition of the district, however, was that, when "Silken Thomas," the son of the Earl of Kildare, went into rebellion against King Henry VIII., he encountered at Jerpoint a force brought against his army by the Lord James Butler, eldest son and heir of Pierce Earl of Ormonde; and the Butlers having been defeated, and their leader, Lord James, severely wounded, Silken Thomas burned the town of Jerpoint, after which it was never rebuilt or reinhabited. Tradition states that the family of Follis, late of Jerpoint Hill, was, of the old inhabitants of the town, the last to remove from it. According to the local legends, there had been fourteen wine taverns amongst the trading establishments of Jerpoint; and perhaps they had a relic from one of these taverns in the fragment of an ancient bottle amongst the objects now presented by Mr. Hunt. He might mention that Mr. Hunt was owner in fee of the land, but Mr. John Hutchinson had been the tenant in possession until some years since; and as the soil was fertile, Mr. Hutchinson had unfortunately considered the foundations of the old town a great detriment to profitable occupation; and he, therefore, gave the land for two years as potato ground to the surrounding population, on the terms of their removing those foundations, and piling up the stones into the number of cairn-like heaps in which they were to be seen at present. But, although the traces of the old streets, which he remembered to have been plainly visible, were thus, in a great degree, obliterated still the labourers

only scratched the surface, removing just as much of the walls as gave sufficient depth for potato tillage, and probably leaving the floors of all the houses untouched, so that an exploration might here lay open an Irish Herculaneum. One examination, on a small scale, had been already made, and although the results were not very important—the objects now before the meeting being the produce of the digging—still he had no doubt that more extensive excavations would lead to much more interesting discoveries. In looking for sand, Mr. Hunt had discovered traces of the tiled floor of one of the houses of the old town. Mr. Hunt had informed him (Mr. Graves) of the circumstance, and invited him to attend at a further examination. He went there accordingly, a few days since, and Mr. Hunt's labourers, in his presence, cleared out the ground floor of one house, comprising a large apartment, apparently used as a kitchen, from the great fireplace which it contained, and off which were partitioned two small rooms. The partitions were formed of mud plastered with mortar, and the floors of the rooms were of clay; but nearly the entire of the kitchen floor was tiled over with large, thick, red tiles, of which they had a specimen before them—obviously there had originally been an entire tile flooring. The fragment of a bottle and the window glass were found amongst the rubbish cleared out; and a small heap of coal—the Castlecomer anthracite—was found near the fireplace, showing that “Kilkenny coal” had been in use for firing before this house was deserted. The key was not found on this occasion, but some two years before, when previously looking for sand close to the site of the house.

Mr. Graves added that he hoped on a future occasion to bring the history of this ancient municipality more fully before the Association.

Some flint implements, from the drift in France, of well-marked types, and a good piece of brecchia from the floor of the cave at Les Eyzies, Dordogne, France, containing bones and worked flints—which cave, after having been for a long period the habitation of man, had been abandoned, and a stalagmite floor, formed subsequently, had prevented the remains embedded therein from being disturbed: presented by Richard Caulfield, Esq., LL.D.

Dr. Caulfield wrote to say that he had procured these specimens for the Association from Colonel Lane Fox, who had got them from Messrs. Christie and Lartet.

Transcripts of three valuable documents: presented by John P. Prendergast, Esq.

One of these, Mr. Graves said, bore on the history of the extinct town of Bannow, in the county of Wexford, and would be printed in full hereafter. The second was very interesting, being an extract from a volume of the Proceedings of the Irish Privy Council; now preserved in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle.<sup>1</sup> It was an agreement between Arthur Lord Grey, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Paul Finglas, carpenter, for erecting a bridge over the Slaney at Enniscorthy, and was as follows:—

“Articles of Covenant and Agreement between the Right Honourable the L. Arthur Grey [*obliterated*] and Lorde Deputy of Ireland, with the consent of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> Counsell of the said Realme of Ireland, of the one partie, and Paule Finglas, carpenter, of the other partie, for and concerning the erecting of a Bridge of Tymber over the River of Slane att Enescorthis, in the County of Wexford, with a Castell of Lyne and Stone in the middle thereof, to be perfected by the said Paul Finglas according to the contents of the Articles followinge, set down and agreed the 18th of September, 1581.

“First, the said Paule Finglas doth covenante and promise to and with the Lorde Deputie & Counsell that he will erect and set up a bridge at Enescorthis afforesaid, of good, sound, & substantial tymber, to be in length cxxl fote, or thereabout, and in bredeth, within the railes, xi fote. The said bridge to stand upon xiiii arches, every arch to containe three pillars, and every pillar to be in square xviii ynches, and in height, the shortest of them, xxiiii fote, and some of them xxviii, and some xxx fote, accordinge the depth of the water, and shodde with yron, and every shoe to containe ii stone of yron; upon every three pillars of the said arches a pece of tymber of xviii ynches broad and xii ynches thick the pece, and foretene fote in length, with mortesses and tenors, and two crosse lats<sup>2</sup> upon every of the arches as appereth by the modill.

“Also fyve beames, every beame of xii ynches square, and xii fote in length, to belaid betwene every of the said arches and plancks, [and], to [be] laide upon those, beames of iii ynches thick all along the bridge, and the same to be fased over with stone. Also three railes to be sett on either side of the said bridge, with a standing pillar of fyve fote in height, and

<sup>1</sup> This MS., lately purchased from private hands for the Government, also contains an order, of the same year as the contract above given, levying a cess of £350 off the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny, and the city of Waterford, and the town of Kilkenny, for the purpose of erect-

ing a tower at St. Molins to guard the navigation of the river Barrow against the Kavanaghs.

<sup>2</sup> This word is more like “lacs” in the original; but carpenters still use the term “sclats” for pieces of timber nailed over others to keep them in position.

ix ynches square, placed upon every arch. The lower raile to be xvi ynches broade, and iii ynches thick, the middle raile x ynches broad and ii ynches thick, and the upper raile eight ynches square; the entry into the said bridge on both the ends to be made with stone and lyme.

"Item. The said Paule doth covenante and promise to and with the said Lorde Deputie and Counsell to build in the middle of the said River and Bridge a Square Castell or Tower of Lyme and Stone, built upon a new foundation, with two gates to goe through the said Castell of tenne fote in breadth, and tenne fote in height; the said Castell to have two storyes in it above the vault of the gate, and to containe in breadth on the outside xxviii fote the one way, and xxii fote the other way, with battlements, a strong roof, and Flower wyndowes,<sup>1</sup> and murdering holes<sup>2</sup> as many as shall be needfull; and at ech of the ii gates aforesaid to place a Drawbridge with crossebarres of yron, greate spikes, and cheines of yron to drawe the said two bridges close to the Castell, and which the said Paule Finglas doth covenante and promise to finish betweene this and Lady Day next in March come twelve months, which will be the xxv<sup>th</sup> of March, 1583.

"For and in consideration of which worke so to be performed and finished by the said Paule Finglas, at his proper cost and charge of all things necessary for the same, the said Lord Deputie and Counsell doe in the behalf of Her Majestie covenante and promise to gyve and paye unto the said Paule Finglas, or his assigns, the some of three hundred & fiftie pounds ster., whereof one hundred pounds to be ymprest beforehand to the said Paule for the making of his provisions for the said buildinge, and one hundred pounds more at our Lady Day next in March, and another hundred pounds when the tymber work of the said bridge is sett up, and the Castell sett to the height of the Vault, and the rest when the whole work is perfected and ended according to the Articles or Covenant afore expressed.

"And for the better furtherance of the said worke, and speedyer perfecting of the same, the said Lord Depu<sup>ty</sup> and Counsell are pleased that the said Paule shall have commissyons yssued for carriage and provision of victles for his workmen and other necessities as he shall think needfull, and to be allowed by the Lord Deputie."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Prendergast also forwarded a Queen's Letter, copied by him from a MS. preserved amongst the Carte Collection (vol. 57, p. 262) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Mr. Prendergast observed that Nicholas White, whose daughter was married to Browne, was at this time in London at the Court, and penned this letter himself. This document is

<sup>1</sup> *Flower wyndowes*, i. e. with cusped or foliated heads.

<sup>2</sup> *Murdering holes*. It is interesting to find this term used in the contract, as it is the name by which the *Machicoules*, common in our fortified towers, is still known to the peasantry, who tell you that boiling water and molten lead were poured down through them on the assailants. Alto-

gether this contract affords an important illustration of military architecture in Ireland in the 16th century.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be hoped that some Wexford Member of the Association will say whether this bridge and castle were actually built; and, if so, what their history has been: Enniscorthy at present has a stone bridge over the Slaney.

curious, as throwing light on the feuds between the sept of the Kavanaghs and the English settlers of Wexford:—

“EL. R.

“Right trustie and well-beloved, we greette you well. Where we are informed by advertisem<sup>t</sup> come from thence to our loving servant Nicholas White, That Robert Browne of Mulranean, within our countie of Wexforde (a yong gentilman of great valour wholly given to our sarvice ag<sup>t</sup> the disobedient Irishrie of that Countie upon whom his father hath valiantly builded a fortress, and he, after his [father's] death, hath as valiantly kept and defended the same to the amplifying of our obed<sup>t</sup>, being also near of blood to the houses of our r<sup>t</sup>. t<sup>t</sup>. and well-beloved Cosins, Th<sup>t</sup> Erles of Kildare and Ormond), is traitorously murdered by Brene M<sup>c</sup>Coder Kavanagh and his brethren, Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Shanes sons, under the rule of Francis Agard and one Math<sup>r</sup> Furlong.

“We cannot but think the loss of such a subject very hurtful to the state of that our Realm. And therefore we earnestly charge and require you so to prosecute the Murd<sup>r</sup> as they may be brought to trial by our Laws, or oprwise cast off as rebellious persons, and to require our s<sup>d</sup> Cosins, the Earles of Kildare and Ormond, to whom the s<sup>d</sup> Kavanaghs are very near neighbours (wh<sup>a</sup> we doubt not they will do, as well in respect of our service as for the earnest desire he hath), to see the murderers of a good Kinsman punished. And wh<sup>a</sup> as we are informed likewise that 2 gentilm<sup>n</sup> of our s<sup>d</sup> countie of Wexf<sup>d</sup>, the one J<sup>o</sup> Furlong of the Horetton, who hath of late procured the pitiful murder of the s<sup>d</sup> Browne's sister, to bring home her jointur to his house, and the other Math. Fitzhenry of Magsmayh (?) being under Off<sup>r</sup> to Tho<sup>s</sup> Stukeley, bearing the s<sup>d</sup> Browne malice, and both of them cousins of blood to the s<sup>d</sup> Murder<sup>r</sup> of the Kavanaghs, have been procurers and helpers of the s<sup>d</sup> Murd<sup>r</sup>. We think it good, upon this suspicion, that they be committed to our Castle of Dublin, there to remain till you shall try out both the doers and procurers of the s<sup>d</sup> Murders.

“And that you do further not only look to the safetie of the poor young gentlewoman his wife, and her child<sup>n</sup>, but also have good regard to the defence of the s<sup>d</sup> Browne's Castle and Towns, w<sup>h</sup> are holden of Us, against the s<sup>d</sup> Murder<sup>r</sup> and their foll<sup>n</sup>, for it is thought that if this cause be not wisely and severely governed, the most part of the Irishry of Leinster will grow to great disorder.

“Given und<sup>r</sup> our Signet at our Manor of St. James, May 23, in xiv<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> of our Reigne.” [1572]

Dr. Charles Delacherois Purdon, of Belfast, sent the following communication, bearing on the establishment of the Linen Trade in Dundalk:—

“The success that attended the efforts of the ‘Linen Board’ in promoting the manufacture of linen, as well as the impetus given to this trade by their model establishment at Lisburn, induced the Trustees to extend their operations.

“Consequently a new settlement was proposed for the manufacture of cambric. Primate Boulter<sup>1</sup> took great interest in this undertaking. No

<sup>1</sup> *Primate Boulter*. The following letter was addressed to him on this subject:—

3RD SER., VOL. I.

“April 28, 1737.  
MY LORD,—I have the honour of your

doubt cherishing the memory of the previous Dean of his diocese (Drelin-court),<sup>1</sup> he aided them materially by corresponding on their behalf with the Government, as also in his office as one of the Trustees of the 'Linen Board;' and, in addition to these efforts, he assisted in raising a subscription of £30,000 for the benefit of the settlement, which Lord Limerick encouraged in every way, by promising houses for the workmen, ground for the factory, and a grant of ten acres for the sowing of flax. These offers induced them to decide on forming the settlement at Dundalk,<sup>2</sup> where great improvements were being made at the time in the pulling down of the 'ruinous remains' of eighteen or nineteen towers which formerly impeded the progress of the town. Its capability for trade is thus described by a writer of that day:— 'Dundalk is advantageously situated for a most extensive inland trade, and the port is very safe for shipping. The Bay has good mooring at all times of the moon, from four to upwards of eight fathoms water, with very good land-marks either for bringing up or making the harbour; and on crossing the bar at high water, on ordinary neep tides, there are from fifteen to eighteen feet of water.'

"The Board, taking these circumstances into their consideration, at

Grace's of the 25 past, by Mr. De Joncourt; and since his arrival we have had a Linen Board, and have furnished him and his brother with money to go with their workmen to Dundalk, where we have fixed for this new manufacture [established by voluntary subscription], which I hope will turn to good account to this nation, and deserve our further encouragement. I shall still be ready to give them what further support may be necessary upon your Graces recommendation, and shall always be proud to receive your Graces commands."

H. WALPOLE.

<sup>1</sup> *Drelin-court.* Dr. Peter Drelin-court was the sixth son of a celebrated French Minister, called Charles Drelin-court, Minister at first of the Charenton, afterwards Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond. He studied at Geneva, and afterwards came into England, and was appointed Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and became Dean of Armagh, in which office he endeared himself to all the inhabitants by his piety and learning. On his tomb, in Armagh Cathedral, his character was thus inscribed:—

"Such was the second Drelin-court, a name Victorious over death, and dear to Fame,  
The Christians praise, by different measures won,  
Successive graced the father and the son.  
To sacred service one his wealth consigned,  
And one the living treasure of his mind;  
'Twere rash to say where talent did excel,  
Each was so rich, and each improved so well;  
Nor was his charity delayed till death,  
He chose to give what others but bequeath;  
Much though he gave, and oft, yet more he meant,  
Had life proportioned to his will been lent.  
But to complete a scheme so well designed  
Belongs to her who shared his bed and mind,\*  
Whose pious sorrow thus to future days  
Transmits his image, and extends his praise."

This tomb is a fine specimen of sculpture, and represents the Dean in a recumbent posture; the attitude is graceful, and the drapery is so disposed as to show the symmetry of the figure beneath its flowing robes. The features were greatly admired for the resemblance they bore to the original. On the south end of the tomb are the following words: "Doctor Peter Drelin-court was born in Paris, July 22, 1664, Died March 7th, 1720, aged 76 years." A Latin inscription placed on the wall gives a more minute account of his origin, and some particulars of his promotion.

<sup>2</sup> *Dundalk.* This establishment is alluded to in the following, written by Primate Boulter:—

"April 28, 1737.

"Mr. de Jon Court has lately brought me the favour of your's of the 4th inst. On account your former recommendation I did what service I could at the Linen Board when we agreed with him and his brother to the terms for which they are to carry on the Cambrie Manufacture, and gave one of the brothers money to go to France and bring over skilful workmen. Before his return we had fixed upon Dundalk for the place to settle that manufacture in with the approbation of his brothers, and since his return we have advanced money to send the workmen thither to begin their business; and, whatever support I can give them shall not be wanting, and I have great hopes this manufacture will turn out well to the great advantage of this kingdom, which must, in the end, be to the advantage of England."

\* The founding of the Drelin-court School for poor children by his wife is here alluded to.



once selected the Messrs. De Joncourt,<sup>1</sup> as they had great experience in this branch of manufacture, and authorized, as well as aided, them to obtain skilled hands for the new settlement.

"The Messrs. De Joncourt undertook the charge of the new settlement, and one of them went to France to bring over workmen. The other went to Dundalk to make arrangements for their reception, as well as to superintend the construction of the factory, on the completion of which the workmen who had arrived from France, being joined by other refugees, commenced the manufacture in the place. The Government provided for their spiritual wants by paying a chaplain.

"The manufacture was carried on with great energy, and in a short time the cambric was brought to as great perfection as the foreign, but as usual in all new attempts, great opposition was encountered; but, notwithstanding all this, there was made in a few years £40,000 worth of cambrics and lawns. The Government, in 1757, to further encourage this branch, imposed an additional duty of three pence per yard on cambric and lawns not manufactured in Ireland, and this measure gave a fresh impetus to the trade, so that it became a flourishing one.

<sup>1</sup> *De Joncourt.* We find their appointment alluded to in the following resolutions of the Linen Board:—

"*Linen Board, 29 April, 1736.*

"Resolved,—That this Board will allow to the two Messrs. de Joncourt the sum of £80 per an. each, for 7 years, provided they give satisfaction that they are capable of improving the Cambric Manufacture; and that they continue so long in Ireland, and follow the Linen Manufacturing, the said de Joncourt's salary to commence from the perfecting of Articles, but the agreement not to be binding, unless the said de Joncourt procure the two flax dressers, two spinners, and two weavers as aforesaid, from France.

"Resolved,—That this Board will, in proper time, provide the said Messrs. De Joncourt, with a good bleach yard.

"Resolved,—That this Board will provide the said De Joncourt ten acres of land, and pay the rent of the same for three years, and give them flaxseed to sow the ten acres with. One may go over to France for workmen and women to be brought over, and the other remain here under the direction of the Board.

"*Dec. 10, 1736.*

"The proposal of the Right Hon. the Lord Visc. Limerick, for settling Messrs. De Joncourt at Dundalk, in convenient houses with vaults for weaving cambricks, as soon as the same could be made, being read, was agreed to, on his Lordship's engaging in the meantime to provide convenient places for the immediate reception of them and their artists, when they shall arrive in this kingdom, sent free: Ordered, that a Committee be summoned to

meet at the Castle on Monday, the 13th inst., to see the engagement the Board lies under to Messrs. De Joncourt properly executed. That the proposal of the Lord Lime-ick (approved of by the Board) for settling said Messrs. De Joncourt at Dundalk be laid before the said Committee; and that when the artists arrive from Flanders, the said Committee have power to send them forthwith to Dundalk, with such necessary provision as they shall think proper.

"*January 14, 1736-37.*

"Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Memorial of M. De Joncourt being read, was agreed to, and is as follows:—"We, the Committee, appointed to consider the Memorial of M. De Joncourt about Soap Making, and the utensils for a Bleach House, have met and considered the same, and are of opinion, that the expense of one large and two less coppers be granted, not exceeding £27 7s., and the vessels lent to said De Joncourt during their continuing to make in Dundalk large quantities of black soap, in a good and merchantable manner, and £6 for making cisterns, on their engaging to let the said expense be charged to their allowance, and be deducted thereout, in case they do not make such merchantable black soap; and that they be obliged in all parts relating to the making of said soap, or any way relating to their Cambric Manufacture, to instruct such persons as the Board shall direct from time to time; also, that a sum not exceeding £21 12s. 8d. be granted for three coppers, for the bleach house for the Cambricks, and lent in like manner to said De Joncourt with cisterns, in the plan by them given in,

"In addition to the above, the Messrs. De Joncourt started a manufactory for black soap, to which undertaking the Board gave them also assistance.

"The settlement remained under their management for a number of years, as is seen from an entry in the old parish register, recording the baptism of two children—'A son of Stephen de Joncourt, Bapt<sup>d</sup> Aug. 21, 1756;' and again, 'Raichell, daughter of Isaac Stephen de Joncourt, Bapt<sup>d</sup> 16 day of November, 1760.' After 1770 we lose all trace of this French colony, so we must infer that it followed the usual course of the other ones, by some being absorbed amongst the native inhabitants through intermarriages, and by others going to new places in seeking employment. No trace now remains of what was once a celebrated settlement."

Mr. Edward Benn, of Glenravel, Clough, near Belfast, sent the following notices of objects of antiquity found in his neighbourhood:—

"In a bog in the parish of Loughguile, county Antrim, some objects of antiquity were lately found, which, though interesting, would not be

not exceeding the value of £7 4s., the said several sums amounting in the whole to £61. Lord Limerick having proposed to complete the houses and conveniences for their working in the Bleach Yard to be made for this purpose; and if their undertaking be not brought to perfection in one year from the day the coppers are set, the said Messrs. De Joncourt to forfeit the value or be discharged from their salary.

*"Irish House of Commons,  
29 Oct., 1767.*

"A Petition of the Governors and Company for carrying on the Cambrick Manufacture at Dundalk, was presented to the House, and read, setting forth that the Company have Manufactured Cambricks and Lawns to the amount of £40,000 and upwards, and have brought the said Manufacture to as great perfection as the foreign. That, however, partly from the running of foreign goods into this kingdom, and partly from other causes, the Company have reaped little profit from their public sales; and that, notwithstanding this, there is good reason to hope this Manufacture will in time, like the other branches of the Linen Manufacture, make its way against all opposition, if it is further encouraged by this House, and praying further aid.

*"November 11.*

"Resolved,—That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the further supply granted to His Majesty, for the use of the Governor and Company for carrying on the Cambrick Manufacture at Dundalk and elsewhere, be a sum not exceeding the sum of £1375.

*"16 November, 1767.*

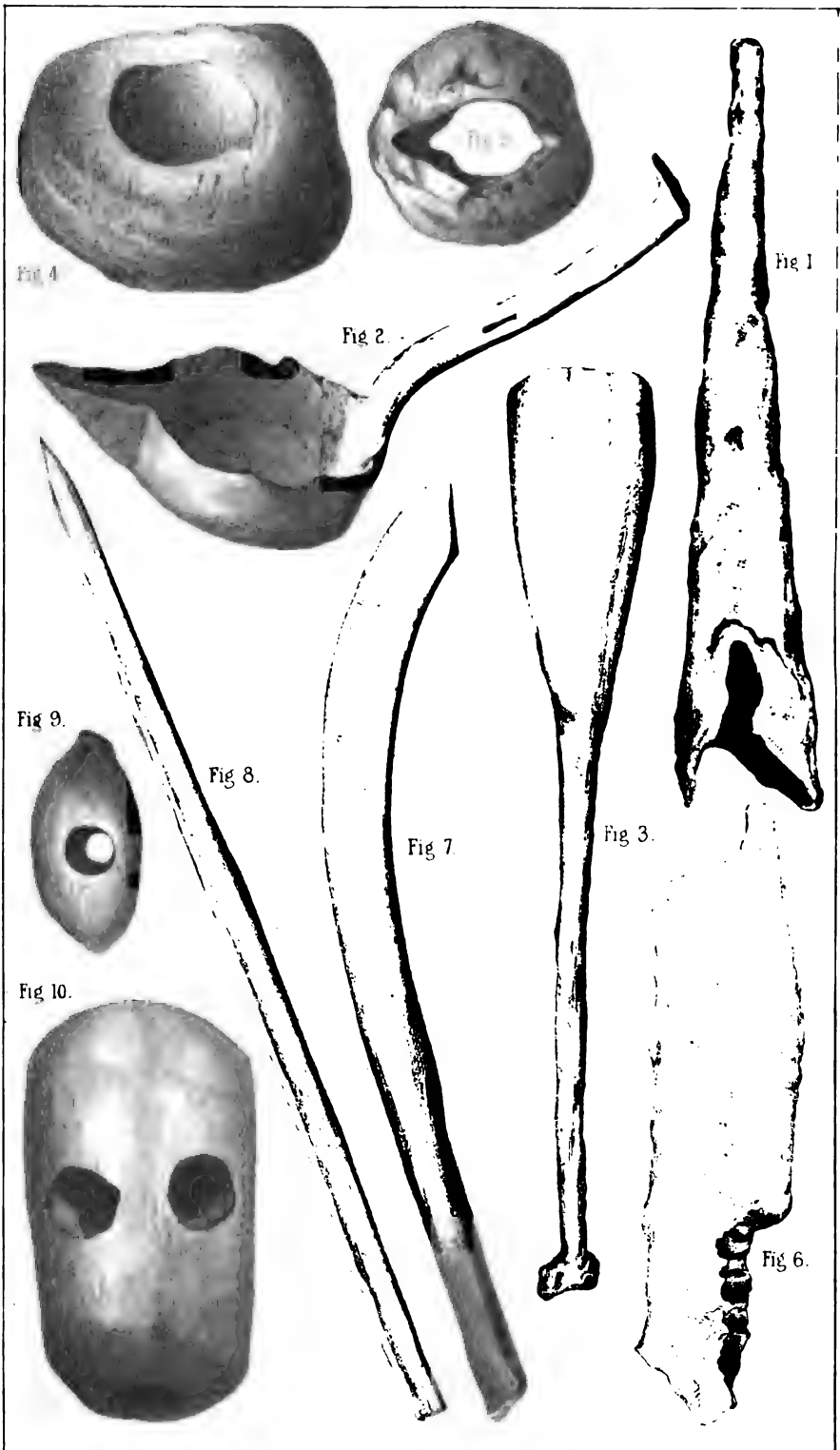
"Resolved,—That it is the opinion of the Commons, that, for raising the supply granted to His Majesty for the use of the Governor and Company for carrying on the Cambrick Manufacture in Dundalk, or elsewhere in this kingdom, in order to enable them more effectually to carry on the said Manufacture, an additional duty of 3d. per yard on all Cambricks and Lawns other than such as are of the Manufacture of G<sup>t</sup> Britain, which shall be imported into this Kingdom, from and after the 25th day of December, 1737, be levied, raised, and paid to His Majesty, from the said 25th day of December, 1767, to the 25th day of December, 1769, inclusive."

De Joncourt having memorialled the Linen Board April 12, 1736, the following reply was given:—

*"April 24.*

Resolved,—That, if Messrs. De Joncourt shall bring over from France two understanding Flax Dressers, two Spinning Mistresses, for spinning fine Yarn for Cambrics, and two Cambric Weavers; this Board will allow to each flax dresser the sum of £12 per an., to each Spinning Mistress £8 per an., and to the Weavers £12 per an. each; and that the said Flax Dressers, Spinners, and Weavers shall have the above salaries for five years, to commence from their arrival in Ireland; as also all the profit they can make by their own work; and further, that this Board will pay the reasonable charges of their coming over; the said Manufacturers are to instruct such people in their several trades as this Board directs."





Forster & Co Lith Dublin

BRONZE KNIFE AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES.

deserving of particular notice, but for the fact that among them were found two beautiful bronze knives. These are such instruments as I have never before seen, or found noticed, and are, so far as I know, *unique*. From their graceful form, fineness of metal, and excellence of workmanship, I would consider them of high antiquity. Fig. 7 (see Plate facing this page) is a drawing of one, the size of original; the other is similar, in every way, except being about an inch longer, and not so much curved. They are much superior to the long, thick-backed knives found in Cranogs of a much later date; it is very singular that an instrument so useful should be so rare; and more so, when we find from these specimens that the old inhabitants knew the uses of a knife, and how to make one. With them was found a bronze instrument, about six inches long, very sharp in the point, Fig. 8. It might have been used as a spit for roasting flesh by those who used the knives, or in the process of skinning a large animal; the metal and workmanship are similar to the knives. Fig. 6, is a flint knife, size of original, of the exact type of the bronze knife. This form is very unusual, flint knives being almost always either straight or *slightly* curved; it was not found with the others. Several of those stones called spindle whorls were found; most of them round, but several lozenge-shaped—Fig. 9. Fig. 5 is one made of jet, having indentations on it as for a thong or string. It is probable these things were used as buttons, or in some way to fasten clothing; in many the hole is too large for a spindle; some are ornamented by carving; some are made of jet, and I have one made of amber—a very unlikely material for a spindle whorl. Fig. 10 is a very interesting object; it is a stone the size of original; it is perforated with two holes crossing at right angles, and at each end a hole going a short way in. This may have been the axis of a small wheel, the arms being inserted through the holes in the body of the stone, while it worked on two projections inserted into the holes at the ends.

“On the interesting subject of Cranogs some things have been lately discovered deserving of notice:—About four miles from Ballymena, near Cloughwater Meeting-house, one was found in a bog; it does not appear to have been large; the bog had been a lake, and the peat had risen so high as entirely to conceal the cranog until discovered by the turf-cutters. So far as I know, the objects hitherto found are not of much interest in themselves, but interesting from the fact of instruments made of iron and stone having been found together; and although no bronze object came into my hands, I believe that one pin at least was found; but there were found several fragments of crucibles, such as were used for melting brass or other metals; they were of fine quality, seemingly superior to some found elsewhere; there was also found some of the fuel used; it seems to be anthracite coal, somewhat charred, such as would produce a very intense heat. An iron instrument, Fig. 1, was found; it is merely pointed with a socket to receive a shaft. There were also found two small flint knives, one stone celt, or ‘thunderbolt,’ such as is so frequently found here, and one of those round flat stones, about two inches in diameter, having an oblong indentation on each side; also several pieces of rude pottery, which appeared, from the marks of fire, to have been used for culinary purposes. On the subject of the meaning of the word *cranog* I will make some observations. The first syllable, *Cran*, signifies a dead tree—a tree lying on end, as opposed to *crieve*, a living or standing tree; it signifies a log, a trunk of a tree, a stake. The second syllable is our word *egg*, first applied to the shell of

an egg used as a drinking vessel; it is the word or syllable that so frequently occurs, as *wick*, *tg*, or *ick*, signifying an inclosure, a boundary, a covering. To form the cranog, a shallow part of the lake was selected; the *crans* or stakes were set up in a circle; the branches were fixed in the manner of *wickerwork*, thus forming the shell or wick, which, being filled up with alternate layers of earth and branches, formed the island.

"There is a great difference in the size and importance of cranogs; some are small, and the objects found not numerous; others are large and furnish a great number, some of them showing a considerable civilization. One very interesting was lately found at the great cranog near Randalstown; this is a lamp, Fig. 2, drawn about half the size of the original; it is made of iron of very good workmanship; there is an upright handle in which there is an oblong hole, and another hole in a projection at the end of the handle, seemingly to secure the wick.<sup>1</sup> Fig. 3 is an instrument of oak, neatly made, about three feet long, seemingly for propelling a small boat, found also at Randalstown. Fig. 4 is a stone object, found in a cranog in county Down; I do not know its use."

Mr. George M. Atkinson, of 83, Winchester-street, London, sent the drawings alluded to in the following communication:—

"I forward to you for the next meeting, if you please to submit them, three sheets of sketches—an ancient inscribed stone, a stone fort or cahir and a stone circle—all near Macroom. Trusting the members will excuse their imperfections, as it was neither an artistic nor archaeological expedition I was on when I made them, I hope soon to be able to offer some suggestions regarding them.

"But perhaps now some of the members may be able to give a reason why the forts (earthen ring enclosures) in Ireland are called, by all the country people that I ever conversed with, 'Danes' forts.' When I tell them the unlikeliness of the Danes being able to build so many, and mention the battle of Clontarf, they always appear mystified.

"If those raths were ever the fortified stations of the Danish invaders, after the victory at Clontarf not a trace of them would be left by the victorious inhabitants. But we find them, instead, still preserved with the most superstitious veneration.

"These forts are universally inhabited by the 'good people,'<sup>2</sup> who have lots of gold, &c.; but it is dangerous to meddle with them, on account of 'the fairy blast,' &c. This is a tradition as of a kind of spiritual or magical race gone by.

<sup>1</sup> The critic will here remark that the wick of a candle, or lamp, is in the centre, and quite contrary to my definition of the meaning of the word. The first candle used appears to have been a splinter of dry resinous wood, and the first improvement was to roll round it a string saturated with grease; this would be exactly a wick, or wig; something of this kind was in use in recent times. When lamps and candles were invented the name originally given to the string was continued, although

the circumstance which caused this name to be given had changed. There are many cases not so easily explained, and there are some to which it does not apply; but in a great number of cases it is very simple; for example, a wicked person means one who is out of the wick; a heretic is the same word, the syllables differently arranged; both mean excommunicated. We use the same form when we say, out of the pale, not of the fold.

<sup>2</sup> *Good people*, i. e. the Fairies.

"The word rath I take to mean a place of assembly. It forms a component part of many names of towns and villages, as Rathcormuck, county of Cork; Rathkeale, county of Limerick; Rathangan, county of Kildare; Rathdrum, Rathdangan, Rathvilly, county of Wicklow; Rathgowry, Rathaspick, county of Wexford; Rathmines, and Rathfarnham, county of Dublin. Has it any affinity to Rathhaus, the Town Hall, Mansion House, or Hotel de Ville, so called at Breslau: or have we it in Reichsrath, the Imperial Parliament of Austria?"

"Now, my idea is, that the Danes mentioned are the Tuatha de *Danaans*, whom I think must be the highly intellectual race that imported into Ireland our oghams, round towers, architecture, metal work, and, above all, the exquisite art which has come down to us in our wonderful illuminated Irish MSS. It is no wonder if such a race was looked on as magical!"

Mr. Graves said he had lost no time in forwarding a drawing of the inscription, which had a very Runic look, to Professor Stevens, of Copenhagen, who in his reply stated that the characters were not Runes, though he considered them "intentional marks, letters, or signs of some kind."

Mr. T. R. Lane exhibited a series of very beautiful photographs which he had recently made amongst the ruins of the Abbey of Kilcrea, in the county of Cork. The existing structure was said to have been erected in 1465 by Cormac MacCarthy, Prince of Muskerry, on the site of the cell or habitation of St. Chera, in the sixth century—hence the name of Kilcrea, Cella Cheræ. Some of the architectural details shown in the photographs, however, looked more than a century older than the date assigned to Cormac MacCarthy's foundation. The series of views comprised the nave, chancel, lady-chapel, chapter-house, library, refectory, cloister, kitchen, tower, and a very picturesque general view of the ruins as seen from beyond the river, with the old bridge in the foreground. The inspection of these photographs, and the information respecting the details, which Mr. Lane supplied orally to the meeting, afforded much gratification to all present.

Mr. Robert Day, Jun., Cork, exhibited photographs, full size, of both sides of the hilt of a bronze leaf-shaped sword, still retaining the original bone handle, also photographs of the entire sword, as represented in the accompanying plates from woodcuts by Utting.<sup>1</sup> The photo-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Day has presented to the members of the Association half the expense of these costly and exquisite wood engravings.—Ed.

graphs were accompanied by the following communication :—

“ The bronze leaf-shaped sword, of which a lithograph accompanies this paper, was found by Robert Powell, in Lisletrim bog, parish of Muckno, townland of Tullycoora, and barony of Cremorne, county Monaghan, in the summer of 1865. It remained in his possession till that county was proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act in the Autumn of 1866, when it came into the possession of Mr. James Wilkin, of Armagh, from whom it was shortly after purchased by me. It measures in extreme length  $24\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and in width of blade  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches; has a thick solid mid-rib running up the centre of the blade, and differs from the generality of those swords by being coated with a deep green patina; but the peculiar interest which attaches itself to this specimen is, that the greater portion of the *original bone handle* is still retained in its place by six bronze rivets; there were at one period eight of these, but two have disappeared. A portion of the bone handle, which was submitted to Professor Owen, of the British Museum, was pronounced by him to be ‘ mammalian, and probably cetacean.’ The engravings are from photographs by Thomas R. Lane, Esq., Cork. This unique sword is in beautiful preservation, is admirably balanced, and has a sharp and uninjured edge on both sides, from hilt to point.

The Rev. J. Graves, in some remarks on the interest attaching to the discovery of a bronze sword with a handle of the kind described, observed, that on examining Mr. Lane’s photograph with a magnifying glass, the texture of the bone was quite apparent, and presented a very peculiar character, being worn into round perforations connected with channels, all running one way. This peculiar texture was admirably represented in the accompanying plates. Rivets have frequently occurred remaining in the “tangs” of leaf-shaped swords, and also of those thin rapier-like weapons and dagger blades, evidently of same age as the swords, though of a different type. The hafts or handles were, however, rarely preserved. Where the haft has come down to us it has been generally, as might be expected, of bronze. Mr. Franks, in “*Horæ Ferales*,” plates VII., VIII., and IX., had figured several of these bronze weapons, with hafts of the same metal, most of them English and foreign examples. There was, however, one very fine rapier (Plate VII., Fig. 15), from the Collection of the late Dr. Petrie,  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, which had been found in the county of Tipperary. The haft of this weapon was engraved in Wilde’s “*Catalogue*” of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 458, fig. 333. The tang of the rapier was “lunated,” and the hilt expanded in a similar





**LEAF-SHAPED BRONZE SWORD, WITH BONE HAFT.**

Found in Lialetrim Bog, County of Monaghan.

[In the Collection of ROBERT DAY, JUN., Esq.]





**LEAF-SHAPED BRONZE SWORD, WITH BONE HAFT.**

Found in Lisletrim Bog, County of Monaghan.

[In the Collection of ROBERT DAV, JUN., Esq.]



form, and was fastened to the tang by four bronze rivets. The hilt was hollow, and Sir W. Wilde supposed that it had originally a bone stud at the pommel. In the Academy



Fig. 334.

was preserved a broad, triangular dagger, with a similar haft, which was richly carved in the manner of the ornamentation of the gold antiques found in Ireland (Ib. fig. 334 here, with fig. 333, reproduced by the kindness of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy). An imperfect bronze haft similarly ornamented was preserved in the Museum of the Association. A mould for casting the bronze handles for leaf-shaped swords had been found in Italy, and was stated in "*Horæ Ferales*," p. 159, to be engraved in "*Lindenschmit*," heft. i., taf. ii., n. 10-12. Sir William Wilde had some very interesting observations on the hafting of these bronze weapons ("*Catalogue*," pp. 454-460). He was not, however, able to adduce a single Irish example of a bone or ivory haft, and stated,



Fig. 333.

in a note to p. 453, that amongst the vast number of Scandinavian swords which had been preserved, in only one instance could any trace of the bone handle be detected; and as the editors of "*Horæ Ferales*," the posthumous work of the ever to be lamented J. M. Kemble, had not been able to cite a solitary instance, it might therefore fairly be assumed that Mr. Day's specimen was at present unique.

Mr. John O'Daly, Anglesea-street, Dublin, communicated the following letters of our great Irish scholar, the late John O'Donovan, written thirty-seven years ago. They were purchased by him at the sale of Dr. O'Donovan's Books and

MSS. It was much to be regretted that death had deprived them of the advantage of the learned writer's revision, as he was only commencing his Archæological studies at the time that he wrote these letters. The reply of Mr. Miles O'Reilly being in his autograph, and the fact of the second letter being incomplete, prove that these were copies, in his own exquisitely neat handwriting, kept by O'Donovan himself. The letters throw an interesting light on the laborious investigations which resulted in his becoming a living encyclopædia of Irish historical and topographical lore; but the chapters on Dalaradia and Dalriada in Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore" ought to be read, to keep the student of Irish topography from falling into some errors, which the matured intellect of O'Donovan would have avoided:—

"Dublin, Saturday, Septemb<sup>r</sup> 3rd, 1831.

"DEAR SIR,—I have undertaken to reduce the counties in Ireland back to territories, and have succeeded to a great extent: one difficulty, however, has greatly discouraged me, and that is the disagreement of our Topographers of ancient Ireland concerning two territories in the N. E. of Ulster, viz., *Dalriada* and *Dalaradia*. Dr. Lanigan, in his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, says that *Dalriada* comprehended the N. N. W. and part of the South of the Co. of Antrim; and adds that, according to a statement in Ussher's *Primordia* (page 1029) *Dalriada* stretched 30 miles from Glenfinaght to the River Bush.

"You have a copy of Ussher's *Primordia*. I shall be for ever obliged to you if you open page 1029, transcribe Ussher's own words in describing *Dalriada* (which I fear are but very few), and send them to me as soon as opportunity offers; for I am very anxious to know whether Ussher wrote *amnis Bush*.

"The river that is now known by that name is an inconsiderable stream in the North of Antrim, and I cannot for a moment suppose that this is the river mentioned by Ussher, and I would venture to say that Ussher wrote *amnis* or *flumen Bosius* or *Bois*, and that Lanigan's making it the River Bush is mere conjecture.

"There is an old poem preserved in several MSS. which states that there were only ten rivers in Ireland at Partholan's arrival.

"Thus it says:—

Laoi, buar, banna, bearbha buan,  
Samear, Sligeach, Modhorn, Muadh,  
Fionn, life a laighe go gléic,  
I r iabroim na rian aibne.

'Laoi, Buas, Banna, Bearbha everflowing,  
Saimear, Sligeach, Modhorn, Muadh;  
Fionn, Life in Leinster with clearness,  
They are the old rivers.'

"Now, though we know that this poem is undoubtedly a fabrication, still it is very ancient; while, therefore, we reject that absurd part of it,

which would give us to understand that the River Liffey is more ancient than the Shannon,<sup>1</sup> we retain it as the testimony of an Irish Bard, that such were the names of ten considerable, well-known rivers in Ireland at the time he flourished.

"Now to our point:—

"*Laoi, Buas, Banna, Bearbha, Saimer, Sligeach, Modhorn, Muadh, Fionn, Liffe*, were the names of ten considerable, well-known rivers in Ireland at the time that the author of the poem, beginning *Cloam, atair, rput ap pluag*, "Adam, father, and source of our race," either fabricated this story, or drew it from other historic monuments then existing, or founded it upon foolish traditions, the like of which are to be found among every nation, and upon which the commencement of the history of most nations is founded.

"Let us now trace where these rivers are situated, and by what names they are known.

"*Laoi* is a river in the county of Cork, anglicized *Lee*, and well known by that name to the natives at the present day.

"*Banna* and *Bearbha* are also known by these names to those who speak the Irish language at this day; they are anglicized *Bann, Barrow*.

"*Saimer* is now called the *Erne*, as O'Flaherty testifies.

"*Sligeach, Modhorn, Muadh*, are also known by those names at this day; they are anglicized the *Sligo, Mourne, Moy*, and are well known.

"*Fionn* is now properly anglicized *Fin*; it is a river in the county of Donegal which pays its tribute to the River Foyle.

"*Liffe* is now called Liffey; it was the boundary between Magh Breagh (Moybrà) and Hy Kinsellagh.

"The River *Buas* only remains doubtful.

"Keating says that the River *Buas* was between *Dalnaruidhe* and *Dalriada*,<sup>2</sup> the latter of which territories, he says, was known by the name *Rutha* (i. e. *The Route*) in his own time, from which it is clear that the River *Buas* is not the same as the present River Bush, as Lanigan seems to understand.

"Roderic O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, vol. ii. p. 26) says 'the River *Bois*, in Irish *Buas*, divides Dalaradia and Dalriadia in the county Down, and forms the bounds of the county of Antrim.' If so, it can be no other than the river which is now called the *Lagan Water*.

"Now I have got Dr. Keating's and Mr. O'Flaherty's authorities for making the River *Buas* (now Lagan) the boundary between Dalaradia and Dalriadia, nor could I for a moment question the respectability of such authority, did I not meet the following description of Dalaradia by Dr. O'Conor, in the *Annals of Tigernach*, page 96, note 7.

"Literal translation of Dr. O'Conor's Latin:

"'Dalaradia was divided into North and South; the Southern Dalaradia was inhabited by the *Cruithni*, i. e. by the Picts of Ireland, in whose territory Comgall founded his Monastery of Bangor, as Adamnan says. This Southern Dalaradia is called by the English *Clan-Hu-Boi*. Dalara-

<sup>1</sup> *Shannon*. It is curious that modern geology agrees with this ancient poem in making the Liffey a more ancient river than the Shannon.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *buar ibir Dhalnaruidhe aghar Dhalriada*, i. an Ráta. Keating, printed vol., page 168. An ceatpamao bli-

gam déag d'éir bair Eirib, a... do ling an abuin d'a n-geirtear Pnéagobal pá tír ibir Dál-n-áruíde aghar Dál-Riada. Keating, p. 318. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, vol. ii. p. 37. Charles O'Conor, in his Map called *Scotia Antiqua*, calls the River Lagan "*Bosa*."

dia itself extended 30 miles from the sea to the west towards Loughneagh, in the counties of Down and Antrim.'

"Again, in his *Index Generalis*, he says :

" '*Dal Araide* is a region in Ulster different from *Dalriada* ; the former is, at this day, called the *Ardes*, the latter the *Routs* ; the former was situated in the northern part of Down, the latter in Antrim ; the former derived its name from Fiacha Araide, King of Ulster, the latter from Cairbre Riada, of whom Bede, Lib. i. c. 1, and Tighernach, quoted above, page 97, note 7, and p. 221.

" '*Dalriada* extended 30 miles from the River Bosius to the cross of Glanfinaght, it was mostly in the north of Antrim, opposite the coast of which the Island of Rechrainn is situated.

" '*Dalaradia* was also called *Clan-Ilu-Boi* and *Cruithne*, i. e., the territory of the Picts of Ireland, where *Bangor*, the monastery of St. Comgall, was situated, as we read in the Life of Columba, and also the mountain *Mis* and the valley of *Arcaid*, where St. Patrick—as yet but a youth and a captive—fed the swine' of Milcho, the Dynast of the Picts of Ulster. *Dalaradia*, then, extended from Newry (in Irish *An Iúbhair*) towards Oirgiall, to the mountain *Mis*.'

"Now it seems to me that this is a very loose description given by Dr. O'Connor: he says that *Dalaradia* is at this day called the *Ardes*, than which nothing can be more vague and inaccurate, for the *Ardes* (in Irish *Ards Uladh*, i. e., the High lands or heights of Ulster) is an ancient barony of the county of Down, bounded E. and S.E. by St. George's Channel, W. for the most part, by *Lough Cuan* (now the lake of Strangford), and N. by Carrickfergus bay; and foolish indeed it is to say that this is the same as *Dalaradia*, which he says extended 30 miles from the sea to the west towards Lough Neagh, in the counties of Down and Antrim! Again, Dr. O'Connor says: '*Dal Riada* extended 30 miles from the River *Bosius* to the cross of Glanfinaght.' If this be the River *Bois* (in Irish *Buas*), which Dr. Keating and Mr. O'Flaherty give as the boundary between *Dalaradia* and *Dalriada*, it contradicts what Dr. O'Connor says of *Dalaradia*—for that river (now the Lagan) forms, for several miles, the boundary between the counties of Down and Antrim. Now if *Dalriada* extended 30 miles from that river northwards, how can *Dalaradia* be made to cross that river and extend as far as *Sliabh Mis* in the barony of Antrim, Co. Antrim?

"There is some confusion in the names of these two territories. O'Connor seems to have been led astray by some unusual *ignis fatuus*!

"That impudent fellow, Beaufort, in his 'Topography of Ancient Ireland,' published in the 3rd vol. of Vallancey's Collectanea, makes *Dalnaraidhe*, the original Irish name, one territory, and *Dalaradia*, the Latinized spelling, another—and not knowing that in the Irish language *n* is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, he makes *Dal Araidhe*, the simplest form of the name, a third territory; and says, with a good deal of assurance, that *Dalnaraidhe* has been corruptly called *Dalriada*, and why? because he says it signifies '*the District of the Country on the Water*!' but he could not by any torture wring that signification from *Dalriada*. Ergo, it follows as a logical consequence that *Dalriada* must be corrupt!!

'Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?'

<sup>1</sup> Et servivit illi vii. annis omni servitute ac duplici labore et Porcarium po-

suit eum in montanis convallibus. *Book of Armagh.*



"Odl Riaba signifies the tribe of *Riada*, of whom Bede speaks, Lib. i., c. 1. It first became the name of a tribe, and afterwards of the lands possessed by them.

"How is it possible that Beaufort could have the assurance, the barefaced effrontery, to write such nonsense? How did he think we could receive his etymological reveries for Irish History? It is to me surprising that he was not discouraged from such stuff by the following words of O'Flaherty:—

"Nothing can be more insipid or disgusting than annotators of this sort; nothing more critical and censorious on the traditions of the ancients than they are, who, after all their minute and profound enquiries through the extensive field of conjecture, produce indiscriminately nothing but what is evident, notorious and obvious to the most unlettered and ignorant of our countrymen."

"Another specimen of Beaufort's reveries:—Lecale, a barony in the Co. of Down, is by him derived from *Lea-caël*, i. e. *the wood of the plain*! This is a *wooden-headed* derivation! Where did Beaufort find that *Lea* signifies a plain? Where did he find that *caël* means *wood*? What Book, MS., &c., could he quote as authority? None! but finding that it would serve his purpose, he metamorphosed *coill* into *caël* by etymological magic!

"Lecale was anciently called *Md̄ḡ In̄r*, i. e. the Peninsular Plain, but it afterwards assumed the name of *Lēt Cāt̄ail*, i. e. Cathal's half or division.

"When Cathal, a man's name (which signifies a warrior), is transubstantiated into a new word, and a new, hitherto unheard-of, meaning affixed to it, and this given to the world, not in a conjectural, but in as positive a shape as if it were truly and demonstratively certain; such investigations serve no purpose, elucidate no truth, but demonstrate that they have arisen from a wish to obliterate the antiquity and confuse the history of an ancient people.

"When I sat down to write this letter, I had no intention of writing more than one sheet of paper, but the subject stole on me as I travelled along; and I greatly fear that while I have amused myself by nocturnal speculation, I have wearied you; it is now four o'clock on Sunday morning, the sun approaches the East, and paints a faint glimmer of twilight; time for me to allow sleep to lull reason to rest, and suffer my imagination to wander on the shore of Lough Neagh to trace the ancient boundary of Dalaradia.

"Vale,

"J. O'DONOVAN.

"I send you a drawing<sup>1</sup> of the particular part of Ireland now to be considered; it will explain for you that there is a contradiction in the description given of these two territories.

"THE HEATH HOUSE, EMO,

"September 11th, 1831.

"In reply to the foregoing, I perceive, by reference to Ussher's '*Primordia*,' page 1029, that John O'Donovan's conjectures are fully borne out

<sup>1</sup> *Drawing*.—The manuscript letters are accompanied by the map here alluded to, and it is also referred to elsewhere in

them, but as it shows nothing beyond what is stated in the text, it has not been thought necessary to engrave it.—ED.

as to the name of the river in question, being Buas, and not the Bush' of modern times; and that his idea of the territorial division must be the correct one. I send to O'Donovan the original edition of Ussher's 'Primordia,' in which he will find a good deal of matter as to the territory of Dalriada, &c. And I add on the ensuing page an extract in corroboration, which he could have no other source of obtaining.

"I remain, &c., &c.,

"MYLES J. O'REILLY."

"Att his [Partholan's] comeinge into Ireland hee found butt three Loughes and nyne Rivers in the Kingdome; the Loughes were called Logh Luymnyn, Logh Fordreawan, and Finlogh, in Connaght. The Rivers were called the Liffie al' Rurhagh, Lye, Moye, Slygeagh, Sayver, Bwaise, Banne, Moyorne, and Fyn.'"—*Extract from Conell M'Geoghagan's translation of the annals of Cluanmacnois MS.*

"FINIX (FINN-UIPÉ) PARK,

"September 30th, 1831.

"DEAR SIR—In my last letter to you on this subject, I complained of the disagreement of our Topographers of Ancient Ireland, concerning the territories Oal Riaba, and Odl n-Clusbe; in this I take the liberty of trespassing upon your patience while I lay before you the sum of the information derivable from Ussher's Primordia and O'Flaherty's Ogygia. It may be to you a subject so dry and insipid as to render my letters troublesome to you; and indeed when I take into consideration how many other things you have to attend to, I am often deterred from writing. At other times I almost convince myself, that, as you are directly descended from the chieftains of one of those territories, the boundaries and subdivisions of which I mean to trace, you are, in a great measure, bound to take an interest in such investigations, and consequently send me all the information in your possession.

"As I mentioned in my last letter that Roderic O'Flaherty's authority was a respectable one, I now set down the sum of the information derivable from his Ogygia (vol. ii. p. 39, Translation), which will show that he has not fully considered the subject.

"In the various Lives of St. Patrick, Dalaradia is called the country of the Cruthinians, as with Colgan in his Trias Thaumaturga, in the 2nd Life of St. Patrick, chap. 30, '*he began to steer his course to the country of the Cruthinians until he came to the Mountain Mis.*' The same is in the 4th Life, chap. 34; and in the 5th Life, chap. 29. But that mountain (Mis) is beyond any doubt in Dalaradia, and is almost the entire length of the kingdom from a mountain of the same name in Munster. Also Flann of the Monastery says that Fothach Argteach was killed in the country of the Cruthinians, for he fell in the battle of Ollarba at Moylinne: the river Ollarba and the field Moyline are to be seen to this day in Dalaradia in the Co. of Down.

"When we read in the 3rd Life of St. Patrick, chap. 57, '*Patrick went to the tribes of the North, i. e. to Hultu, Cruithne and Dalnaruidhe, and they all believed in him and were baptized,*' we should rather read Hultu, Cruithne and Dalriada, than that Cruithne and Dalaraidhe, or Dalaradii, should be thought to be two different people, as Father Colgan inad-

<sup>1</sup> Bush.—Buas is the Bush, and Loga, have come to this conclusion ten years later.—W. R.  
the Lagan; John O'Donovan would not

vertently explains in his annotations in the 5th note in the 3rd Life of Saint Patrick.

"In Ogygia, vol. ii. p. 40, Dalaradia is a maritime and eastern country of Ulster extending from Newry to the mountain Mis.

"And in vol. ii. p. 220, Carbry Rieda, who is also called Achy Rieda, and by Bede, Reuda, instead of Rieda, now contracted into Reuta, extending 30 miles from the River Bois to the cross of Glanfinnaght in the county of Antrim.

"In vol. ii. p. 6, the River Bois, in Irish Buas, divides Dalaradia and Dalriadia in the county of Down, and forms the bounds of the county of Antrim.

"In vol. ii. p. 39, that mountain Mis is beyond any doubt in DALARAIDIA.

"Now, if the River Buas be the boundary between Dalaradia and Dalriada, no part of Dalaradia can be in the Co. of Antrim; how is it possible, then, that O'Flaherty could say that the mountain Mis, which is at least 22 miles north of that river, could be BEYOND ANY DOUBT in that territory?

"Vol ii. p. 60, Dunsobhairce, a maritime fortress of Dalriada, near Murbolg (*maritima arx Dalriadae juxta Murbolg.*)

"Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, in his map called *Scotia Antiqua*, makes *Dunsobhairce* the same as the present Carrickfergus; but the mountain *Mis* is nearly 12 miles north of Carrickfergus; now if the mountain *Mis*, BE BEYOND ANY DOUBT in Dalaradia, and if that territory extends from Newry to that mountain, why should not Dunsobhairce, now Carrickfergus, be in it, and not in Dalriada? (See enclosed Map.)

"So far for O'Flaherty's inconsistency. Let us now turn to Archbishop Usher, whose great learning, talents, and research into Irish Antiquities, place him (I would venture to say) above all others.

"He also understands that *Sliabh Mis* was in Dalaradia, as appears from the following words on page 831 of his *Primordia*.

"*'Dominus autem Patricii, quem Sigebertus indefinite Regem, Florentius Wigorniensis Miliuc filium nepotis Buani nominat, in Matthæo Westmonasteriensi MS. non Cuulcu, sed Milcu nominatur: estque idem ipse quem Hibernicus vitæ Patricianæ descriptor & Latinus Operis Tripartiti auctor Miliuc filium Buain, Fiechi scholiastes Milcon filium Hui Bain appellat. qui Scholiastes Regem etiam septentrionalis partis Dal-araida eum fuisse addit; ibique porcos suos Patricio pascendos tradidisse in magnâ valle Arcail juxta montem Mis (pleib mîr) ubi Ecclesia Sciric posita est, quæ apud Antrimenses in Ultoniâ ad hunc usque diem nomen suum retinet.'*

"Patrick's master, whom Sigebertus indefinitely calls *King*, Florentius Wigorniensis *Miliuc*, son of the grandson of *Buan*, is, in the MS. of Matthew of Westminster, named not *Cuulcu* but *Milcu*, and is the same person whom the writer of the Irish Life of St. Patrick, and the author of the Tripartite Latin work call *Miliuc* son of *Buan*, and Fiech's Scholiast, *Milcon*, son of *Hua Buain*. The same Scholiast adds that he was king of the northern part of Dal-Araida, and THERE he delivered his swine to be fed by Patrick in the large valley of *Arcail*, near the mountain *Mis*, where the church of *Sciric* was situated, which to this day retains that name [Skerry] amongst the inhabitants of Antrim in Ulster.

"Again, on page 1047,

"*Miliuc sive Milconem hunc, regem septentrionalis partis, non quidem*

universæ *Scotiæ* sive *Hiberniæ*, sed *Dal-araide* fuisse, ex *Fiechiano* scholiastâ suprâ (pag. 831) ostendimus. Cujus regionis australem quidem partem *Ardes* hodiè nominant (quo in nomine *Araida* etiam illius non obscurum superest vestigium) septentrionalem vero *Claneboyas*; in quâ et *Ruthenorum* mons ille *Mis* est.

“We have shown above (at page 831), from *Fiech's* Scholiast, that this *Miliuc*, or *Milco*, was king not of the northern part of *Scotia* or *Ireland*, but (of the northern part) of *Dal-araida*; the southern part of which they, at this day, call *Ardes* (in which name no obscure vestige of the name *Araida* remains), and the northern *Claneboyas*, in which *Mis*, the Mountain of the *Rutheni*, is situated.

“Some confusion has arisen from the similarity of the Latinized orthography of the names of these two territories. *Ussher* states expressly that *Milco*, *Saint Patrick's* master (while enslaved) was king of the northern part of *Dal-aradia*, but he refers us to *Fiech's* Scholiast as his authority. It is surprising that *Ussher* had not remembered what he said respecting the extent of *Dalaradia* when setting down the limits of *Dalrieda*. It may be thought folly in me to sit down to accuse so great a man as *Ussher* of inconsistency and want of discernment; but we should seek nothing but truth, and submit to no authority, unless it be consistent, and able to bear the strictest examination.

“*Jacobus Armachanus*. *Primordia* pag. 611, line 12.

“‘*Dal rieda* verò nomine *Hibernis* Comitatus *Antrimensis* tractus ille notus est quem *Route* appellamus.’

“(The remainder of the description corrected on page 1029)—‘*Ejus* limites a *Boisio* flumine usque ad *Crucem* de *Glandfinneaght* ad XXX. millia passuum protendi per literas mihi significavit nobilissimus *Antrimensis* Comes *Ranulphus*, nuper defunctus: ad id confirmandum vetere etiam hoc producto *Carmine* *Hibernico*.’

‘O bhuaip b’a n-epist ealca,  
Do epoir gleaia Fíneachta,  
Ag rin Dalriada na peann  
Díobbé ar eolaó ‘ran pheapann.

“‘*Quod* *Patricius Dunkinus* *Latine* ita reddidit:

‘*Terra sita à Boisio fluvio, Dalræda vocatur,  
Glenfinnaght (quisquis novit) ad usque Crucem.*’

“‘That tract of the County of *Antrim* which we call *Route* was known to the Irish by the name *Dalrieda*. *Ranulph*, the most noble Earl of *Antrim*, lately deceased, communicated to me by Letter that it extended 30 miles from the River *Boisius* to the Cross of *Glandfinneaght*: This old Irish Rann being also produced in confirmation of it—

‘From the *Buais* over which flocks do fly  
To the Cross of the valley of *Finneachta*,  
That is *Dalrieda* of *Divisions*,  
To him who knows the land.’

“Now, if the *Buas* be (as *Keating*, *O’Flaherty*, and *Charles O’Conor*, in his Map called *Scotia Antiqua*, make it) the now *Lagan*, which *O’Flaherty* says is the boundary between *Down* and *Antrim*, *Dalrieda*, according to this statement, extended from the Southern boundary of the county of *Antrim* 30 miles northwards, and therefore contained the mountain *Mis* and the large valley of *Arcaill*; but *Ussher* says (page 881) that

the mountain *Mis* and the valley of Arcaill were situate in the northern part of Dalaraida!

"Again, supposing that Keating, O'Flaherty and O'Connor were mistaken, and that the River *Buas* is not the now *Lagan*, but (as Lanigan and Harris think) the River Bush in the north of Antrim, let us see how these statements will agree.

"*Dalrieda* extended 30 miles from the River Bush to the Cross of Glenfinneaght.' If the River Bush be its western boundary, it cannot extend 30 miles *East*, because the greatest breadth of the Co. of Antrim is 24 Irish miles. (See Map.)

"It is to me surprising that Harris, Seward, or Lanigan have not discerned this manifest contradiction. They all copied from Ussher, without examining the inconsistency of his statement; and from the similarity of *Buas*, or *Boisius*, to *Bush*, they took it for granted that they were the same. Lanigan (vol. i. pp. 216, 217) illustrates this statement of Ussher's after a very stupid manner (if a stupid illustration can be a logical expression). He says (note 24, p. 217):—

"According to a statement in Ussher's *Primordia*, page 1029, *Dalrieda* stretched 30 miles from Glenfinnaght (one of the Antrim Glynnes in the eastern part of the county) to the River Bush. The Rev. Mr. Dubourdieu, in his excellent work (*Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim*, p. 4), extends the *Routes* (supposed to be the old *Dalrieda*) more to the West, viz., as far as the River Bann.'

"Here Lanigan says, without referring to any authority, that Glenfinnaght is one of the Antrim Glynnes in the eastern part of the county. Now, taking any Glen in the County of Antrim, the greatest distance between it and the River Bush cannot possibly be more than 18 Irish miles! Even Mr. Dubourdieu, who extends the *Routes* as far *west* as the River Bann, does not make it extend 30 miles.

"Ussher's statement of the extent of *Dalrieda* is extremely curious and valuable, though not satisfactory: his authority (Randal, Earl of Antrim), and the manner in which he obtained the information, are extremely interesting. In reading this note it occurred to me that Ussher was induced to insert this information respecting *Dalriada* into his book, to commemorate his having saluted the Earl of Antrim and his Lady on the very day in which he wrote it, for he says (p. 1029):—

"*Totam verò Dalroth sive Dalrede cum insulâ Rachlyn vel Rachrin illi objacente, Alano de Galway a Johanne Anglorum Rege & Hiberniæ Domino concessam olim fuisse, ex Archivis Regiis in arce Londinensi asservatis constat: quum utramque nunc jure possideat hæreditario Comes Antrimensis Ranulphus, Ranulphi memorati filius; quem ex Angliâ reversum, cum illustrissimâ suâ conjuge (magni illius Georgii Ducis Buckinghamiæ viduâ) hoc ipso quo hæc scribebamus die in sedibus Vicecomitis Mori Mellifontinis salutavimus.*

"That the whole of *Dalroth* or *Dalrede*, with the Island of Rachlyn, or Rachrin opposite to it, was formerly granted to Alanus of Galway, by John, King of the English and Lord of Ireland, appears from the Royal Archives preserved in the Tower of London; and both are now possessed by hereditary right by Ranulph (son of the Ranulph alluded to), whom, on his return from England with his most illustrious consort (widow of the great Duke of Buckingham), we have saluted on the very day in which we have written these words, in the house of Lord Moore of Mellifont.'

"All the Lives of St. Patrick quoted by Ussher place the mountain *Mis* in Dalaraida, and the most of them make Milco, St. Patrick's master, *king* (regulus) of that territory; and 'Fiech's Scholiast' calls him king of the northern part of Dalaraida. There is, however, an Irish poem composed by John O'Connell, Bishop of Kerry, that calls *Milco*, St. Patrick's master, King of Dal Riada, not Dal Araidhe:

Muicthe Mhilco Ríḡ Dál Reada  
Do gluar o'n Róim cap air b'ár raonad.

'The swine herd of Milco, King of Dal-Reada,  
Came back from Rome to ransom us.'

"So far am I held in suspense.

"Ussher (p. 1047), and from him Harris, said that in the name *Ardes*, a barony in the county of Down, east of Loch Cuan (see map), no *obscure footsteps* of the name *Araidia* remain. This is what induced Dr. O'Connor to say that Dalaraida was at this day called the *Ardes* (vide *supra*, p. 5). But the two names bear no affinity to one another, nor is *Ardes* a corruption or a mutilated form of *Dalaraida*. *Dál Araidhe* is the original Irish spelling, and *n* is sometimes prefixed to *Araidhe*, euphonise gratia, as appears from the Annals of Tigernach, from the Annals of Ulster, of the Four Masters; also from Keating's History of Ireland (printed vol., pp. 168 and 318), and from that excellent work of Duaid M'Firbis (p. 16) belonging to the Marquis of Drogheda.

"Venerable Bede (as quoted by Dr. O'Connor) says that *Dál* signifies *ditio*, *regio*, or *territorium*; but O'Flaherty, who undoubtedly was a most profound Irish scholar and historian, has given the following explanation of it (*Ogygia*, vol. ii., p. 220):—

"Bede explains *Dál* as a *PART* in the Scottish language; but it signifies with greater propriety an offspring after which tracts of country were denominated, and certain families, by subjoining the name of the original founder (as families are now distinguished by surnames) as *Dalgais*, *Dal-Araidh*, *Dal-Fiatach*, *Dal-Riada*, that is, the Cassian family, the Aradian family, the Fiatachian family, the Riedan, or Riedinan family.'

"*Dál Araidhe* (pronounced *Dál Aree*) signifies the descendants of *Araidhe*, King of Emania, of whom Tigernach, Abbot of *Clonmacnois*, speaks in his Annals:

"A. D. 236, *Fiada Araidhe regnat an 'Eman, Annis X. Bellum oc Potáipb Muirtheimne.*

"*Meabuiz pe Cormac h-Uí Cusno 7 pe Fiacha Muillithan, Ríḡ Máman, pop Cpuicniu 7 pop Fiacha Araidhe, ubi et ipse cecidit ut alii aiunt.*

"A. D. 226. *Fiacha Aree* reigns in Emania for X years, A Battle at Fothard Muirtheimne [in Co. Louth]. The victory was gained by Cormac, grandson of Con. and by Fiacha Muillithan, King of Munster, over the Cruthinians [Picts] and *Fiacha Aree*, where he fell, as others say.'

"But the *Ardes* signifies the heights. In old Irish MSS. it is called *Ard Uladh*, i. e. the High lands of Ulidia (i. e. Down), and is Latinized *Altitudo Ultorum*, as appears from a quotation from the Life of St. Comgall, given by Ussher in *Primordia*, page 611: '*Constituit magnum monasterium quod vocatur Beanchor in regione qua dicitur Altitudo Ultorum.*'

"He founded a great monastery, which is called Beanchor, in the district which is called *Altitudo Ultorum.*'

"Ir 6 Comgall do éogair Maimurur beaithair n-Arb Ulað  
ra maitair do Maimururadair Eorpa uile. Keating (printed vol.  
p. 68.)

"It is Comgall founded the Monastery of Bangor in *Ard Uladh*, which  
is the mother of all the monasteries in Europe."

"One authority more occurs to me in confirmation of the name. It is  
a *rann* composed by Aengus na n-aér [O'Daly] to ridicule Savage, whose  
territory it was.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. O'Daly supplied the *rann*, as follows :—

Arb Ulað gann, gortad,  
Cin gan aoidneap, gan aipinn;  
Mac an t-Sabairig, an cnoðaire Gaill,  
Fear corgaric bairnead le h-aipinn.

'Ard-Uladh destitute, starving,  
A district without delight—without mass,  
Where the son of Savage, the English hangman,  
Slaughters barnacles with a mallet.' "

*Tribes of Ireland*, pp. 60-67.

## ON AN OGHAM CHAMBER AT DRUMLOGHAN, IN THE COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

BY WILLIAM WILLIAMS, ESQ., DUNGARVAN.

THE Decies of Waterford are rich in primæval remains,  
such as ogham monuments, Pagan temples, Pagan altars,  
raths, carns, rock-basins, and, though last not least,  
"cloghers"—a class of objects which, as it appears to me,  
form the very A, B, C, of Irish Archæology. I had intended  
to offer a few brief remarks on each of these subjects; but,  
considering the limited space at the disposal of the Editors  
in the first issue of the new Series of the "Journal," it has  
been considered better to confine the present Paper to an  
important discovery recently made in this locality.

The townland of Drumloghan, which is on the property  
of Mrs. Bernal Osborne, is eight miles from Dungarvan,  
three from Kilmacthomas, and two from the village of  
Stradbally. The public road from Dungarvan to Waterford  
passes through the bog of Drumloghan, cutting off a small  
portion, which forms a deep valley on the western side.  
At the northern extremity of this valley is a gentle  
eminence, which is crowned by an elliptical enclosure, the  
longer diameter of which is one hundred and thirty-six,

the shorter one hundred and twenty feet. At first sight it looks like a liop, but such it is not: the usual external trench is wanting, and there is, besides, traditionary evidence that it is a *cealúnac*, that is to say, an ancient cemetery, if not actually of Pagan origin, at least long disused, except for the interment of unbaptized children, suicides, and any others not considered entitled to burial in consecrated ground.

Passing out of the old cemetery to the west, the eye is at once attracted by the remains of a broad circular rampart. This external ring appears to have been concentric with the cemetery, and of about thrice its diameter. It can be easily traced from N. to S. E. ; and although the remainder is now quite obliterated, I have no doubt that originally it surrounded the cemetery. Nay, more, fortified by the presence of the ogham cave, shortly to be described, and of a fine rock-basin which lies at a few yards distance from the cemetery, I have no hesitation in stating that this great external ring was an open-air Pagan temple. Mr. William Quealy, a very intelligent and obliging young man, on whose land the cemetery is situated, and who, too, gave practical proof that he is no stranger to the exercise of the national virtue of hospitality, directed his men, a few weeks since, to demolish the remains of the external fence above referred to. In the progress of the work they came upon a long stone which crossed the foundation of the fence ; and having noticed some earth to fall into the ground by its side, they removed it, and found underneath a moderately large chamber, which contained nothing but loose earth and a few small stones. Having failed to turn up the much-coveted *hoard of gold*, they proceeded with the work of demolition, and took little further notice of the matter. Intelligence of this important discovery having been brought me a few days later, I visited the spot in the month of August last, and was agreeably surprised at finding that the chamber thus accidentally broken into was an ogham cave, similar in its architectural character to the one discovered some thirty years since at Dunloe, in Kerry, but differing from it in some few unimportant details.

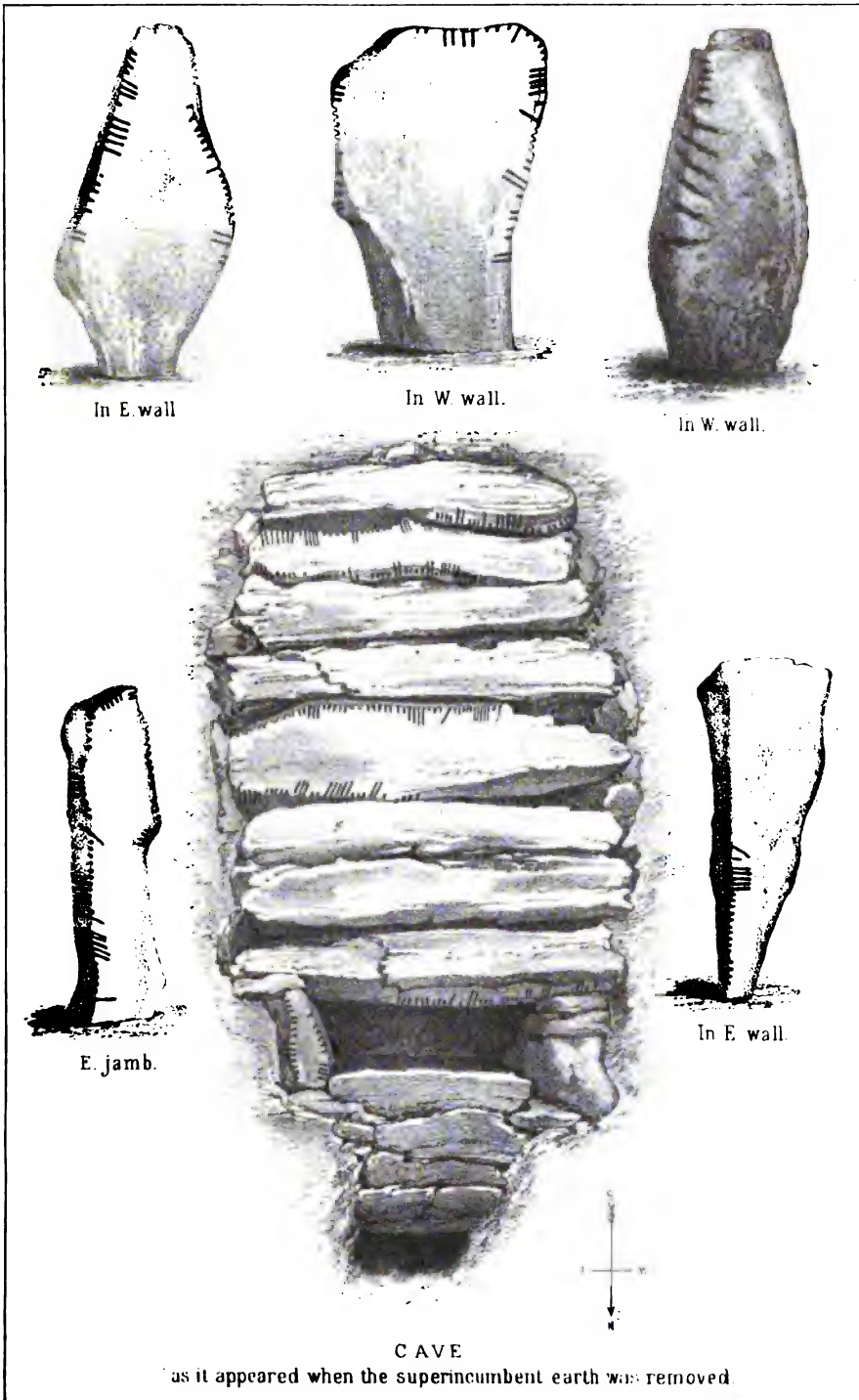
The new *find*, which lies due north and south, is an ob-



long chamber, not curved like the Dunloe one. It is very rudely constructed, without any kind of bond or cement, and measures internally eleven feet in length, five feet in width, and four feet in height. Both end walls are built of small undressed surface stones. Each of the side walls is formed of seven rough pillars, of unequal heights, the shorter ones being supplemented by small stones, and any open spaces between them filled up with the same kind of materials as those used in the end walls. The roof is formed of eight long stones, averaging five feet in length, and resting horizontally on both side walls; and when finally covered over with earth, the structure must have risen to a height of three feet or so over the level of the field. It was not, however, left so exposed: the broad circular fence, now partially demolished, passed directly over the roof, thus completely screening it from observation, and effectually protecting it from external injury. It would appear that the architect of the Dunloe cave took similar measures for the protection of that structure; for it will be remembered, that, as in the present case, it was the removal of an old fence that led to its discovery. Another curious coincidence is, that in this case, also, one of the roof-stones is cracked, though not supported internally like the Dunloe one. Hitherto I could discover no trace of a passage by which the chamber could be entered; but, as there was a quantity of earth lying on the floor, I felt little doubt that its removal would solve the mystery; and seeing also that, in the then circumstances of the structure, it was impossible to get a view of a considerable portion of the ogham marks, I pointed out the difficulty to Mr. Quealy, who entered into my views with an amount of alacrity and intelligence that would do credit to a veteran archæologist. Having summoned an old *seanchaidh* who fills the important post of cow-herd on the farm, we directed him to lower the earth before the open end of the cave, and to remove the earthen covering of the roof; but strictly cautioned him on no account to disturb even the smallest stone of the structure. My second visit was made on the 18th of September, when I found the necessary clearings far advanced. In the space of one hour or so I had the roof completely denuded of its earthen covering, and the earth

and stones lying on the floor of the chamber thoroughly examined and cleared out. It was ordinary yellow clay, without the least admixture of any foreign substance.

The total absence of human remains here will seriously affect, if, indeed, it do not completely upset, the theory of the *sepulchral* character of this class of structures, notwithstanding the *accidental* circumstance of the presence of such remains in the solitary instance of the Dunloe cave. The promised New Zealand Archæologist, having finished his sketches of the ruins of St. Paul's, may, perchance, happen to visit Kilkenny, and would probably find abundance of human remains within the precincts of the sacred ruins of St. Canice's; but should he thence conclude that it was originally a great mausoleum, would he not err? Christians in every age, actuated by feelings which we can readily understand, have longed to be buried near the shrines at which they worshipped during life; and, as there is nothing new under the sun, it can be hardly doubted that the Pagans of old would desire to have their remains deposited in places connected with religious worship, and to which the odour of sanctity attached. The original entrance to the cave was now readily discovered at the northern end of the chamber. It is twenty-one inches square, on the same level with the floor of the cave, and formed of small flags. It was quite full of earth; runs N. and S. a distance of four feet, and there curves inwards towards the cemetery. This was indispensable, in order that the opening of the passage might be clear of the overlying rampart; and the circumstance seems to favour the belief that the construction of the rampart was coeval with that of the chamber. All obstacles being now cleared away, we replaced the lintel stone which the labourers had removed, and set to work. A young friend who accompanied me made the sketches from which the accompanying illustration has been obtained, while I was occupied in making a careful transcript of the ogham inscriptions, nine in number. Four of the inscribed stones are in the roof, three in the east wall, and two in the west wall, all of which are figured in the accompanying Plate. It need be hardly remarked, that in such a sketch a portion only of the ogham marks could be shown; but in dealing with the inscription, as I





have done in a former communication, they were given in full. I visited the cave a third time on the 18th of September last, in company with Messrs. George M. Atkinson, of London, and Richard R. Brash, of Cork. On this occasion I had an opportunity of comparing my own transcript of the ogham marks with one made independently by Mr. Brash, and had the satisfaction to find that we tallied in every thing, *as far as the latter went*. The disposition of the inscribed stones in this structure is very instructive. Some of those in the roof have their bases to the east, whilst the bases of others are turned towards the west. Again, some have the inscribed face upwards, whilst others have them turned downwards. The same may be said of the pillars in the side walls: some have their bases uppermost, and, in consequence, a portion of the inscribed tops buried in the floor; while, in both the roof and side walls, two inscribed stones are sometimes found so close to each other as to render it exceedingly difficult to see the marks, and impossible that any kind of graving tool could reach them in their present position. All this proves clearly that the stones were inscribed before being built into this structure—a truth which is powerfully corroborated by the appearance of the monuments themselves, some of which are so much weather-worn as to lead to the irresistible conclusion that the inscriptions were many centuries old when placed in their present position. In a word, the most ordinary observer, who will take the trouble of examining this chamber, cannot fail to be impressed with the conviction that these inscribed stones were not considered of any literary value by the architect, and that he treated them as mere building materials. If this chamber formed an integral portion of a Pagan temple, as I trust in a former Paper<sup>1</sup> to have placed beyond doubt, the vexed question of the “age of ogham writing” may be looked on as settled, even without the aid of the clear internal evidence furnished by the inscriptions themselves.

<sup>1</sup> *Paper*.—The Paper, to which reference is here made, will be found in the second series of this “Journal,” Vol. vi., amongst the Proceedings of the October Meeting for the year 1867; at which the forego-

ing description of the Drumloghan ogham chamber was also read in a slightly different form—thus securing to Mr. Williams the credit of being the first to announce the discovery.—ED.

REMARKS ON A CLASS OF CROMLEACS FOR WHICH THE  
NAME "PRIMARY," OR "EARTH-FAST," IS PROPOSED.

BY GEORGE V. DU NOYER, M. R. I. A.,

District Officer, H. M. Geological Survey of Ireland.

IN my "Remarks on a Kistvaen and some Carvings on an 'Earth-fast' rock, County of Louth," published in our "Journal," vol. v., second series, p. 499, I observed—"moreover, I believe I can show that we possess two distinct varieties of cromleac." The object of the present Paper is to illustrate and explain this remark.

In inductive reasoning, we must assume something at starting. Thus, I have given the name "primary" to that peculiar kind of cromleac, which consists of one large slab or block, one end or side of which rests on the ground, the other being raised from it, and supported in a slanting position by one or more smaller blocks.

I do not adopt the name "primary" for this peculiar class of megalithic structures in a *chronological* sense, as such would be incapable of proof; but I do so on the theory of progressive structural development, which naturally suggests, that the more simple the structure or form, the more remote its age; and those who have studied the megalithic structures of our own Island and of western Europe admit that they are not all of one period, though they are most probably the works of one race.

In the summer of 1866, I found, in the demesne of Headfort, at Kells, Co. Meath, a large subangular block of grey silurian grit, measuring 9' 6" + 6' 0" + 8' 8", the southern side of which rests on the ground, while the northern is tilted up, and is supported on a single, small, and somewhat angular block of the same material (see Plate facing this page, fig. 1). At first the true character of this structure was not apparent to me, and I described it in my paper on the Waterford cromleacs as an example of an unfinished and abandoned cromleac. Subsequent examination into this subject led me to abandon this idea, and I am now convinced that the Headfort cromleac is a most interesting example of a hitherto unrecognized class

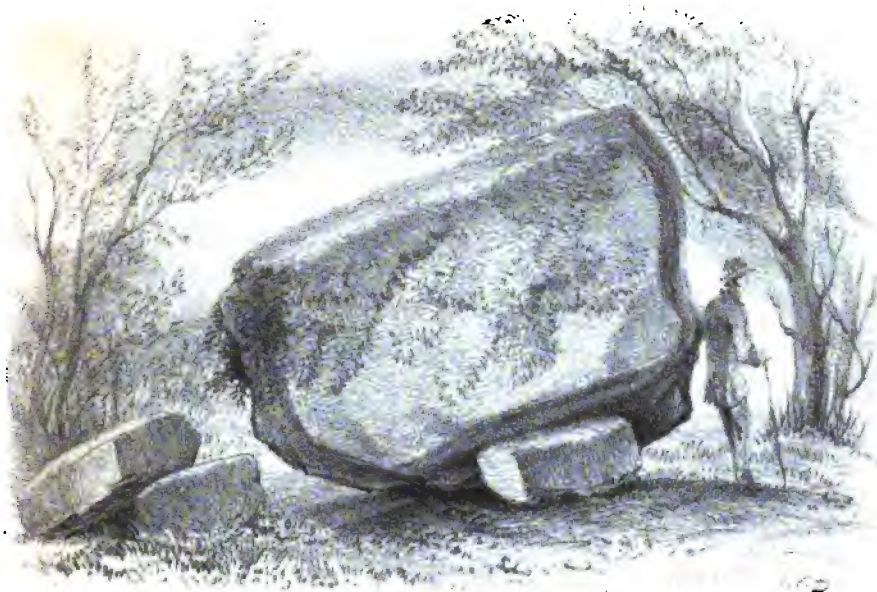
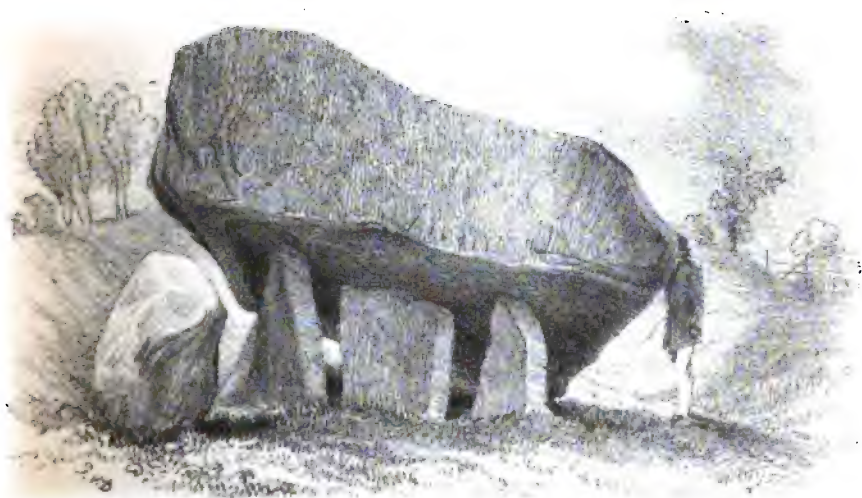


FIG. 1. PRIMARY CROMLEAC, HEADFORT DEMESNE, KILLS, CO. MEATH



Engraved by J. G. ...

FIG. 2. PRIMARY CROMLEAC, MT. BROWN NEAR CARLOW.





of such remains, and I therefore place it first in the illustration and description of "primary" or "earth-fast" cromleacs.

On applying to the Marquis of Headfort, his Lordship communicated to me the following particulars regarding this cromleac :—

"The only information I can give you is as follows :—the large block of rock to which you allude was originally covered up, but *not* in a *tumulus*, to the best of my knowledge. When the approach to the house was made, about 120 years ago, the ground was *levelled*, which concealed this large rock. The soil is of a gravelly nature, and an old gravel pit lies within a few yards of this rock. I believe there is not a person now alive in Kells, or its vicinity, who can throw any further light upon this subject. No bones or relics of any kind have ever been found about or near the stone."

From the foregoing, it would appear that this cromleac was originally enveloped in sand and gravel—an *apparent* fact which I have much pleasure in handing over to the consideration of those antiquaries of the Danish school, who hold that *all* cromleacs, or "dolmens" were once thus covered up and concealed.

The next illustration (see Plate facing p. 42, fig. 3) represents the "primary" or "earth-fast" cromleac of Rathkenny, Co. Meath. Its general similarity to that at Headfort is at once apparent, but it is a far finer example of rude constructive skill. The inclined slab measures  $10' 10'' + 8' 6'' + 3' 0''$ , it slopes to the N. N. E. at an angle of  $37^\circ$  to the horizon, and rests against an angular undressed block of grit, measuring four feet above the ground, and  $2 + 1' 6''$  at its sides.

The upper surface of the large stone is profusely covered with small cup-shaped hollows, some of which may be natural, and due to unequal weathering away of the calcareous portion of the grit; but many of them are certainly artificial.

Near the lower edge of this slab, and over the space between the cup-hollows, there are numerous scraped oghamic looking "graffiti," many of which are somewhat similar in character to those markings on the "earth-fast" rock at Ryefield, Co. Cavan, which I have already figured and described in our "Journal." The under surface of this stone is ornamented near its N. W. angle by a

group of seven small circles, produced by rude punchings; the largest measures nine inches, and the smallest four and a half inches in diameter. The supporting stone of this cromleac is similarly decorated on its inner face by another group of semicircles, equal in size, but differently arranged to the former. My friend, Mr. Eugene Conwell, has described this singularly interesting "earth-fast" cromleac, and fully illustrated it from my sketches in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy;" vol. ix. p. 541; and he has there expressed his conviction, that this remain was never more perfect than as we now see it—an idea in which I fully concur.

The third example of this class of cromleacs is that at Mount Brown, within one mile and a half of Carlow (see Plate, facing p. 40, fig. 3). This magnificent block of granite measures  $22' 10'' + 18' 9'' + 4' 6''$  and is inclined at an angle of about  $35^\circ$  to the horizon, being supported most securely on three upright blocks of granite of unequal height, whereby the top stone is made to incline in such a way as to rest on the ground at only one angle.

For another example of these cromleacs I would refer to a Paper by the Rev. James Graves, "Journal" (vol. i. first series, p. 130), in which he describes and figures an "earth fast" structure of the class now under consideration, near Jerpoint Abbey, in the county of Kilkenny, called Clough-na-gower.

The last illustration is that of the so-called ruined cromleac at Mount Venus, county Dublin, (see Plate facing this page, fig. 4). Beyond a question this remain is a genuine "primary," or "earth-fast" cromleac, and is as fine an example of its type as we possess in Ireland. The two enormous blocks forming it are of granite, the larger inclined stone being about  $18' + 8' + 4'$ ; the upright stone against which it rests being about eight feet above the ground, and over three feet square. I regret I have not the exact measurements of those blocks; but these given are not very far astray.

In point of construction, this cromleac very closely resembles that at Rathkenny, as will be apparent by reference to the illustrations.

There are many other examples of this kind of cromleac

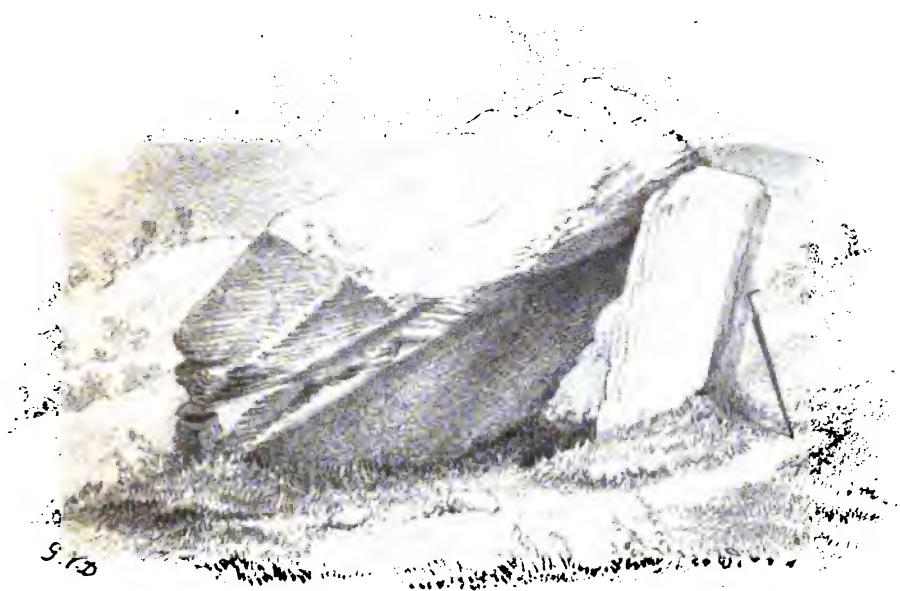
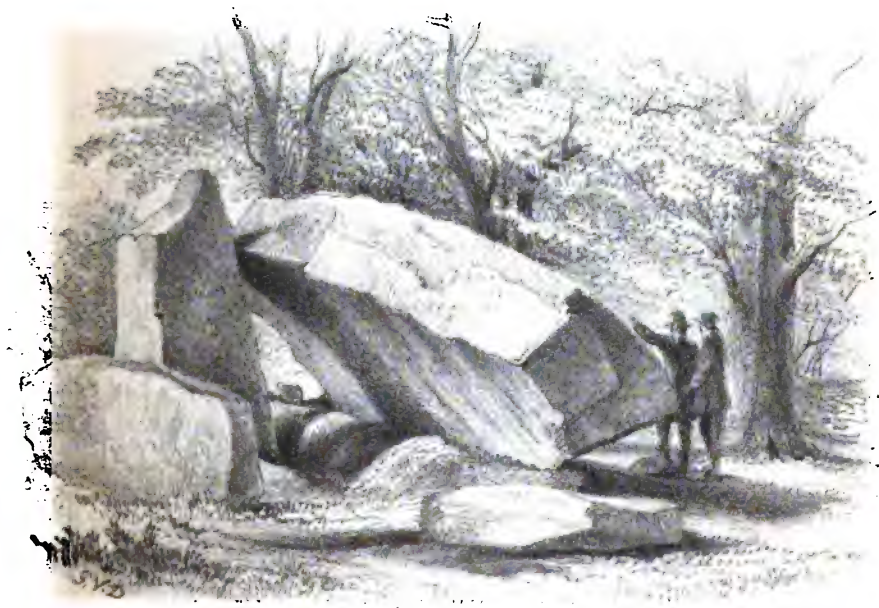


FIG. 3. PRIMARY CROMLEAC, PATHKENNY, CO. MEATH.



Engraved by J. G. Keble

FIG. 4. PRIMARY CROMLEAC, MT. VENUS, CO. DUBLIN.



in Ireland, but their true character has invariably been overlooked, and they have all been regarded as ruined cromleacs of the normal type.

Amongst our "earth-fast" cromleacs must be classed that at Ballylowra, in the parish of Jerpoint Church, figured and described by the Rev. James Graves, in our "Journal," (vol. i., first series, p. 130). The writer states that the covering stone rests in a sloping position against *three* of the upright stones on which it had been originally poised; the covering stone measures  $12'' + 8' 6'' + 3''$ , the highest part of it being now<sup>1</sup> nine feet from the ground. That this remain was ever a true cromleac of the normal type is by no means certain; though it is not impossible that such might have been the fact.

It is, of course, quite possible, that the covering stone of a cromleac of the fully developed type, might, under certain circumstances, slip from off its supports; most probably those smaller stones at its depressed end would be the first to give way, as they received the excess of weight of the covering stone. I cannot help thinking, however, that when this event took place, the causes and forces which first induced the shaky condition of the entire fabric would have so weakened it throughout, that the supporting stones against which the enormous covering block *grated* in its fall from mid-air, would have been crushed, or at least overthrown in the general ruin, and the whole fabric would have fallen, prone, like a house built of cards.

Such an event as I have supposed is well exemplified by studying the condition of the really *ruined* cromleac, on the south bank of the Glen of the Potter's river, near the road to Arklow, Co. Wicklow, which I have figured and described in my "Antiquarian Sketches," in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. This cromleac was erected on the sloping bank of the river, and the rain of ages gradually washed away the earth in which the upright supporting stones had been sunk, till at last they became undermined, and were no longer able to bear the weight of the large block resting on them; the whole structure then fell to

<sup>1</sup> Now.—This cromleac unfortunately no longer exists, having been broken up and

removed some years ago by the occupier of the land.—Ed.

the earth, a mass of *mindless* ruin. Not so with reference to the "earth-fast" cromleacs, such as I have illustrated; their so-called ruins are, on the contrary, full of *preconceived* design; they embody *an intention*, rude though it is, in conception and execution.

I admit that if we had but one example of what I call a "primary," or "earth-fast" cromleac, it would be hazardous to form a theory from it; but when we have numerous objects of this class, it requires but a little consideration and exercise of reasonable imagination to perceive that we are dealing with a class of objects in themselves perfect.

I confidently assert, that in the example of "primary," or "earth-fast" cromleacs, which I now illustrate, there is not the least evidence for the supposition that any of them had been originally constructed after the fashion of what we may call the normal cromleac; on the contrary, it is very evident that they are now as perfect as they were ever intended to be—minus the effects of atmospheric action.

"Primary," or "earth-fast" cromleacs, are found in Scotland and Wales; in the former, the finest and most remarkable example in existence is that at Bonnington Mains, Mid Lothian, figured and described by Professor Wilson, in his admirable work on the "Prehistoric Remains of Scotland," vol. i., p. 26. This enormous rounded boulder rests at an angle of, possibly, 50°, on a single supporting stone of about six feet in height above the ground, and at a point distant from its raised end about one-third of its entire length. This structure was never different in form to what it is at present, and is not a ruined cromleac, as has been supposed.

In the "Archæologia Cambrensis" for January, 1867, p. 62, Mr. Owen describes and illustrates a cromleac at Llandegni, as an example of a *ruined* cromleac. This remain, on the contrary, belongs to the class of structure I am describing: it consists of a single large tabular slab, raised and supported, at one end only, by two small blocks, placed as far apart as possible, and, therefore, close to the outer ends of the inclined slab. If this table-stone was ever poised in air, like an ordinary cromleac, the loftier supporting stone must have fallen, and been most carefully removed;

and, even thus, its altitude from the ground would have been so trifling as to have rendered it quite unlike any structure of its class.

In my Paper on the Waterford cromleacs, already alluded to, I directed attention to an example of what I called an unfinished and abandoned cromleac on the side of the glen, just below Ballyphilip Bridge; such was my idea on this subject at the time: but further insight into the matter has caused me to alter it. This remains an example of a "primary, or 'earth-fast' cromleac."

In the month of March, 1867, after I had this Paper in nearly its present form, I forwarded to Col. Forbes Leslie proof impressions of the lithographs which illustrate it. From his reply I select the following passage:—

"On examining your lithographs of 'primary cromleacs,' an idea occurred to me, that they never have been, and never were intended to be *altogether* supported by stones, but that one side or end was intended to rest on the ground; and these would well deserve the name of 'primary cromleac,' as you suggest, their prototype having been the natural altars—'earth-fast stones'—which were, until lately, perhaps in some cases still are regarded with veneration. In case you may not have Borlase's 'Cornwall' at hand, I send you a sketch, taken from that work, of one of these natural altars. I recollect that the great Dolmen, on the plain near Loc-maria-ker, in Britany, has one side resting on the ground."

It is gratifying to find so accomplished an author and accurate an observer of Celtic remains agreeing to, and corroborating the ideas which I had formed on the subject of "primary," or "earth-fast" cromleacs; and I have every reason to hope that the theory will stand the test of future criticism. In all I have written with reference to our cromleacs, I have but one object in view, that of arriving at some definite truth regarding them; and if my ideas on this subject are not correct, I shall be the first to abandon them.

I now leave the subject of "primary" or "earth-fast" cromleacs, to be more fully examined into by those who have more leisure, and a better opportunity of studying it than I can have, recording my belief, that these remains merit a more careful examination than has yet been given to them under the impression that they are but *ruined cromleacs* of the normal type, whereas they are a distinct

class of Megalithic structures, and possibly indicate the very earliest efforts at positive construction, attempted by the erectors of the "menhirs" and "dolmens" of the continent, and the "gallauns" and "cromleacs" of the British Islands.

*Weights of the top stones of the following cromleacs :—*

Headfort, . . . . .	14 tons.
Rathkenny, . . . . .	19 "
Ballyphilip, . . . . .	12 "
Mount Brown, . . . . .	110 "
Knockeen, . . . . .	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Gaulstown, . . . . .	6 "
Ballynageeragh, . . . . .	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

The weight of the first four has been determined by W. S. W. Westropp, Esq., and that of the last three by James Budd, Esq. It will be perceived that the top stones of the "primary" cromleacs are much heavier than those of the normal class.



## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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AT the GENERAL MEETING, held in the apartments of the Association, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April the 15th (by adjournment from the 1st), 1868,

J. H. BRACKEN, Esq., C. I., in the Chair,

The following new Members were elected :—

The Rev. Humphrey Lloyd, D. D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin ; the Rev. J. W. Hardman, LL. D., Blockley-court, near Bristol ; Thomas Drew, Esq., Architect, Dublin ; Joseph Nolan, Esq., Cong, county Mayo, and Joseph Duggan, Esq., M. R. C. S., Turloughmore, Athenry : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

T. Anslie Lunham, Esq., Ardfallen, Cork ; Frederick Wakeman, Esq., Enniskillen, and William H. Patterson, Esq., Dundela, Strandstown, Belfast : proposed by R. Day, Jun., Esq.

Rev. A. Macbride, North Bute, Rothsay, N. B. : proposed by Mr. John O'Daly.

John Hollwey, Esq., C. E., Prospect House, Kilkenny, and William J. Bayly, Esq., 5, Henrietta-street, Dublin : proposed by Mr. Prim.

Michael Kelly, Esq., J. P., Dundalk, and George Putland, Esq., Bray Head : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Edward Rossborough Floyd, Esq., A. B., L. R. C. S. I., Edgeworthstown : proposed by G. V. Du Noyer, Esq.

Edward Byrne, Esq., Hollyville, Upper Rathmines, Dublin : proposed by Thomas O'Gorman, Esq.

William C. Seymour, jun., Esq., Willmount, Queens-town : proposed by George A. Atkinson, Esq.

Rev. William Kilbride, Aran Island, Galway : proposed by G. H. Kinahan, Esq.

James Bell, Esq., C. E., Malahide, county Dublin ; proposed by Thomas Drew, Esq.

George Henry Kinahan, Esq., Geological Survey of Ire-

land, Recess, Connemara, was elected Honorary Provincial Secretary for Connaught.

C. D. Purdon, Esq., M. D., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for Belfast.

The Rev. Samuel Hayman was elected Honorary Local Secretary for Doneraile, county Cork.

Maurice Lenihan, Esq., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for Limerick.

The Rev. J. Graves, Honorary Secretary, laid before the Meeting the sheets of the Association's "Journal" for January, 1868—commencing the third series—which he said would be in the hands of the Members in a few days. The October Number for 1866 had been recently issued; and the "Journal" for 1867 would be got out with as little delay as possible, and would be issued simultaneously with the third series now commenced. It had been arranged that 1867 should form a volume in itself, as it would contain double the ordinary amount of matter, in order to conclude several papers which had been running through that Series, and dispose of all matter which had been hitherto brought before the Meetings. By this arrangement he hoped that all arrears of the "Journal" would soon be made good, and he trusted that those Members who were in arrear with their subscriptions would also clear off old scores.

The Auditors brought up the Treasurer's Account for 1866,<sup>1</sup> as follows:—

		CHARGE.		
1866.			£	s. d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .		196	7 8½
Dec. 31.	Annual Subscriptions, including those to Illustration Fund, . . . . .		204	11 6
	To Life Composition, . . . . .		5	0 0
	„ One year's Rent of land at Jerpoint, . . . .		1	0 0
	„ Cash received for "Journal" sold to Members, . . . . .		1	11 0
	„ Donation from the most Hon. the Marquis of Kildare, towards printing Kildare Rental, . . . . .		10	0 0
	„ „ from Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq., towards printing the Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy, . . . . .		2	14 6
	„ „ from Francis Wright, Esq., for engraving Saxon coin, . . . . .		0	12 6
			£421 17 2½	

<sup>1</sup> By a typographical error these accounts were referred to the year 1865, at p. 5, *supra*.

DISCHARGE.

1866.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Postage of "Journal," . . . . .	13	4	10
	" " of circulars and correspondence, . . . . .	11	9	1
	" Illustrations for "Journal," . . . . .	32	0	0
	" Printing, paper, &c., of "Journal" for January, April, and July, 1866, . . . . .	59	10	5
	" General printing and stationery, . . . . .	6	11	3
	" Commission to Dublin collector, . . . . .	0	13	3
	" Sundry expenses, . . . . .	3	7	6
	" Carriage of parcels, . . . . .	0	6	4
	" Books purchased, including early volumes of "Journal," . . . . .	14	8	4
	" Rent and caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey, . . . . .	2	0	0
	" Rent and Insurance of Museum, . . . . .	14	12	0
	" Transcribing original documents, . . . . .	3	8	6
	" Balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .	260	5	8½
		<hr/> £421 17 2½		

We have examined the Account, with Vouchers, and have found them correct, and that there is a balance of £260 5s. 8½d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

P. A. AYLWARD, }  
J. G. ROBERTSON, } *Auditors.*

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands ; with Notices of Lough Mask," by Sir William R. Wilde, M. D., Dublin, 1867: presented by the Author.

"Researches in the South of Ireland," by T. Crofton Croker, Esq., London, 1824 ; "A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," by Samuel Lewis, 2 vols., London, 1837 ; "Pacata Hibernia," by Thomas Stafford, London, 1633 ; "Anthologia Hibernica," 4 vols., Dublin, 1793-4 ; "The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," by James Bothwell, Esq., London, 1786 ; "A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland," by John Watkinson, M.D., London, 1777 ; "The Irish Penny Magazine," Dublin, 1833 ; "The Dublin Penny Journal," 4 vols., Dublin, 1832-6 (1st vol. in duplicate) ; "Antiquities of Ireland," by Edward Ledwich, LL. D., Dublin, 1803 ; "The History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion," London, 1680 ; "The History of the Life and Reign of William-Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, King of England, Scotland, France, and

Ireland, &c.," by Walter Harris, Esq., Dublin, 1749 ; "An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political," by Edward Wakefield, 2 vols., London, 1812 ; "Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Law and Practice in respect to the occupation of Land in Ireland," Part 3, Dublin, 1845 ; and "Irish Poems and Histories," MS. : presented by S. C. Hall, Esq.

Mr. Graves said, that whilst there were several very interesting and valuable works included in this presentation, and for which they were deeply indebted to Mr. Hall, he would allude at present to but one of them—the volume of Irish MSS. ; he had submitted it to a competent Irish scholar, and hoped to lay a full account of it before the Members at a subsequent meeting.

Two ancient silver coins found some time ago in taking down a portion of the wall of the old Castle of Ferns ; one was a groat of King Edward IV., of England ; the other a dollar of King John IV., of Portugal : presented by J. E. Mayler, Esq.

A very good specimen of the primæval flint arrow-heads which are found so frequently in the northern part of the county Antrim. The donor had found it when recently in that, his native district, on leave of absence : presented by Constable David Moore.

Three very interesting photographic views of the Cathedral of St. Canice—two interior and an exterior view of the west end : presented by T. R. Lane, Esq.

A drawing of a Roman coin—a brass of Gallienus in very perfect preservation, found last summer at the great Pagan cemetery of "Brugh na Boinne," near Drogheda. The donor pointed to the fact of Sir William Wilde having stated that a coin of Valentinian and one of Theodosius, found in the same locality some years ago, gave ground for interesting speculation in connexion with a possibility of an ancient rifling of the cemetery by the Romans : presented by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Mr. Graves reported a purchase which he had made for the Museum. He had given 10s. on behalf of the Association, for an ancient bronze pin, with moveable ring-head, found by a person whilst engaged in digging a grave in the churchyard of Kilree not far from the round tower. The

pin, although of rather rare ornamentation on the ring, was of a very usual form, as will be seen by the accompanying engraving ; but he deemed it proper to purchase it for the Museum, as being of interest from the locality in which it had been found. The finder was a workman in the employment of W. Phelan, Esq., Kellsgrange ; and that gentleman's nephew, Mr. Butler, had very commendably communicated to him (Mr. Graves) the fact of its having been discovered, in order that it might not be lost to the Society, in case they wished to obtain it. It was much to be desired that Mr. Butler's example in this respect should be generally followed, as thus ancient remains, often of comparatively little interest except from the place of their discovery, would be prevented from being sent out of the locality which gave the interest to them : and the finders, too, would be benefited, as they were likely to have much better terms from this Association than from the itinerant pedlars, or even the jewelers in the neighbouring towns, to whom, otherwise, such matters would be sold.

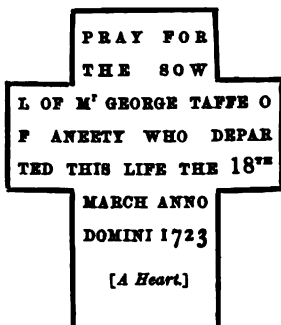
Mr. Kinahan commenced his official connexion with the Association, as Honorary Provincial Secretary for Connaught, by drawing attention—with the hope of thereby having something done for its preservation—to the state of St. M'Dara's Church, on "Illaun M'Dara." When Petrie visited it, previous to 1845, the church had a stone roof, quite entire. The roof was now gone ; and for the want of some little repairs the walls of the structure would be soon a complete mass of ruin, as the sides seemed ready to fall out. There were also pieces of beautiful old crosses which were being knocked about and likely to be entirely destroyed, which might be put together and preserved at a very slight expense. The property belonged to "The Law Life Assurance Society."

It was determined to ask Mr. Kinahan to make a more detailed report of the state of this ancient church, with the

view of taking such steps as might be deemed advisable for its better preservation.

Mr. Williams, Dungarvan, county Waterford, reported that Mr. Quealy, the owner of the farm on which the interesting Ogham chamber had been discovered at Drumloghan, as fully described by him (Mr. Williams) at a former meeting of the Society, had recently ploughed the field adjoining the cave, and turned up an iron instrument and fragments of a quern. Mr. Williams also reported that he had represented to Mrs. Bernal Osborne, the proprietor of the estate, the importance of having steps taken to preserve the structure, and that lady, accompanied by Lord Lismore and some other friends, had paid it a visit, and had given directions for the erection of a substantial stone house over it for its protection, whilst at the same time the skeleton of the chamber would be left exposed as it stands at present ; so that all future visitors can examine it with the fullest facility.

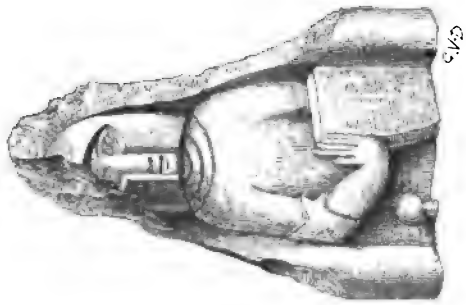
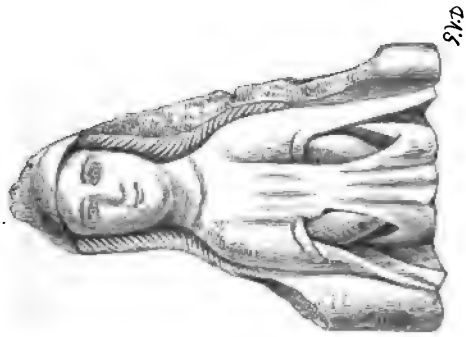
The Rev. G. H. Reade sent a drawing of a wayside cross, standing at the road side between Knockbridge and Louth, which was curious for the strange way in which some of the words of the inscription had been divided, as follows:—



The cross was of hard sandstone, and beneath the inscription, on the stem, was a representation of a human heart. It was said that the person to whose memory it was erected had been murdered.

The Rev. James Graves laid before the meeting a drawing which he had recently made of an interesting piece of sculpture that had

formerly formed a portion of the intercolumniations of the cloisters of Jerpoint Abbey, and which is accurately reproduced in the plate which faces the next page. The fragment of sculpture in question was at present placed as a "head-stone" to a grave in the chapel yard at Thomastown. The ancient altar-stone of Jerpoint Abbey, and numerous portions of the intercolumniation of the cloisters, had been removed early in the present century to the Roman Catholic



SCULPTURED FIGURES, FROM THE CLOISTERS, JERPOINT ABBEY.





place of worship at Thomastown. The altar-stone was still in the old chapel, and pieces of the cloister sculptures were built into it, and marked several of the graves in the chapel yard. Amongst the latter, the most interesting was the subject of his drawing. On either side was carved a figure, one of a knight, the other of a lady, placed back to back. The first was represented in armour, the helmet being particularly remarkable from the peculiar character of the cheek-plates and aperture for the eyes. The knight carried a small heater-shaped shield on his left arm, and the haft of his dagger, suspended on the right side, was just apparent, the figure being broken away from the thighs. The female figure was clothed in a loose dress, with long sleeves, having pockets in the sides, into which her hands were thrust. The head was covered with a plain kerchief, and the hair was in long plaits. He had submitted the drawing to Mr. Albert Way, the recognized authority in such matters, and had received the following letter from that gentleman, who at the time of writing it, was from home:—

“This sculpture is very curious, no doubt representing a benefactor to the fabric, and his wife. Do you know the approximate date of the cloisters of Jerpoint Abbey? The mouldings or forms of arch ought to fix this. I have no books here, and will not venture on fixing a period by the costume alone, for your Irish examples, in armour especially, are often anomalous, and not to be brought down to our established rules. We find the loose ungirded dress of ladies with pocket-holes at the sides in this fashion about the time of Edward III.; the head-dress was usually more enriched. This simple kerchief thrown over the head is, with us, a fashion of later date. The antique type of headpiece on the male figure, with cheeks and ocularia, is very uncommon; but I think I could find a mediæval example if I had my books at hand; it seems to be a reproduction of a classical fashion, possibly Greek. It is doubtful whether the circles on the neck may represent plates, and whether the elbow and forearm are covered by plate. I should, very much at a haphazard, say fourteenth century—probably before 1350. I fancy that in Ireland old armour was retained after new fashions had become established with us. Here is no sign of mail, unless the circles on the neck are intended for rows of mail, as is possible. The shield is apparently the small defence of the period that I have named. I should like to know *your* date of the architecture.”

Mr. Graves continued to remark, that the cloisters at Jerpoint were destroyed, but from fragments of the sculptures that had belonged to them, which were remaining in great numbers, there was no doubt that Mr. Way was right in assigning the armour and dress of the figures to the fourteenth century. The intercolumniations consisted of, each, two shafts connected by solid stone; in the space be-

tween the shafts, as in the case of the fragment now engraved, many curious sculptures were carved, some which served as responds, being carved only on one side. It was probable, therefore, that each ope of the cloister arcades was filled by three sub-arches with a solid pier between, as in the case of the still existing cloisters of Bective Abbey, county Meath. The bases and caps of the intercolumniations were carved with fourteenth century foliage, and on one of them was sculptured a squirrel, which, as that animal is not found in Ireland, would serve to show that some of the sculptures were the work of Englishmen.

Mr. Prim observed that there had formerly been in Thomastown chapel yard, amongst the fragments brought thither from Jerpoint Abbey, a sculpture apparently representing St. Michael, which struck him, when he saw it, as being particularly bold and vigorous in the execution. When he last visited the place, in company with Mr. Graves, on the occasion of his making the drawing now before the meeting, he could not find this figure of St. Michael. He hoped that it might yet be found, as fragments of this kind frequently became grown over by the churchyard sward, and were sometimes brought to light again in digging new graves.

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#### THE ROUND TOWER AND CHURCH OF DYSERT, COUNTY OF LIMERICK.

BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M. R. I. A.

THE Round Tower and Church of Carrigeen are situated in the townland of Carrigeen, in the parish of Dysert, barony of Coshma, and county of Limerick, and about one and a quarter mile from the small town of Croom, a station on the Charleville and Limerick railway. The buildings stand in a green field of little or no elevation, about a quarter of a mile from the main road.

THE ROUND TOWER.—The round tower stands at the north side of the church, from the wall of which it is distant ten feet. It presents an appearance of almost complete symmetry and proportion, the entasis, or batter, being most carefully designed and worked out. Some considerable portion of the upper part is wanting—at least one complete

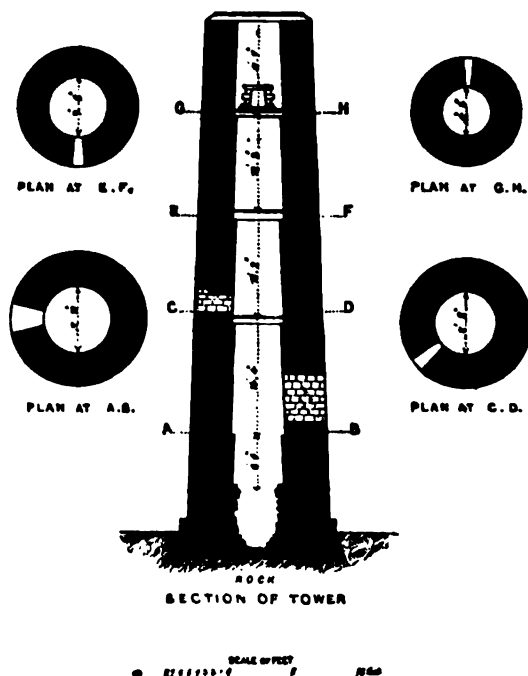
storey, and the conical roof-covering—as is evident from the fact, that the existing upper storey does not present the usual feature of the four windows facing the cardinal points, as is generally found in perfect examples of these monuments.

**MASONRY.**—The tower is based upon a foundation of limestone rock, which crops a little above the surface, the firmness of its substructure accounting for the perfect solidity of the superstructure, and the absence of all cracks and settlements in the walling. The material is limestone; the workmanship is of roughly squared rubble work with few spawls—stones of large size laid in courses, or nearly so, and accurately dressed to the curve, and batter, of tower.

The internal lining is of spawled rubble, also carefully dressed to its concave curve. The mortar is remarkably tenacious, being composed of various sized pebbles, grit-sand, and lime, indurated to a remarkable degree of hardness by its good proportions, aided by the influence of time. A specimen of this mortar accompanies my paper. The door and window dressings are of sandstone, of a bright red colour and fine quality; the stones are, as usual in round tower opes, remarkably well worked and close jointed.

**DIMENSIONS.**—The body of the tower rises from a base, or rather plinth, averaging twelve inches in height, and four inches offset or projection; its present height is sixty-five feet seven inches, measured from below the doorway to top of present eave; there is some little irregularity in the height on account of the inequality of the ground at the base. A section and plans of the several storeys are given in the engraving on next page. The circumference of the tower measured immediately above plinth, is fifty-four feet; its diameter at door-sill (internal) is seven feet ten inches, where the walling is four feet three inches in thickness; its diameter at extreme top is five feet six inches, and thickness of walling there three feet six inches: these dimensions give the ratio of batter on external face, as about one in twenty-six. I am inclined to think, from the thickness of the walling of this example, that it had been originally two storeys higher, which, allowing eleven feet for each storey, and fifteen feet for the conical roof covering, would

make this tower to have been one hundred and two feet in height; this inference is only reasonable when we find this structure to have a walling of three feet six inches, at



the height of sixty-five feet, while many other towers are no thicker in the first storey.

There are no internal string courses or corbals; the building is divided into five storeys, by four offsets taken off the thickness of the wall, and on which rested the original floors, whether of wood or stone; these offsets average five inches in width. The following are the heights of the storeys measured internally from offset to offset:—

Basement	Storey	in	height	15	feet	6	inches.
First	do.	do.	14	„	4	„	
Second	do.	do.	13	„	2	„	
Third	do.	do.	12	„	2	„	
Fourth	do.	do.	11	„	2	„	

It is worthy of remark, that the height of the storeys is regularly graduated from the bottom by about one foot

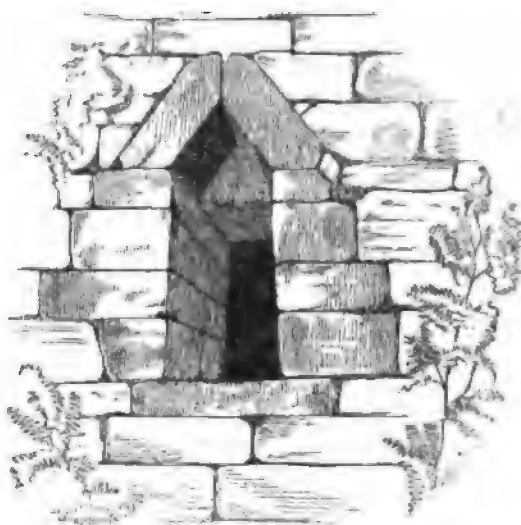
each storey, the basement storey being actually fifteen feet in height from the external ground, and probably was a little more originally. There is a peculiarity in the construction of our pillar towers, that had escaped the attention<sup>1</sup> of antiquaries until the publication of my account of the round tower of Cloyne, in the "Journal" of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society, Vol. ii., Second Series, and to which I would direct attention. If we take the thickness of the walling at plinth of tower, and if we deduct from it the depth of the offsets, and the amount of batter upon the face of the work, it would leave the thickness of tower wall at top little more than one foot, but it is actually three feet six inches, which apparent anomaly is accounted for by the fact, that the builders or architect of the structure caused the wall to increase in width internally as it rose above each offset, so that the thickness was maintained throughout with very little diminution. By this arrangement another point was gained; the wall all round hung inward, making the centre of gravity a line passing through the centre of the structure—a scientific principle well known to the experienced builders of factory chimneys, and such like erections. For illustration, I would refer to the sectional construction of a portion of a shaft, one hundred and seventy feet high, lately erected under my directions for carrying off the gases from Messrs. Goulding's Chemical Works, near Cork, and which is erected upon the same principle as the Round Tower of Dysert. And here I must remark, that the erectors of our pillar towers were no mean builders; the examination of a number of them, with that practical and professional scrutiny which only experience can give, has filled me on many occasions with admiration of their constructive skill and knowledge; and I have been led to ask—From whence did they derive their principles? Could they have brought them from a country where tower building had been understood and practised for ages? or were they the slow growth of experience and experiment? These are questions which

<sup>1</sup> This peculiarity was noticed by the authors of the "History, &c., of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice." See tabu-

lar view of the dimensions of the round tower there, p. 109, but no inference was drawn from it.—Ed.

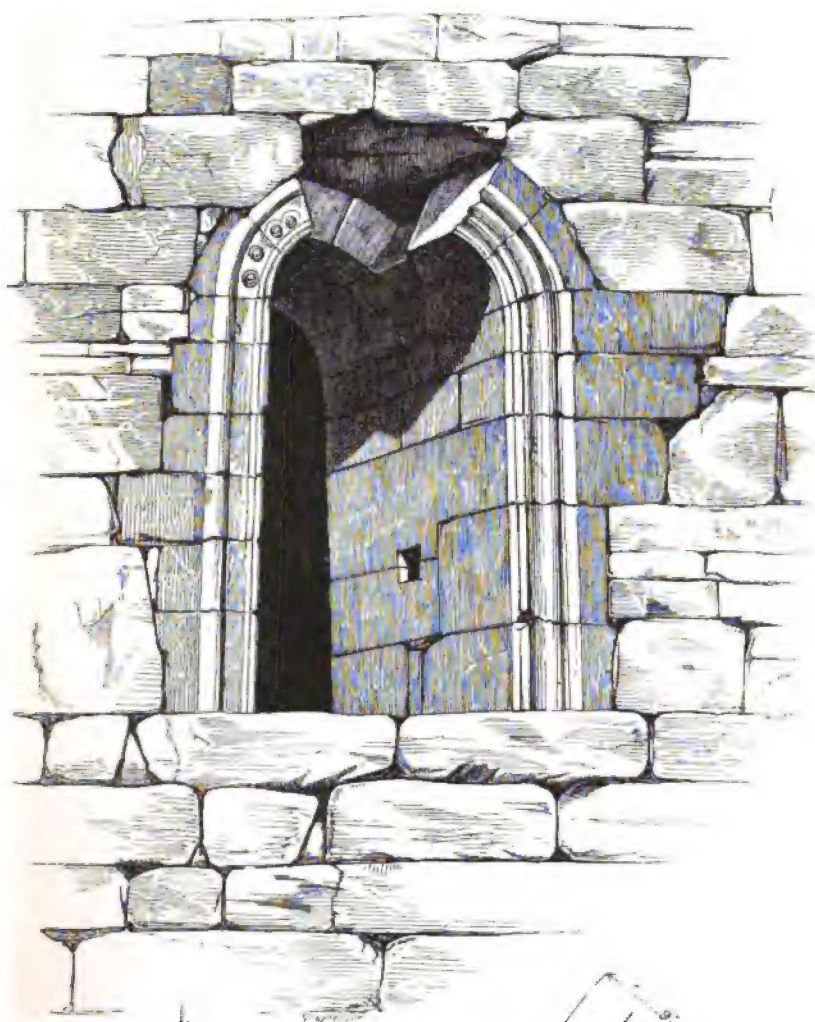
I fear can never be satisfactorily answered ; nevertheless they are in either case very suggestive of much speculation.

**EXTERNAL OPES.**—The upper surface of door-sill is fifteen feet above present ground line. The ope, as will be seen by the plate which faces this page, is semicircular-headed ; the jambs as usual converge towards the top ; the dressings are of large blocks of red sandstone ; its dimensions are as follow :—width of sill, two feet nine inches ; width at spring of arch, two feet five inches ; height to same, four feet five inches ; the internal width at sill is two and a half inches less than external width. There is a breach in the face of the arched head. There is no internal rebate, or any preparation for hanging a door, but there is a square hole or mortice in the centre of the jamb about two and a half inches square, as seen in the plate. The door faces east, or nearly so. About six

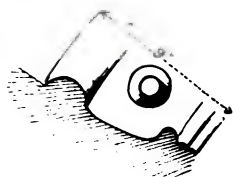


Window above second floor.

inches above the second floor is an angular-headed window, square internally, as represented in the accompanying engraving ; one foot six inches wide at sill, one foot two inches wide at spring of angular head, and three feet eight



BACK  
INSIDE MOULDING ROUND THE DOORWAY



DOOR OF THE ROUND TOWER OF DYSERT, CO. LIMERICK.





inches high from sill to apex. Six inches<sup>1</sup> over third floor is a semicircular-headed window ope facing south, one foot five inches wide at sill, one foot three inches at spring of arched head, and two feet eleven inches from sill to offset. Six inches above the fourth floor is a quadrangular window-ope facing north; width at sill, one foot six inches; at head, one foot four inches, and two feet six inches in height. The dressings of these windows are most carefully finished.

The base of this tower was formerly filled up to the level of the sill of doorway. In the year 1849, Mr. Luke Christy, the tenant of the lands of Carrigeen, had it excavated; the result of which he has kindly communicated to me. For the first three feet decayed vegetables, rubbish, dead birds, &c., were thrown out; from this to a depth of five feet from door sill, earth, with traces of mortar and some stones; at between four and five feet were found a quantity of human bones, imbedded in the earth, without any trace of coffin or covering whatsoever; these bones were in a very decayed state, and belonged to one body; there were only portions of the skull.

Within about six feet of the foundation was found "a well-made, solid floor of clay, cracked a good deal, with whitish marks through it, over a foot thick, and looking as if it had been subject to fire: under this came a sort of red clay filling, and then about two feet from the bottom another floor nearly the same as the first. Just above the rock we got a quantity of cherry stones." In clearing up the bottom it was found the rock was in quite a rough state, the foundation laid on it without any apparent preparation. Mr. Christy further states that some human bones, and a clinker, were found below the second clay floor. The occurrence of clay floors, and of floors of lime concrete, have been noticed in connexion with sepulchral remains found in round towers, as at Roscrea ("Etruria Celtica," vol. ii., p. 216); and at Clones ("Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. iv., p. 67).

This tower is known among the peasantry as the "Clo-

<sup>1</sup> This position of the windows is a most curious peculiarity of our round towers, and would make the several floors very uncomfortable to dwell in. The tower which stands close to the south transept

of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, is another case in point. See "History, Architecture, and Antiquities, of the Cathedral Church St. Canice," p. 112.—Ed.

gas a Carrigeen," or the "Clogas a Deesheart;" being sometimes called from the townland on which it stands, sometimes from the parish. As usual, its erection is ascribed to supernatural agency; it is a "Fas aon oidche," i. e. the work of one night—the builder, a witch, was disturbed from her work by an unexpected traveller passing that way at early morning; "only for that there is no knowing how high she would have built it, and sure there it is unfinished to this day." It is singular that local tradition refers the erection of most of our round towers to the "Witches," or "Good People." I have found the same myth localized at Abernethy, in Scotland, in reference to the tower there. This tradition is very prevalent in Eastern countries in reference to remarkable works. I shall give one instance out of many; it refers to the remarkable excavated temples at Ellora, and is as follows:—"According to the legend, Biskurina was the artist who fabricated the whole of these wonderful works, in a night of six months; but the cock crowing before they were finished, they remained imperfect" ("Asiatic Researches," vol. vi., p. 421). The facilities now afforded to the antiquary and traveller for an examination of this tower are owing to the thoughtfulness and liberality of the Earl of Dunraven, who has not only covered the tower with a leaded platform, but has placed a substantial floor in each storey, with ladders communicating from bottom to top. There is no holy well in the vicinity of the building.

THE CHURCH.—A ruined church stands south of the tower at only ten feet distance. It is a simple rectangle fifty-one feet long, and sixteen feet six inches wide. About twenty-six feet of the side wall, towards the east end, appear to be of some considerable antiquity by the character of the masonry, which is of large-sized rubble work of that peculiar character found in many of our ancient churches of the primitive type. This masonry is not of the same character as that in the tower, the stones being irregular, more polygonal, and not so carefully put together. The remainder of the walls, as well as the east gable, has been rebuilt at a much later period—when, it is impossible to say, as there is no feature in it that would determine its date. The only object worth noticing is a portion of an ancient

doorway remaining in the south wall, and consisting of one jamb, and a piece of the lintel. This doorway was quadrangular, with converging jambs. The dressings were of red stone cleanly worked; the lintel was a massive block covering the entire ope the full thickness of wall; the existing jamb is composed of five blocks, each the full depth of wall, which is about three feet in thickness. This doorway is not in the ancient portion of the building, but is in the modern addition. It is more than probable that it was the original west-end entrance of the ancient church, which, on its enlargement, was re-erected in its southern wall. The mutilation of this doorway, the finest of its type which I have yet seen, is greatly to be regretted, as it was evidently done for the sake of the material, the blocks of the left-hand jamb having been picked out of the wall, and the lintel broken in attempting to force it from its position.

There are no evidences of interments in or around the church. Some remains of the foundation of a massive wall which once inclosed the precincts of the church and tower are still in existence.

Few writers on our national antiquities or topography have noticed this tower; it is not in Ledwich's list, nor yet in the more careful one compiled by Mr. Wilkinson, in his "Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland." The late Dr. Petrie has not alluded to it in his valuable work. Fitz Gerald and M'Gregor notice it in their "History of the County and City of Limerick," vol. i., p. 332; their dimensions are, however, incorrect, and their description meagre and unsatisfactory. I am not aware of any other writer<sup>1</sup> who has recorded the existence of this structure, which omission will, I hope, be my excuse for wishing to place on the records of our Association a description of this interesting monument.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Braas is correct so far as our *published* antiquarian works are concerned, but the tower and church of Dysert have been fully illustrated and described by The Earl of Dunraven in his magnificent privately printed volume, "Memorials of Adare Manor." Parker, Oxford, 1865.

The work also contains a most suggestive treatise on the subject of Round Towers in general, with many engravings illustrative of the subject. It is much to be desired that Lord Dunraven should give this portion, at least, of his book to the public.—Ed.

## THE BUTLERS OF DUISKE ABBEY.

BY THE REV. JAMES HUGHES.

THE Abbey and lands of Duiske<sup>1</sup> were in the possession of the Butlers from 1541 to 1691, when the third Viscount Galmoy, the last Butler who held them, was outlawed. By an Act, 28 Hen. VIII., passed in the Parliament held before Leonard Lord Grey, Deputy to Henry Duke of Richmond, Lieutenant of Ireland, the house was granted to the king. The abbey being on the then English border, and near the Irish enemy, it was deemed advisable to bestow it on an Englishman, or on one of English race who was devoted to the Crown. This was the advice given to the king by Patrick Finglas, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland. In "the Decay of Ireland," written by him, and presented to the King, he says:—

"There are many Abbeyes near the said Borders where the rebels dwell, which are a greater succour to the rebels than to the King's subjects, and should be suppressed. If they were inhabited by English Lords and gentlemen, it would greatly further the conquest of Connaught. It might please the King to give to divers individuals the following places:—the Abbeyes of Donbreythe (Dunbrody), and Tynterne in Wexford; Duiske,\* in Carlowe; and Baltinglass, in Kildare; old Ross, with the fassaghe of Bentry, &c. All these Abbeyes are round about the rebels, and for the most part are possessed by Englishmen."

The Abbey of Duiske, though an English foundation, had then lost much of its English character. It was at this time governed by Charles Kavanagh, one of the family of the Mac Murroughs. When the King dissolved the House, he followed the advice of Finglas, and bestowed the abbey and lands on one of the great Anglo-Irish Lords who were devoted to the English interest. The Abbot, with the consent of the convent, surrendered in 1541 the house and lands to the king in the presence of Saint Leger and Caven-dysshe. In this same year the king gave a lease for twenty-one years of the abbey and lands, which belonged

<sup>1</sup> It was called Duiske because it was built on the confluence of the stream Duiske (Black-water) and the river Barrow. The present name is Graiguenaman-na, the meaning of which, according to O'Donovan, is "the grange of the monks." This place was the grange to their first

foundation at Killeany, but it shortly became their principal house and residence.

\* The boundaries of the different shires or counties were not then so accurately defined as at a later period; hence the mistake of the writer who puts Duiske in Carlow, and Baltinglass, in Kildare.

to the Crown, to James ninth Earl of Ormonde. The remaining part of the abbey lands were held by the same nobleman who leased<sup>1</sup> them in the year 1535 from Abbot Kavanagh, his kinsman.<sup>2</sup> Lord Ormonde was then the first lay possessor of Duiske, and of the house subject to it.

All these lands, with those of many other religious houses, were freely given him by the Crown in consideration of his great services to the State, and he was better qualified than most others to turn them to good account. As they lay convenient to his territory of Ormonde, he could easily provide them with tenantry if necessary, and his power was so much feared, and the influence of his name and character was so wide-spread, that the lands were, in a great degree, secured against hostile incursions. The Irish who lived on the other side of the Barrow were the Kavanaghs, who were Lord Ormonde's relations, and who were therefore less disposed than they otherwise would be to disturb or plunder his territory. On the only one occasion, in which some difference arose between them, Lord Ormonde did not appear disposed to abate any of his rights on the borders.

This ninth Earl of Ormonde was one of the most remarkable men in Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII. Strenuously devoted to the King,<sup>3</sup> he endeavoured with both parties, English and Irish, to advance the royal interest. His alliances with the Irish,<sup>4</sup> his ability and success in war,<sup>5</sup> and his knowledge of the country and people gave him great influence with the Crown. Hence he was entrusted with the highest offices in the kingdom. He was made Admiral and Lord Treasurer, and in the year 1536, was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Thurles. It was not then wonderful that, when the Crown had much to bestow, he received various castles and grants of manors and lands

<sup>1</sup> About this period, 1535, the heads of the religious houses gave long leases in expectation of the impending dissolution.

<sup>2</sup> His father's mother was Sawe Kavanagh, daughter of the chief of the Mac Murrroughs.

<sup>3</sup> The king, at the instance of Surrey, wished him to marry Mary Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, but Lord Butler refused to accede to his wishes.

<sup>4</sup> He was married to Joan Fitzgerald, heir general of Desmond, and his sister was married to Donat O'Brien, heir of Thomond.

<sup>5</sup> He was the great means of reducing O'Connor of Offaley. He fought against "Silken Thomas" in the Geraldine rebellion, and his expedition into Munster with the Lord Deputy Grey was a great success.

in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, Meath, and Dublin, and also obtained for his great services and political devotion large grants or leases of the lands of the dissolved monasteries, amongst which was Duiske.

Lord Ormonde's power and influence in the kingdom became in the end so great that he excited the jealousy and hostility of the Deputy Saint Leger, and their disputes and recriminations continuing, to the disadvantage of the public interests, they were both summoned to London to the presence of the King. It was during his stay here that Ormonde met his untimely fate, having been poisoned at a banquet given at Ely House, in the year 1546.

By his will, the details of which are given in Morrin's "Calendar" of the Patent Rolls of Ireland, vol. i., p. 133, he gave to his son and heir, Thomas, "the principals of all his goods and cattails," like as he had of the lord his father. To each of his other sons, of whom there were six,<sup>1</sup> namely, Sir Edmond, of the Dullough;<sup>2</sup> John, of Kilcash; Walter, James, Edward, and Piers, he bequeathed lands to the amount of £400 yearly. Duiske Abbey and the house subject to it, with all their lands and possessions, were the portion of James Butler, the fifth son, as will appear from his petition to the Queen. He and his brothers, John and Walter, are the least known of the sons of the ninth Earl, as they died long before their brethren. The other sons, Thomas, tenth Earl, called "Duff," from his black complexion, Sir Edmond, Edward, and Piers, took no considerable part in Irish affairs during the reign of Elizabeth.

James Butler, brother of the tenth Earl, was, then, the second proprietor of Duiske Abbey, and he possessed the abbey and lands in virtue of two leases left him by his father, one from the Crown for one part of the lands, and the other from the Abbot for the remainder. In the year 1559, as appears from Hamilton's "Calendar" of the Irish State Papers (there is no date given in the Patent Rolls), he petitioned the Queen for a renewal of his lease from the Crown, which he obtained in the third year of her

<sup>1</sup> See Genealogical Table.

<sup>2</sup> "The Dullough" was a district of the county of Carlow lying to the west of the river Barrow, which was on one side, and

"the Ridge" on the other; the Queen's County on the north, and Leighlinbridge on the south. Clogrennan Castle in this district was the residence of Sir Edmund.

Majesty's reign. The instructions which the Queen sent to the Deputy contained the following:—

"James Butler, one of the brethren of the Earl of Ormond, has made suit for the renewing of a lease of certain possessions of the Abbey of Duiske, which his father held before time, the term whereof is almost expired, the Deputy shall make a lease thereof to him for 21 years, reserving the rent heretofore reserved by the former lease, notwithstanding that in former time a larger rent was assessed by a surveyor which, by reason of the disquietness of the country, could never well be answered."

In a few years after, seeing that many lords and gentlemen got fee-farm grants of their lands, and not wishing to hold his own merely by lease, he applied to the Queen for a grant in fee-farm of all the lands of Duiske, and of the subject house. This petition to the Queen, in the year 1565, is preserved in her Majesty's State Paper Office, London, and as it serves to show the character of these times, we here subjoin an authentic copy.

"STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZABETH, VOL. XVIII.

*"To the Quenes Most Excellent Majestie.*

"In most humble wise besecheth your Majestie your faithfull and humble subjecte James Butler, Esquier, sonne to James Butler, late Erle of Ormonde and Ossery. That where it pleased yo<sup>r</sup> Majestie of yo<sup>r</sup> abundante bountifullness to graunte unto yo<sup>r</sup> saide supplyaunte by yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes L<sup>tes</sup> Patent, & dated at Dublin the xxvi<sup>th</sup> daye of Januarie, in the thirde yere of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> reigne, suche of the possessions sp<sup>ual</sup>l & temporall of the late Monasterie or Abbay of Duiske, as yo<sup>r</sup> Majesties said supplyaunte had before by the demyse & lease of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> father of most noble memorie Kinge Henry the Eight, made to the said late Erle of Ormonde, yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes said supplyants father, for terme of xxj yeres from the feast of Saint Michael Tharchangell next before the date of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> said L<sup>tes</sup> Patent, & to be complete & ended, which possessions were surveyed & extended to the yerelie value of xxv<sup>li</sup> Irishe, and yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> said supplyante hath the rest of the possessions of the said late Monasterie or Abbaye of Duske amountinge to the yerelie value of xiiij<sup>li</sup> Irishe, by the demise of the late Abbott of the saide late Abbaye made to your supplyants said father longe tyme before the dissolu<sup>con</sup> of the said Abbaye for terme of three score & one yeres from the nynthe daye of Februarie, in the yere of our Lorde God m<sup>v</sup>xxxv, to be complete and ended as by the said L<sup>tes</sup> Patente & the lease made by the said Abbott more plainlie maye appere. And forasmuche as the said Abbaye w<sup>th</sup> the possessions therof standeth upon the borders adjoynynge to Irish savage people, yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> said supplyante was dryven to bestowe all that his father left unto him upon the defence & fortifyng of the same. Therefore, for the better enablinge of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> said supplyante to buylde upon the p<sup>r</sup>misses & to do to yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes at all tymes his dutifull service to the uttermost of his power, It maye please

yo' Ma<sup>m</sup> of yo' most gracious disposition to stande so muche his good & gracious Soveraign Ladie as to graunte the p'misses w<sup>th</sup> the Rev<sup>er</sup>en<sup>t</sup> & Rente of the late Monasterie or Pryorie of Fertnegeraghe in the said Countie of Kilkenny to the yerelie value of xij<sup>s</sup> xiiij<sup>d</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup>. And the Rever<sup>er</sup>en<sup>t</sup> & Rent of the Towne or Village called Shanevanyster, in the said Countie of Kilkenny pcell of the possessions of the said Abbye of Duiske, amountinge to the yerelie value of twentie shillings to yo' Ma<sup>m</sup> said supplyante, & his heyres, in Fee Farme. Payinge therefore yerelie in surveye the said Rent now reserved upon the same; and yo' Ma<sup>m</sup> said supplyante, according to his bounden dutie, shall dailie praye for yo' most prosperous reigne in felicitie longe to continue.

"Endorsed.

"Your Grace's humble Peti<sup>ti</sup>on<sup>er</sup>, James Butler, for the fee farme of the possessions of the late Abby of Duiske of the yerely rent of xxv<sup>s</sup> Irishe wherof her Ma<sup>m</sup> granted him a lease in A<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> of her reigne, w<sup>th</sup> the rever<sup>er</sup>en<sup>t</sup> & rente of thabby of Fertnegeragh, being about xij<sup>s</sup> xiiij<sup>d</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup> by yere; and also of the rever<sup>er</sup>en<sup>t</sup> of the village of Shanevanister, being xx<sup>s</sup> by yere."

In this letter Mr. Butler puts the grounds of his petition on the fact of the proximity of his lands to the Irish enemy, and states that, therefore, he was burdened with great expenses for the protection of the same; but, afraid that he would not succeed with the Government, although his family were greatly favoured by the Queen, he contrived to have his suit strengthened by a letter from the Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, to the Lords of the English Privy Council. As this letter is also very characteristic of the age, we insert a copy taken in the Public Record Office, London:—

"STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZABETH, VOL. XVIII.

"Myne humble dutie to yo' most Honorable Lordeashepe remembrid, I understande by Maister James Butler, brother to the Erle of Ormonde, that he hath sent this bearer, his s<sup>on</sup>unte, to become an humble suter for him to the Queenes most excellent Majestye to atteine at her hand the late Abbey of Duiske in the Countie of Kilkenny, w<sup>th</sup> the lande & appurtenances thereunto belonging (nowe in his possession, eyther by purchase or ells in fee ferme), Who havinge suche chardge of government under the said Erle his brother, now being absent, as he cannot make his repaire thither himself, hath earnestlie requested me to wryte to yo' L<sup>ty</sup> in his behalf and comenda<sup>ti</sup>on. Forasmuche as during my tyme of Government here (yea, and all tymes before, as I am credablie enformid), he hath been (and yet contynueth) of suche good conversa<sup>ti</sup>on & behavio<sup>r</sup> towards all her Hignes subjectes, and alwaies preist & reydie to doe any thing whereunto he hath ben callid as can possyblie remayne in a man, I am, therefore, the bolder to become an earnest suter (in his behalfe), to yo' L<sup>ty</sup> for the preferment of his said sute to her Ma<sup>m</sup>: who is verie willing (as he hath alre-



dye begonne) to leade a cyvill lief as one, in all point t to the uttermost he can, reydie to further her Hignes s'vice. The thing he desyreth (in myne opynion) is more fyttre for him then for any other; for, as I am enformid, he is possessid of divers percelle thereof by lease for many yeres yet to come, Whereof as fourtie yere are the most of some pcell of the same, so are eightene yere the least of the rest. And so referring his said sute to yo' Lt most Honorable t grave wysedomes to be considerid accordinglie, I humblie take my leave. From Maryverton, the last of Julie, 1566.

"Yo' Lt most humble,

"H. SYDNEY.

### Endorsed.

"To the Right Honorable my verie good Lords, the Lords of the Queenes Ma<sup>m</sup> most Honorable Pryvie Counsell.

"Ult<sup>a</sup>. Julij, 1566. L. Deputy of Ireland to the Counsell for Mr. James Butler for the Abby of Duiske, in the Co<sup>ty</sup> of Kilkenny, w<sup>th</sup> the lande t appten<sup>ce</sup> thereto belonging.

"The Grange of Dusk lette by thabbott in the yere 1525, for lxi yeres, xx<sup>a</sup> rent, with besides certen pvisions for xvi psons t so about xviii yeres to come. The village of Anemolt, t the Grange Huleham, in the yere 1535, letten to farme for lxi yeres. The yerely rent of Hanemolt viij<sup>a</sup>. The rent of Huleham vj<sup>a</sup> by yere, and so about xxviiij yeres to come."

The Queen, in reply to the suit of Mr. Butler, gave instructions to the Deputy and Lord Chancellor to pass Letters Patent to James Butler for the Abbey of Duiske, and all lands and possessions thereunto belonging, with the reversions and rents of the Priory of Fernegerah, and the townland called Shanavanister. Before these letters could be carried into effect, the aforesaid James Butler died, and in the following year, August 10, 1567, the Queen wrote again to Sir Henry Sidney and the Lord Chancellor lamenting the death of James Butler, and directing Letters Patent of the premises already mentioned to be passed to his son James Butler, Jun.

Of the buildings or fortifications referred to in the petition to the Queen there is at present no trace. James Butler, Sen., was married, according to Carte, in his Introduction to the "Life of the Duke of Ormonde," p. 52, to Margaret, daughter of James Tobin, of the Comcy, and, dying at Kilkenny, was buried there, leaving an only son; James, to whom the grant in fee-farm was made, and who was the third possessor of Duiske Abbey.

James Butler, Jun., dying without issue, the Abbey and lands reverted to his father's eldest brother. This was

Thomas "Duff," tenth Earl of Ormonde, who thus became the next owner of Duiske.

The tenth Earl had two legitimate children, a son and daughter. The son dying in his youth, the father had then but one legitimate child, his daughter Elizabeth, who, by the command of King James I., was married to Richard Preston, the newly created Earl of Desmond. Sir Walter Butler, son of Sir John of Kilcash, the second brother of the Earl, succeeded to the title and honours, as the Earl's first brother, Sir Edmond of the Dullough, and his sons were dead. This Sir Walter was the eleventh earl, and it was not till the time of his grandson, the twelfth Earl and first Duke, that the title and entire estates, separated as they were in the time of Earl Walter, were again joined. The twelfth Earl succeeded his grandfather in the honours, and by his marriage with the daughter of Elizabeth Preston re-united the title and ancient patrimony of the house of Ormonde.

But though Earl Thomas had but one legitimate daughter who inherited the family property, he had two illegitimate sons, Piers and John Butler. As we have already seen, he succeeded to the property of his nephew James Butler, Jun. ; and as this property did not regularly belong to the house of Ormonde, or go with the title, he thought fit to bestow it on the elder of these two sons, Piers Fitz Thomas Butler. Accordingly, when Piers attained his majority, which was in the year 1597, his father executed a deed of conveyance to him, by which he gave him Duiske Abbey and all its lands and possessions. This statement is made by Sir Bernard Burke, in his account of the Galmoy Peerage, 1837.

This Piers Fitz Thomas was the first Butler who resided in the Abbey, building a house for himself, as tradition states, in the nave, and was therefore commonly known as "Mr. Piers Butler of the Abbey." He had another residence in the county at Lowgrange, which was part of the Duiske property. He was the immediate ancestor of the Galmoy family, as his elder son, Edward Butler, was raised to that dignity.

Mr. Piers Butler of the Abbey married Margaret Fleming, a daughter of Thomas Lord Slane, and, like his father-in-law, was very zealous in the Roman Catholic cause.

When Dr. Hurly, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, came to Ireland from Rome he lodged in the castle of Lord Slane, and when he went into Munster he was accompanied by Mr. Piers Butler. From Hamilton's "Calendar" of the State Papers, p. 472, it would appear that this happened about 1583, though in all probability it was at a later period. The Lords Justices wrote to Robert Beale, Esq., who supplied the place of Her Majesty's Chief Secretary, announcing the arrival of Dr. Hurly, his being entertained in the house of the Baron of Slane, and his departure from the Pale into Munster accompanied by Mr. Piers Butler, base son to the Earl of Ormonde.

Mr. Butler died before his father in 1601, leaving two sons, Sir Edward Butler, Knight, of Duiske, and Sir Richard, of Knocktopher, whose son, Colonel Thomas Butler, was engaged in the wars of 1641. Sir Edward Butler succeeded to his father's property, Duiske Abbey and its lands. He married Anne Butler, daughter of the second Lord Mountgarrett, and by her had several children, the eldest of whom was Piers Butler, who lived at Barrowmount, and who, engaging in the English Civil War on the King's side, was slain at Worcester in 1650, by Captain William Bolton; and this, it is said, after quarter had been given.

The lands and possessions of Duiske, with divers other lands in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, were united and regranted to Sir Edward Butler by the King, 2nd April, 1618, and were erected into the manor of Graige-Duiske, all manorial rights being vested in Sir Edward, with power to hold a Thursday market and two fairs on the feasts of St. Barnabas, and Saints Simon and Jude. By Privy Seal dated at Oxford, 1645, and by Patent, 16 May, 1646, he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Galmoy and Baron of Lowgrange, Barrowmount and Ballio-gan.

His tomb, and that of the Lady Anne, his wife, still exists, and has been inserted, in order to preserve it, in the wall of the vestry attached to the Abbey church. It has been well described, and the inscription on it faithfully translated by Mr. Wilson, in the "Journal" of the Society, vol. iv., New Series, p. 384. Allusion is made in the inscription, not only to the private virtues of Lord Galmoy,

but also to his public character. It is said "that he was conspicuous in the State, in which he well and frequently filled public offices." When the troubles broke out in 1641, Sir Edward Butler (he was not then Lord Galmoy), in accordance with his religion, took the Roman Catholic side. At the first outbreak, and during the war, he acted with great moderation. Of those who met with death suddenly and violently in Duiske or Graiguenamanna, none fell by the hands of Sir Edward or his dependants. Temple, in his history of the Irish Rebellion, states that the perpetrators were from the county of Carlow, and he gives their names and places of residence, and those who were put to death in Gowran and Wells were executed by James Butler of Tinnyninch Castle, and his party, and not by Sir Edward Butler. As a proof that he did not make himself remarkable in the outburst of the Civil War, we may refer to the fact, that he was not included in the outlawries of 1642, like Mountgarrett and Ikerrin. His being passed over may be ascribed to the influence of his relation, the Marquis of Ormonde, but were Sir Edward very violent or notorious, even the influence of Lord Ormonde could not exempt him.

In 1646, Sir Edward Butler, as we have already remarked, was raised to the rank of Viscount. Accordingly, in the same year he took his seat among the Peers in the Confederation of Kilkenny, his son, Piers of Barrowmount, sitting among the Commons. His elevation to the Peerage may be fairly set down as a device of Ormonde's to increase the king's party in the Confederation. To whatever cause it was owing, Lord Galmoy was a thorough Ormondist. When the Confederates entered into "the Peace" with the king, Lord Galmoy continually opposed the violation of it. In truth, most of the Catholics of English descent in the Confederation, those of the Pale, were for the maintenance of "the Peace," and opposed the views of the Nuncio and his party. Lord Galmoy acted like his neighbour, Colonel Walter Bagnall, of Idrone, who was a great supporter of "the Peace." These gentlemen, with thousands of others, lost their properties by the victories of Cromwell and the triumph of the Parliamentary party. It is to be observed that Mountgarret and Ormonde were specially mentioned

by Cromwell, in 1652, as objects of vengeance. They were not to be spared either as to life or property. Ikerrin was to be transplanted into Connaught, and a striking account of his miserable condition is given in the "Cromwellian Settlement" by Mr. Prendergast. Probably in the adverse turn of the war in 1649, or 1650, Lord Galmoy emigrated, and followed the king beyond the seas. His death took place in 1653, and his policy, and that of Bagnall and many others, turned out favourably for their families, as Charles II., when restoring, by the Act of Settlement in 1662, one-third of the forfeited property, gave Idrone to Colonel Dudley Bagnall, and Duiske Abbey and its lands to the second Viscount Galmoy. The consideration alleged, in the clause of the Act of Settlement which restored these properties, was that of Royal gratitude for services done beyond the seas.

There is still existing in the parish of Graignamanna an evidence of the piety of the Lady Anne Butler, wife of the first Lord Galmoy. She presented to the parish chapel a silver chalice, costly, and, for the time, of exquisite workmanship. This chalice is still preserved, and is still in use. Her name, with the date of the presentation, is inscribed. At that time she was not Lady Galmoy, but the wife of Sir Edward Butler, Bart. The inscription is in Latin, and runs thus<sup>1</sup> :—

\* Nob.<sup>ma</sup> Domina D<sup>a</sup> Anna Butler Hunc Calicem  
Parochiae de Graige reliquit 1636.\*

Underneath are the following words :—

Orate pro ea et posteris ejus.

There is also in existence here at one of the entrance doors of the chapel another evidence of the piety of Lady Galmoy. This consists in the remains of a monumental cross which the filial piety of the lady raised to the memory of her father, Edmund, the second Lord Mountgarrett. All that now exists of this votive cross is the battered square plinth—the cross itself having been long since detached and

<sup>1</sup> The inscription and date on this ancient chalice have been kindly supplied  
3RD SER., VOL. I.

to the writer by the Rev. D. Flanagan,  
the parish priest of Graigue.

lost. On one of the sides of the plinth is sculptured the arms borne by Thomas tenth Earl of Ormonde, without any difference for the Galmoy branch. The plinth has a broad bevel at top, sloping in to the foot of the shaft of the cross, and on three sides of this bevel is cut in raised Roman capitals, the following inscription :—

1st side.	2nd side.	3rd side.
. . . . DOMINA	. ILIA EDMVNDI	
ANNA BUTLERA	BUTLERI DOMINI	IN A. D. 16 . .
	VICECOMITIS MOVNTGAR	RET

which may read thus :— . . . DOMINA ANNA BUTLERA FILIA EDMVNDI BUTLERI VICECOMITIS MOVNTGARRET IN A. D. 16 . .

The eldest son of Lord Galmoy was Piers Butler of Barrowmount, who died in 1650, before his father, having fallen in the royal cause at Worcester. He had married Margaret, daughter of Lord Netterville, in 1626, and left many children, of whom the eldest was Edward, who succeeded his grandfather as second Viscount in 1653. The property being restored to him by the Act of Settlement in 1662, he did not hold it for any long period, as he died in 1667.

By his wife, Lady Aston, daughter of Sir Nicholas White, of Leixlip, he left two sons, Piers and Richard. Piers succeeded him in the title, and was the third Viscount, and the last Butler who possessed Duiske Abbey. His brother, the Hon. Richard Butler, was an officer of the Body Guard of King James, and the Viscount himself was a resolute supporter of the ill-fated monarch. He raised on his own property a regiment of horse for the king. It was known on the Muster Roll as "Galmoy's Horse," which name it did not lose till 1715, when it was incorporated in France into Dillon's regiment.

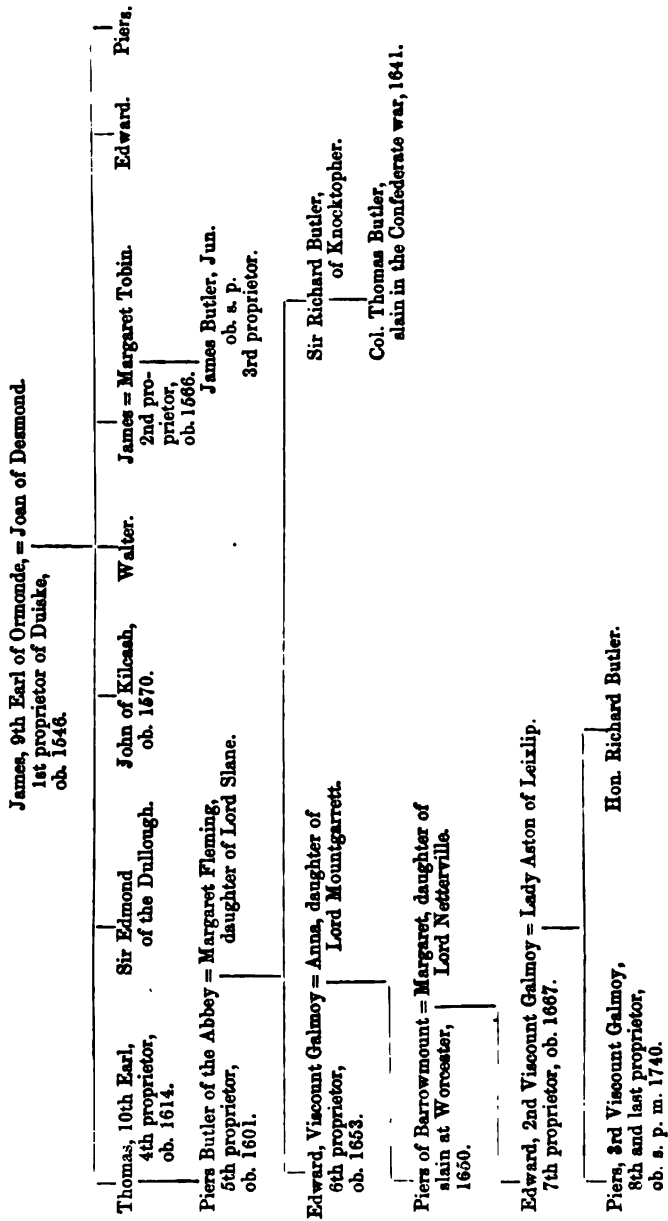
Piers, Lord Galmoy, the Colonel of this regiment, was in high favour with his royal master, and continued so till his death. In 1686, he was made a member of the Privy Council, and in the following year he and many members of his family were made burgesses under the new charters conferred on the towns in his neighbourhood. In that of Old Leighlin, for instance, he is the first on the list of new burgesses. In the Parliament of King James, held at Dub-

lin, 1689, Lord Galmoy took his seat in the Upper House as Viscount. All the Butlers who were ennobled in Ireland sat with him, except the second Duke of Ormond, who deserted King James. Besides Galmoy there were Mountgarrett, Ikerrin, Dunboyne, and Cahir, and all were restored at one period or another, Galmoy alone excepted.

In 1688, he took an early and active part in the war. Advancing to Belturbet, he endeavoured to take the Castle of Crom, but was unsuccessful, as succours were thrown into it by the Enniskilleners, who raised the siege. His regiment was one of those which beleaguered Derry in vain. From the Memorandum Book of Captain George Gafney, of Bagnall's Regiment (printed in our Second Series), we find the exact position of Galmoy's Horse a few nights before the battle of the Boyne. In the encampment at Cookstown, near Ardee, 28 June, 1690, he states that it was on the right line between the French regiments, who had been exchanged for Irish, and Maxwell's regiment of dragoons. Lord Galmoy, with the natural courage of his house, fought bravely on the 1st of July, at the head of his regiment, and did not fly with the king, as has been often stated. On the contrary, he continued in the campaign, and was wounded at Aughrim, where he was taken prisoner. Being shortly afterwards exchanged, he was one of the Commissioners on the Irish side who signed the Treaty of Limerick, and was included in the Articles, notwithstanding the outlawry of King William against him this year.

Graham's "Derriana," cited in D'Alton's "Army List," states that, in October 1692, Lord Galmoy presented himself to King William's Parliament in Dublin, and asked leave to take his seat. He thereupon took the oath of allegiance to King William, but being asked to take the oath of supremacy, he refused, saying that it was not agreeable to his conscience, and was therefore excluded. *A priori* considered, this statement that he took the oath of allegiance to King William is exceedingly improbable. Foreseeing many difficulties in his path, he determined to leave the kingdom and follow King James, leaving behind him his vast estates in Kilkenny and Wexford. In 1697, in consequence of his desertion of the kingdom, and of his

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BUTLERS OF DUISKE ABBEY.





joining King James in France, a bill of attainder was passed in Parliament against him and his family, which attainder has never since been reversed.

As a reward for his great devotion, the exiled king conferred on him the title of Earl of Newcastle. Judged by a selfish standard, this would be a poor recompense for his broad acres in Kilkenny and Wexford ; but the Viscount was disinterested in his character, was eminently loyal and devoted to his prince, and was prepared to suffer much for the cause which he deemed right. He did not, however, remain an idle courtier about St. Germain's. Unlike others who were waiting for the favourable turn of politics, which never came, and who were vainly expecting that the Jacobites and the discontented Irish would bring about another restoration, he took active service in the cause of France, and was made Lieutenant-General in the armies of the Most Christian King.

His regiment, which was recruited from amongst the "Wild Geese,"<sup>1</sup> lost its distinctive character in 1715, having been incorporated into Dillon's, and he himself died without issue male in 1740, the last of the Butlers who possessed Duiske Abbey, and before the last hopes of the Stuart cause were finally extinguished.

Duiske Abbey and a considerable portion of the Kilkenny property were sold in the Court of Claims, in Chichester House, in 1703, and were purchased by James Agar, Esq., of Gowran, the ancestor of the present noble family of Clifden, in whose possession the abbey and lands continue. The details of the purchases are given in the sales of the forfeited estates.

<sup>1</sup> The Irish noblemen and gentlemen in the service of Spain and France, whose property had been forfeited for their loyalty to James II., organised a regular recruiting system amongst their former

tenants and dependants. These were smuggled across to the Continent, and were metaphorically termed "Wild Geese," as being birds of passage.

CYCLOPEAN CHURCHES IN THE VICINITY OF LOUGHS  
CORRIB, MASK, AND CARRA.—PART I.

BY G. HENRY KINAHAN, M. R. I. A.

IN the counties of Mayo and Galway, the ruins of churches of a primitive type are numerous ; most of them are supposed to have been built by the early Irish Christians, and have been dismantled and pillaged by the Danes, or by the mercenary soldiers of the De Burgos and other Anglo-Norman conquerors, and the present generation are fast destroying what now remains.

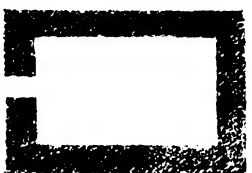
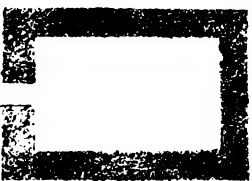
As is common nearly all over Ireland, the earliest churches in this district are of that peculiar style of masonry which, from the way of setting the stones, has been termed Cyclopean. In many cases these structures were subsequently added to, and monasteries and monastic schools founded close to the sacred sites, such as those of Mayo and Burriscarra, and were succeeded by structures in those styles of ornamental architecture common to the middle ages, of which good examples are seen in the abbeys of Knockmoyle and Ballintubber.<sup>1</sup>

One of the earliest Christian settlements in Ireland, as mentioned by Dr. Petrie, would seem to have been in the vicinity of Loughs Corrib, Mask, and Carra, for on or near their shores the ruins of many Cyclopean churches exist, and the sites of others could be pointed out. In Lough Corrib, on the island called Inch-a-ghoill, is the well known Church of St. Patrick, fortunately figured and described by that eminent archæologist, the late Dr. Petrie, in his treatise on the Round Towers of Ireland,<sup>2</sup> otherwise its character could not now be known. He considers it "of the age of St. Patrick." A partial restoration was made of this church a few years ago by the late Sir B. L. Guinness, Bart., M. P. In its vicinity, near the ruin called "Temple-naneeve," *anglice*, "The Saint's church," is a "bullau" or ba-

<sup>1</sup> The state of dilapidation in which these abbeys are allowed to remain is a disgrace to the country. The frescoes on the walls of the chancel of Knockmoyle Abbey are fast disappearing for the want

of a little care.

<sup>2</sup> "Round Towers," p. 186; and Du Noyer's "Antiquarian Sketches," Library R. I. A.



Scale for Plans, 16 feet - 1 inch  
" Doorways, 4 ft. - 1 inch

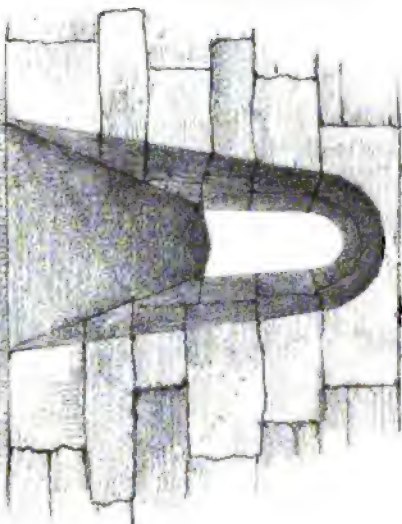
**FIG. 2.**



പ്രതിപാദനം:



FIG. 4.



५-७-७७



**FIG. 3.**

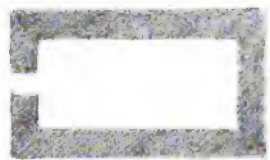
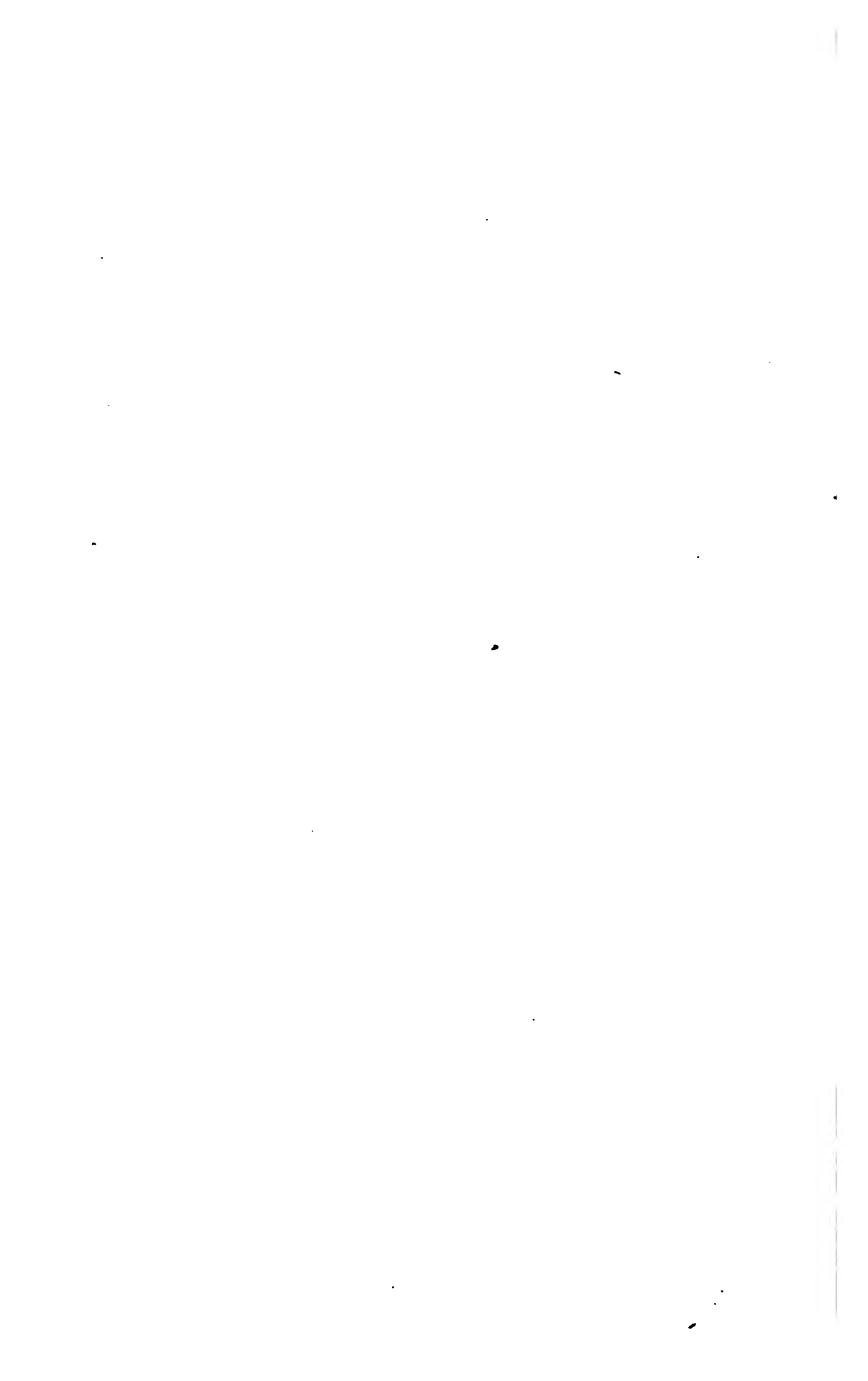


FIG. 5





sin cut in a large block of stone, and as such "bullauns" are usually found near many of these old churches, it is probable they were baptismal fonts. This word is generally applied to any conical or circular excavation of small extent. Thus the holes worn in rocks are called "bullauns;" and the same name is applied to a cow's teat, both from its shape and aperture. Baptismal fonts are now styled "umar-báisdidh," or baptismal troughs, but probably in old times simply "bullauns," from their formation.

On the west of Lough Corrib, one mile east of the village of Oughterard in the townland of Port-a-carron, near the centre of a circular earthen fort, are the ruins of a church 20 feet long, by 14 feet wide, with walls 2 feet in thickness. (See fig. 1, Pl. I.). The style of masonry is similar to that in the walls of Temple Patrick on Inch-aghóill. The stones are usually laid in horizontal courses, with more or less irregularity, and with their joints not always vertical; except in the doorways and lower courses, the stones rarely extend as bonds through the thickness of the walls—the space between them being filled with rubble or small stones and thin grouting."<sup>2</sup> Of the Port-a-carron church there now remain 2 feet in height of the south and west walls, 6 feet in height of the north wall, and the east ranges from 5 to 2 feet in height. In the west wall are the remains of the doorway, 2 feet wide at the bottom, and 1 foot and eleven inches at 2 feet from the ground. (See fig. 2, Pl. I.) A "bullaun" is said to be buried beneath a heap of stones immediately south of this ruin. The patron saint of this church is now unknown.

About four miles south-east of Oughterard are two ruins respectively called Killbreacan and Temple-beg-na-neeve, the former being situated immediately west of the road from Galway to Oughterard, near the demesne of Ross, and the latter about a mile farther east.

Temple-beg-na-neeve, or the little church of the saints, is 21 feet long by 12 feet wide, the two gables being 25 inches thick, and the side walls 27 inches (see fig. 3, Pl. I.), the

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Wilde figures and describes a magnificent "bullaun," in which are five basins, in the vicinity of Cong. See

"Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands," &c., by Sir W. Wilde, M. D., p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> "Round Towers of Ireland," p. 186.

masonry being grouted as in the other Cyclopean churches. About 4 feet of the north-east and south walls only remain, but the west gable with the doorway is nearly perfect. This doorway (see fig. 5, Pl. I.), is 5 feet high and nearly rectangular, being 22 inches wide at bottom, and 21 inches at top.<sup>1</sup> Two "bullauns" are said to be in the field on the east of this church, one only of which could be found; this has a basin 15 inches in diameter, and 7 inches deep, the hollow is irregular, being deeper on one side than the other.

St. Breacan's church is 20 feet long, 14·3 feet wide, with grouted walls  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. (See fig. 6, Pl. I.). Of it there remains the east gable with window and most of the south wall; while the west wall with the doorway, and the north wall have been destroyed. The window measures externally 18 inches in height by 9 inches wide at base, and 6 at top, widening within to 44 inches in height by 27 inches wide at base, and 18 inches at top. It is headed by two long stones, one on the inside, and the other on the outside in which the arch is cut. (See fig. 4, Pl. I.; and fig. 3, Pl. VI.). 150 feet southward of this church is a "bullaun" in which there are two basins, the southern one being 13 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep, and the other 14 inches wide by 12 deep. (See fig. 7, Pl. I.)

It is probable that there were at least two saints of the name of Breacan, one after whom Ardraccan, in Meath, was called, and of whom we have sufficient historical evidence; and the other brother of Ronan and Cairneach, sons of Saran, the son of Colgan (or Colchuo), son of Tuathal, son of Feidhlim, son of Fiachra Cassan, son of Colla-dá-chrioch, who flourished from the year 297 to 350. One of them was a disciple of St. Endeus of Aran. Breacan of Meath lived later than St. Endeus, and so could not have been a disciple of his; hence probably Breacan of Aran may be the person intended, as the dates answer better. (See "Kilbride's History of Aran.") Endeus, the first Christian teacher on Aran, is reported to have

<sup>1</sup> These elevations show the doors in what may reasonably be supposed to be their original, rather than their present

condition, as time has acted more or less on all. No other liberty has been taken in representing them.

divided the island into two parts, bestowing the northern half upon Breacan, one of his most favoured disciples ; and it is probable that the church just now described was erected to his memory, more especially as the next to be mentioned was dedicated to the memory of St. Endeus.

Still farther towards the south-east, and about a mile and a half south of the village of Moycullen, near the hamlet called Killgoola, there is a church dedicated to St. Endeus, and called Temple-eany. It is of nearly similar dimensions to the ruin at Port-a-carron, but of it there only remains part of the north, east and south walls, the window and doorway being destroyed. About 100 feet westward of this church, cut in a rock, are two "bullauns" called Glúine Phadríck, *Anglice*, "St. Patrick's knees," as by tradition that saint prayed here and left the marks of his knees in the stone.

The name Endeus is written in Irish *Einne* and *Ende*, and in Latin *Endeus* and *Enna* ; the form *Endeus* is, however, that by which he is best known. Endeus was born in Louth, and belonged to the royal house of Orgial or Oriel, which in his time comprehended the present counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh. His father was the ruler or chieftain of the country now known as the barony of Ferrard ; he was called Conall, of Clogher, the son of Damen or Daimhene, for Endeus is styled at the end of the list of the second class of Irish saints *Mac-hua-Daimine*, or the grandson of Damen. O'Flahertie, who was thoroughly conversant with Irish chronology, tells us :—

"St. Enna, son of Conall Dearg of the noble Orgiellian family in Ulster, and brother-in-law by his sister to King Engus of Munster, aforesaid, followed the evangelical precept of forsaking a rich patrimony for Christ, and his merits brought him to be abbot beyond seas in Italy, before he came with one hundred and fifty religious persons to Aran, where he lived to his decrepit age upwards of fifty-eight years, for St. Kieran, aforesaid, lived nine years under his discipline, and left A. D., 538."—"Iar-Connaught," pp. 79, 80.

However, Lanigan scouts the idea of his ever having been a monk, or ever living in Italy, or any other foreign place.

Endeus in his youthful days, while still a pagan chief, loved and wooed a maiden who lived with his sister Fan-

chea. The latter was then a Christian, and she admonished her charge against receiving the addresses of one who followed heathen practices and despised the followers of Jesus. The maiden, therefore, rejected his suit, but soon after dying, his sister took advantage of the solemn occasion and brought St. Endeus to see the death bed, at which he is said to have been converted. See "Todd's Life of St. Patrick," pp. 125 and 126. He is said to have been educated at Rosnat or Abba, in Britain, under Mansenus. He settled in Aran between A. D. 480 and 490, and established a school at Kileany on that island, where many eminent men came to complete their studies, or to receive advice and profit by his holy living. He died in Aran on the 21st of March, A. D. 542, and his remains were interred on a sandy mound, which is crowned by the little church called Teaghlach-Einne : some say that the place of his sepulture is under this church ; another account is, that he was buried near it. See Kilbride's "History of Aran."

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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

*The Kilkenny Archæological Society,*

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION,

1869.

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If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

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VOL. I.—PART II.

THIRD SERIES.

DUBLIN:

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FOR MEMBERS ONLY.

1869.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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AT a GENERAL MEETING, held in the apartments of the Association, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 1st, 1868,

THOMAS R. LANE, Esq., in the Chair,

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Charlemont, Marino, Dublin : proposed by J. P. Prendergast, Esq.

Mrs. Osborne, Newtown Anner, Clonmel, and the Rev. T. O'Mahony, Professor of Irish, Trinity College, Dublin : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. William Beeves, D. D., the Rectory, Tynan ; the Rev. William Mac Ilwaine, D. D., Belfast, and the Public Library, Armagh (through its Librarian): proposed by George V. Du Noyer, Esq.

The Rev. John Dunn, P. P., Horestown, Priest's Haggard, New Ross, and the Rev. Alfred Master, Arthurstown : proposed by Dr. Long.

Richard Day, Esq., M. D., Auckland, New Zealand : proposed by R. Day, Jun., Esq.

The Rev. R. S. T. Campbell, Skibbereen : proposed by the Rev. G. Vance.

Robert Morton, Esq., Alliance Chambers, London : proposed by T. R. Lane, Esq.

R. J. Cruise, Esq., Geological Survey of Ireland ; Hugh Leonard, Esq., F. R. G. S., Clifden, Connemara, and Mitchell Henry, Esq., J. P., Kylemore Castle, Letter-park, Clifden, and Stratheden House, Hyde Park, London : proposed by G. H. Kinahan, Esq.

The Very Rev. The Dean of Leighlin : proposed by J. G. Robertson, Esq.

Nicholas Carolan, Esq., Dundalk : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

The Rev. James Graves expressed much regret that nothing had yet been done towards endeavouring to secure the stability of the belfry tower of St. Francis' Abbey, which was in such a dangerous condition. They had had before them at the January Meeting the Report of Thomas Drew, Esq., Architect, who had kindly given plans and specifications for the works deemed by him proper to be executed for that purpose ; and, in accordance with the resolution passed at the Meeting, printed copies of Mr. Drew's report had been circulated, and a public subscription invited, to meet the necessary expenses. Mr. Drew's estimate was £100, and they had supposed that sum would have been most readily contributed in Kilkenny, for the preservation of a structure of so much historic interest, and one which from its architectural beauty was so great an ornament to the city. The response to the appeal made, however, he was ashamed to say, only amounted in the aggregate to about £30. Such apathy was anything but creditable to the locality, and the only way of accounting for it was, that there seemed to be an erroneous impression abroad, that the Abbey tower was situated on the property of Mr. Smithwick, and that therefore the proprietor should be left to do the work at his own expense. This, however, was a very great mistake. The ruins of the Abbey, including the tower, were possessed by a person who had not the means of doing anything to preserve them. Although they adjoined the Brewery of the Messrs. Smithwick, unfortunately they did not belong to those gentlemen—if they did, no subscription would have been thought of, for the work would have been done at once without assistance from any other source. The Messrs. Smithwick had most liberally headed the subscription list with a donation of £10, and would afford any facility and assistance in their power. However, with £30 it became obvious that Mr. Drew's plans could never be carried out. So that they were driven to adopt some other course, if the tower was at all to be saved from destruction.

Mr. Meehan, a local builder, suggested, in a report read by Mr. Robertson, that the tower might be cheaply, and, for the present, effectually propped by two beams of red deal, which, by being placed beneath the vault, close by the south internal wall, would come right under the side wall of the tower, and give it effectual support for the present.

Mr. Prim observed that Mr. Middleton, when calling their attention to the dangerous condition of the Abbey tower, had suggested the propriety of putting two pillars of cast iron, as props, exactly in the position now suggested for the timber supports. But Mr. Middleton had calculated the expense of the pillars at about £40, which was still beyond the amount of the subscription.

A Committee, consisting of the Rev. Mr. Graves, Mr. Bracken, C. I., Mr. Robertson, Mr. Middleton, and Mr. Prim, was appointed to consider the best means of giving effectual support to the tower, with full power to carry out any plans that might be determined on, so far as the funds contributed would suffice.

Mr. Robertson laid before the meeting, the receipts of the Committee of Management of the Leeds National Exhibition of Works of Art for sixteen objects from the Association's Museum, borrowed by the Committee of the Exhibition, in accordance with the permission given at the January Meeting.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution” for the year 1865, Washington, 1866 : presented by the Institution.

“Archæologia,” Vol. XLI., Part 1 ; and “Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London,” second series, Vol. III., Nos. 3–7 inclusive, and Vol. IV., No 1 : presented by the Society.

“The Journal of the British Archæological Association,” for March and June, 1868 : presented by the Association.

“The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Archæological

Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," No. 95 : presented by the Institute.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. VI., Part 2 : presented by the Society.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, Nos. 54 and 55 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Original Papers published under the direction of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society," Vol. VII., Part 2 ; and "Illustrations of the Rood-Screen at Randworth," by C. J. Winter, Norwich, 1867 : presented by the Society.

"Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," No. 9 : presented by the Institution.

"Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire," for 1867 : presented by the Society.

"The Reliquary," edited by Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., &c., No. 32 : presented by the Editor.

The Rev. C. A. Vignoles, Clonmacnoise, sent a small plain ancient bronze pin, found by a poor man on the bog road, or *togher*, leading down to the northern bank of the Shannon, opposite to the Seven Churches—the same person who had previously sent them two pins found in the same locality, and now in the Museum.

Mr. Graves was empowered to send a small gratuity, through Mr. Vignoles, to the finder of the bronze pin, as an encouragement.

The Rev. Mr. Vignoles also contributed drawings of an ancient round-headed window found in the parish church of Clonmacnoise in the course of the recent removal of the modern dashing. The ancient Temple Connor, one of the "Seven Churches," served as the present parish church. The ancient door-way still remained, and had been engraved by Petrie ("Round Towers," p. 273). The window was in the south wall, thirteen feet from the east end of the church ; it was three feet high, and eight inches wide, with a chamfer one and three-quarter inches wide on the outside ; the inside was deeply splayed, but had been blocked by a monument of the Malone family.

The Chairman brought under the notice of the Meet-

ing a curious inscription on the large altar tomb at the south side of the high altar at Kilcrea Abbey, county of Cork, shown in one of the series of photographs of Kilcrea Abbey which he had exhibited at the January Meeting of the Association. At that time the upper stone of the tomb was entirely covered over with lichens, but his friend, Dr. Caulfield, had since got the flag cleaned, and the subjoined inscription then became legible.

Here lyes the Body of Colonnell Charles McCarthey of Ballea who dyed the 02 of May 1704

Here lyeth the body of Dennis  
MacCarty Esq<sup>r</sup>, who departed this  
Life April 2d 1739 aged 46  
Let honour, valour, merite, justice mourn,  
Cloghrois Mc Carthy liveless in this urn,  
Let all distressed draw near & make their moan,  
Their Patron lies confind beneath this stone.

Mr. Graves alluded to the connexion of the Bullyn and Ormonde families, by the marriage of Sir William Bullyn with one of the daughters of Thomas Butler, seventh Earl of Ormonde, thereby succeeding to half the Earl's English property. Sir William's son, Thomas, was made Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire by Henry VIII., enjoying that earldom till the Bullyns fell into disgrace with the king, who then restored the title of Ormonde to its rightful owner, Sir Piers Butler, who had previously been obliged to content himself with the title of Earl of Ossory. The pedigree stated on the tomb showed that the ladies, whom it was intended to commemorate, were cousins, twice removed,

The epitaph now recorded showed that the MacCarthys here commemorated were of the branch which had resided at Cloghroe, near Blarney.

Mr. Kyran Molloy, of Clonmacnoise, sent, through the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, a rubbing from the inscription on a tomb slab, at Cloony Castle, in the parish of Gallen, near the town of Cloghan, King's County, known in the district as the monument of "Queen Elizabeth's cousins." The inscription was cut at the lower end of the stone, in incised Roman capitals, as follows :—

HERE UNDER LEYS ELIZABETH AND  
MARY BULLYN DAUGHTERS OF THOMAS  
BULLYN SON OF GEORGE BULLYN THE  
SON OF GEORGE BULLYN VISCOUNT  
ROCHFORD SON OF S<sup>r</sup> THOMAS BULLYN  
EARLE OF ORMONDE AND WILTSHIRE

to Queen Elizabeth. It would be interesting, if possible, to trace the time and cause of the coming of this branch of the family into Ireland, as proved by the fact of these ladies being buried in the King's County. He (Mr. Graves), had seen the slab, which measured seven feet by four feet ten inches, and was sixteen inches thick. It now lay close to the castle, having been removed from the quarry, about two hundred yards distant, by the last resident in the castle, "Counsellor" Molony, about the first quarter of the present century.

Mr. Prim remarked that an account of the discovery of this Bullyn tomb, given in the "Irish Penny Magazine," No. 38, September 21st, 1833, appeared very improbable. It was there stated that, in 1803, some labourers engaged in raising stone in a quarry adjoining Clonoony Castle, had discovered a natural cave in the limestone rock; and "in this cave, at a depth of about twelve feet under the surface, was found, beneath a heap of stones (apparently placed there for the purpose of concealment), a large limestone flag," being the inscribed stone referred to. The writer, whom he believed to have been Mr. T. L. Cooke, of Parsonstown, went on to say—"There was also found, as I have been told, underneath the slab, a coffin cut in the rock, and which contained the bones of two individuals, greatly decayed." It seemed very strange, if the information was correct, that these two ladies had been buried in a natural cave, remote from any churchyard, and with stones heaped over the tomb, for purposes of concealment.

Mr. Bracken, C. L., said he knew Clonoony very well, and had seen this tombstone of the Bullyns. He believed that the information given to Mr. Cooke—if he were the writer of the article in the "Irish Penny Magazine"—was not quite correct. The tradition of the locality, as he (Mr. Bracken) had always heard it, was that "the cousins of Queen Elizabeth" were buried in the cemetery attached to the ancient Priory of Gallen, but no monument bearing the name was now to be found there. He never heard a word of the discovery of a cave at Clonoony, but had been informed that this tombstone was found in the quarry, under rubbish; and the general supposition regarding it was, that the intention had been to have erected the tombstone over



the grave at Gallen Priory, but that, from some circumstance or other long since forgotten, it had never been brought from the quarry where the stone-cutters had been at work upon it. There was a fact tending to very much corroborate this idea. The inscription was cut on the lower end of the stone, the upper part being left blank. It had probably been the original intention to carve the family armorial bearings over the inscription, as was not unusual at the period; but the design was never carried out. Certainly, the place in which this inscription was cut gave the tombstone a most unfinished appearance. There was no church or burial ground at Clonoony.

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan wrote strongly supporting the theory, put forward by Mr. G. M. Atkinson in a paper recently read before the Association, as to the origin of the misnomer "Danish Rathes," applied by the peasantry to the ancient earthworks of the country, in consequence of a tradition of those structures having been erected by the Tuatha de Danann—the latter part of the name being corrupted into "Danes." He observed:—

"Mr. George M. Atkinson, in his letter printed in your last number, alludes to the general belief among the peasantry in Ireland, that our *Raths* or earth circles were built by the "*Danes*" in former times, and that up to the present those green mounds are the favourite haunts of the Fairies or Good-people.

"It is somewhat curious, that this belief is spread over the entire island, from Malin to Carnsore—from Dundrum to Tralee. Although, as Mr. Atkinson remarks, it is absurd to suppose that the sea kings, whose object was to burn and destroy all habitable buildings in Ireland, not to create and erect them, had anything to do with the formation of those mounds; still a belief so widely spread throughout the land requires some investigation. I therefore agree with Mr. Atkinson that this tradition contains the truth, although hid in the wrappings of error—and that the people referred to is not the people known in the English language as *Danes*, but that olden race, the *Tuatha de Danann*, who in remote ages landed on our shores as conquerors and colonists.

"The little we know of this mysterious race strongly impresses us with the idea that they were far in advance of the natives of Ireland in civilization and mechanical knowledge. They were hewers of stone, smelters of ore, workers in copper, bronze, and gold, burners of their dead, and so far superior to the Irish aborigines of that day, that they were held by them to be a race of magicians. On this point some curious traditions are given in O'Halloran and Keatinge.

"This strongly corroborates the conjecture of Mr. Atkinson, that the superstitious assignment of the raths, as dwellings to the fairies, had reference to a tradition of a magical race long gone by. 'Wise as the

*Tuatha de Danann* is a saying that still can be heard in the highlands of Donegal, in the glens of Connaught, and on the sea-board of the south-west of Ireland. When, therefore, the English-speaking peasant of the present day assigns the erecting of the raths to the sea kings, and calls them *Danes' forts*, he unconsciously mixes up the traditions of two different nations together, and, misled by the similarity in their names, gives to one the credit that belongs to the other. Doubtless, the explanation of his Irish-speaking ancestors referred to the *Tuatha de Danann*, but in process of time the correct sound was lost by their English-speaking descendants, who thus erroneously transferred to *the Danes*—of whom they had heard so much, and whose defeat at Clontarf was to them a matter of household history (ignoring that older race, whose existence half hid in the mists of a remote antiquity, was comparatively unknown to them)—the earthworks, many of them of stupendous magnitude, with which the country is studded."

The following observations on the Battle of Gortnapishy, noticed in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society" (1st series of this Journal), Vol. I., p. 341, were forwarded by our well known Irish numismatist, John Lindsay, Esq.:—

"That a battle was fought at this place there can be little doubt; the period, however, seems to be uncertain. Mac Geoghegan, the only historian who, as far as I am aware of, notices it, does not give the locality, but seems to say that it was gained by Sir John Desmond over the English, where the latter had ten battalions cut to pieces, and that he then made an incursion on Ormond, and being pursued by the Butlers, the latter were defeated at Knockgraffon.

"There are many improbabilities in this account: the result of the battle of Eanaghbeg (a little to the east of Croom), which took place in 1579, is given in a widely different manner by English and Irish writers; but the statement of the Four Masters is, probably, the nearest to the truth, and according to them Desmond, after an obstinate conflict, was totally defeated by the English under Captain Malby.

"Mac Geoghegan says that after this battle Desmond marched from Connillo to Atharlam (Aherlow), and that the garrison of Kilmallock, attempting to stop his progress, were defeated with great slaughter; and that this victory was followed by another at Gortnapishy, where ten battalions of English were cut to pieces, and that Desmond after this made an incursion on Ormond, and that the Butlers, having gone in pursuit of him, were defeated at Knockgraffon.

"In the 'Annals of the Four Masters' no mention is made of any of these battles except that at Eanaghbeg, and it is not likely that a fight in which ten battalions of English were cut to pieces would be overlooked by them. Indeed, those acquainted with the history of Ireland at that period will naturally ask, where could these ten battalions of English have come from? Malby, at the battle of Eanaghbeg, had only 600 English with him, and that after receiving what was looked on as a powerful reinforcement from England, but was only 600 men under three captains: and even admitting that the ten battalions were only ten companies, they would have amounted to more than Malby had at any time in the field; besides,

Gortnapishy, unless there is another locality of that name, would be out of the line of march both of Malby and Desmond.

"That some battle must have been fought at or near Gortnapishy, at the foot of Sliabh-na-mbhan, there is positive evidence to prove. On the lands of lower Ballinard, a short distance from Gortnapishy, the bones of men and horses, pieces of saddles, leather, buttons, bits of metal, &c.—some of which I have myself seen—have been often found; and a sand-pit on the same townland is said to contain a large quantity of these bones, &c. There is a tradition amongst the people in the neighbourhood that a battle was fought here between Cromwell and the Irish, but history makes no mention of such a battle; and as Ballinard Castle, besieged by Cromwell in 1650, made but a short resistance, we must therefore look for some other period to which this battle may be assigned, and in the absence of positive evidence, I submit the following conjecture as the most probable:—

"On the 15th of April, 1599, the Earl of Essex landed in Ireland with 20,000 foot and 2000, or, according to Rapin, 1300 horse, the largest English force which hitherto arrived in this country.

"Of the earlier proceedings of the Earl it is unnecessary in this place to say anything, and I shall commence with his progress from Dungarvan, and quote the words of the Four Masters on the subject:—

"The Earl of Essex proceeded from Dungarvan to Waterford, thence into the country of the Butlers, and into Leinster; they marched not by a prosperous progress by the roads along which they passed from Waterford to Dublin, for the Irish of Leinster were following and pursuing, surrounding and environing them, so that they slew and slaughtered great numbers of them in every road and way through which they passed.

"This statement is not only perfectly consistent with the occurrence of a battle at Gortnapishy, but the line of march thus described probably passed close to, if not through that townland, as his route from Waterford into the country of the Butlers was, probably, to the south and west of Slieve-na-mbhan and through the townlands of Gortnapishy, Cloran, Kilburry, Milestown, Ballyhomuck, and Ballinard, all which lands are well known to me, having often passed through them: the distance between Gortnapishy and the sand-pit at Ballinard is about a mile and three-quarters.

"The country of the Butlers certainly lay both east and west of Sliebh-na-mbhan; but the route of Essex was, probably, far more to the west, as he had appointed to meet Sir Conyers Clifford, the Governor of Connaught, at Fircail, a district in King's County, near the Shannon, and did meet him there.

"There may be historical documents of which I am not aware describing more minutely than the Four Masters the progress of Essex in that part of Ireland, and perhaps giving some details of the battle in question, and if so, some of our numerous and talented Irish Archæologists may be able to throw some light on an interesting event in the History of Ireland.

"The townlands herein mentioned will be found on the Ordnance Maps, sheets 71 and 70."

G. H. Kinahan, Esq., M. R. I. A., Hon. Local Secretary for Connaught, sent the following short report on the an-

cient stone-roofed church on Illaun-Dara, near Roundtown, county Galway, with a view to assist the Association in an appeal to the proprietors of the island to save the ruins from utter destruction, the dilapidation and spoliation having gone rapidly on for some time latterly :—

“Of this church the greater part of the stone roof has been destroyed, and in places the foundation or under pinning of some of the lower stones have given way, thereby causing some of the upper stones to fall out, and in one place splitting the wall.

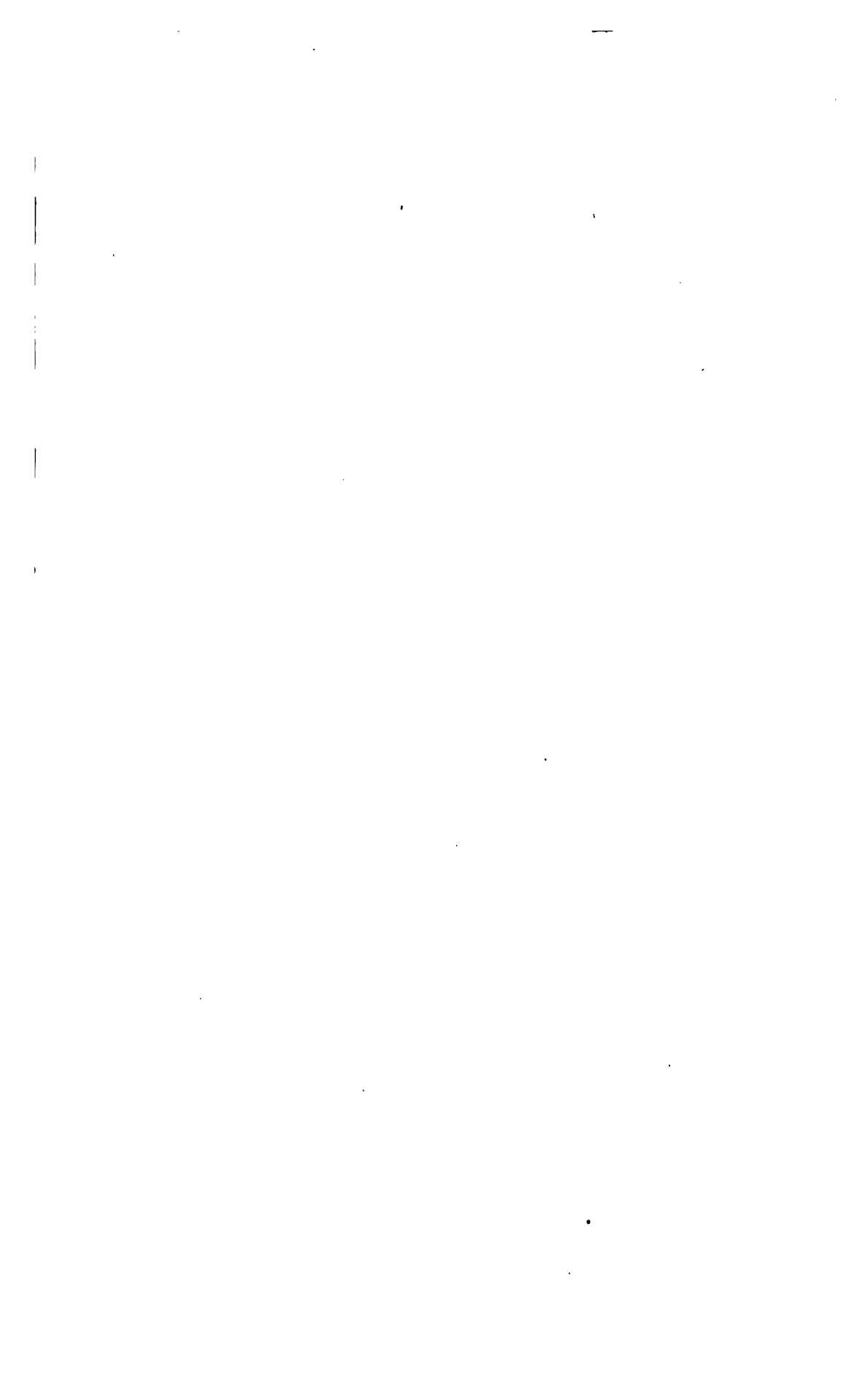
“EAST GABLE.—On the south of the east window, over St. McDara’s bed, some of the pieces of stone used for under pinning the larger blocks have given way, causing the stones to bulge out. This might be repaired by taking out the stones and replacing them.

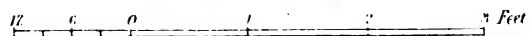
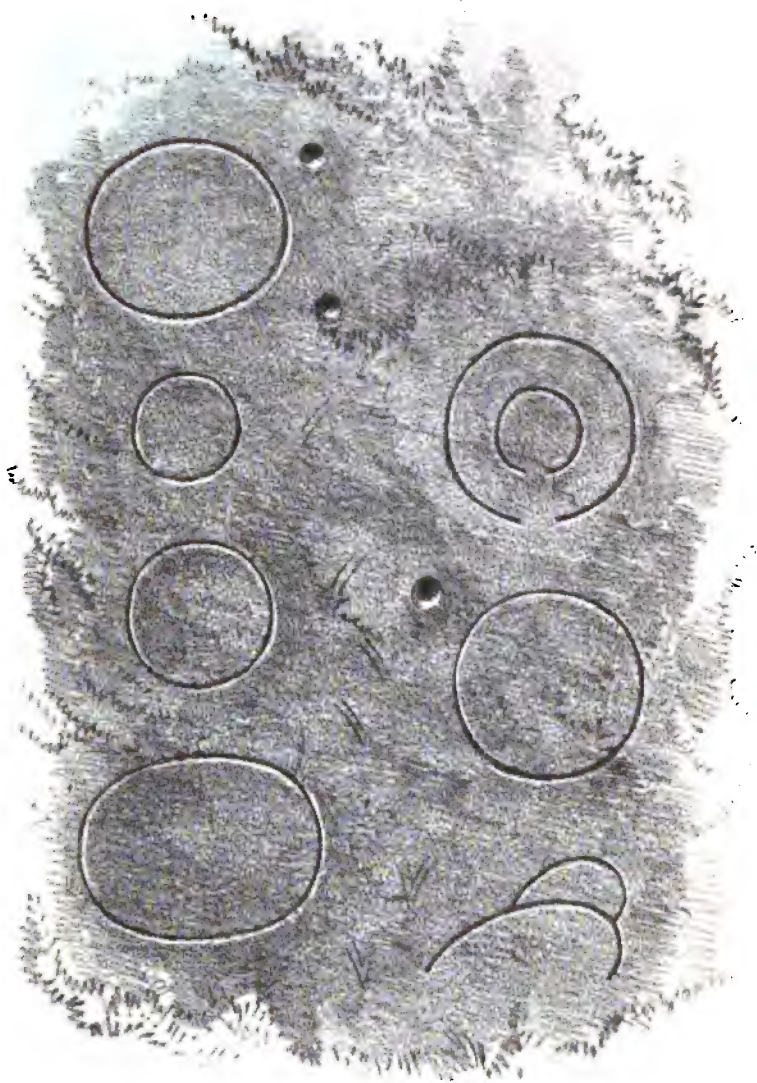
“SOUTH WALL.—East of the window in the south wall a stone has slipped out from the perpendicular, and thereby displaced the stones above it, while other stones have fallen out, leaving vacant places. This seems to have been caused by the foundation or the pinning under the large stone having given way. Here it would appear necessary that the upper portion of the outside part of the wall as also part of the stone roof, should be taken down (as all are more or less shaken), and replaced from the lowest stone up, great care being taken that the large stone has a good sound berth.

“WEST GABLE.—The north-west terminal buttress of this gable has split. This defect seems to have been caused by the foundation of the lowest stone giving way. Apparently this might easily be repaired by taking down and rebuilding the outside part of the pillar.

“ROOF.—The church originally was roofed with chisel-dressed thick granite flags procured on the island, one projecting slightly beyond the other. The greater part of this roof is now gone—only a few courses remaining above the north and south walls, and a part attached to the point of the east gable; but as most, if not all the stones are still in the vicinity of the ruins, the roof might easily be rebuilt. Since last July some of the stones in the south wall have fallen out, and others must follow if the work of restoration is not soon done. The part of the roof attached to the east gable has bent it out of the perpendicular, and may have helped to cause the previously-mentioned rupture on the outside of the wall.

“CROSSES.—The remains of ten or twelve crosses still exist, some being of rude fashion, and probably modern, but others were ancient and beautifully carved: of the carved crosses, one made of granite is in good preservation and is fixed in the ground near the landing-place; but as it is used as a scratching stone by the cattle, it ought to be protected. This might easily be done by digging a trench round it and leaving it standing on an isolated hillock. On the altar, a little north-east of the church, there is a rectangular piece of limestone, carved on both sides, that may have been part of the shaft of a cross. This ought to be permanently fixed in some locality, otherwise it may be broken or the carvings injured by its being knocked against other stones: the socket of the shaft of a cross, which lies near the altar, fits this piece. It might be fastened into it with cement.





INCISED-ROCK MARKINGS AT BALLYBAUN  
CO. CORK.

Forster & Co. Dublin

"Of the other carved and pierced crosses, pieces only were observed: however, more might be collected, and possibly some of them might be restored. However, as all are limestone, I am afraid many of the pieces have been burned into lime.

"If the church is restored, a protecting wall round it would be necessary. This fence should be so built as not to spoil the effect of the ruin, but at the same time high enough to keep off the cattle."

Mr. Robert Day, Jun., F. S. A., sent the following notice of Rock Carvings in Co. Cork, accompanied by a drawing of the surface of the rock here engraved:—

"In the fifth volume of our 'Journal,' second series, at p. 384, are figured some strange symbolic sculptures, recently discovered by Mr. Eugene Conwell, of Trim, which decorate the megalithic chambers in the Sleive-na-Callighe carns.<sup>1</sup> I have now the pleasure of recording the discovery of a sculptured rock bearing similar symbols, and situated in the extreme west of the Co. Cork. It is on the property of Robert Swanton, Esq., of Ballybawn, and adjoins the new line of road leading from Ballydehob to Bantry. The rock is the red sandstone of the district, and lies horizontally almost due north and south. When making this road the workmen cleared away some eighteen inches of earth from the rock, and so exposed its sculptured surface. The cuttings consist of circles, cup-shaped cavities, penannular rings, and V-shaped markings. There are two perfectly formed circles cut on the rock, one measuring 15 inches by 15 inches, the other 19 inches by 19 inches; and three imperfect or penannular circles, one 20 inches by 18 inches, another 12 inches by 11 inches, and the other 26½ inches by 19 inches; the cup-shaped cavities are each 1½ inches, 2 inches, and 3 inches in diameter; the penannular rings are two in number, one within the other, but without either the central cup or radial groove, so well known elsewhere. The outer ring is 19 inches by 19 inches, the inner 7 inches by 5 inches; the opening of the inner 1 inch, that of the larger 2 inches. The openings are in line. There are two other imperfectly formed circles, and several straight and V-shaped incised markings on the rock.

"Mr. George Tate, of Alnwick, has published a work on "the sculptured rocks of Northumberland," which he has enriched with many lithographs of similar cuttings. The cup markings, the incomplete rings, the series of circles round a central cup, and the same with a radial groove or gutter through the circles, are the best known types. It has been said that these could only have been made with a metal tool; but Sir J. Y. Simpson<sup>2</sup> states that, on the back of a granite monolith in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum, on the front of which are two crescents, Mr. Paul, the doorkeeper, with a flint chisel and wooden mallet, cut in two hours two thirds of a circle. Professor Simpson observes, that these rings and cup sculpturings have been found along the whole length of the British Islands, from the south coast to the Orkneys, and across the whole breadth from Yorkshire on the north-east of England to Kerry and Cape Clear on

<sup>1</sup> See also "Hand Book to the Lough Crew Hills," by E. A. Conwell, M. R. I. A.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir J. Y. Simpson's Treatise, pub-

lished as an Appendix to the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. vi.

the west and south-west coasts of Ireland. From this rock at Ballybawn may be seen distinctly Cape Clear Island, the Fastnet Rock and Lighthouse, and the entrance of Baltimore Harbour; while, to the right, is Mount Gabriel and Ballydehob, and in the back ground Ballybawn House, with Mount Kid rising above it.

"The only remains of by-gone times near the rock is a circular rath, which takes its name from the estate. But from the well ascertained fact of an old deposit of soil having, up to a recent period, rested on the rock, and from the known antiquity of these markings, there can be little doubt but that they are of an earlier age than the rath builders. On inquiry, no objects of antiquity were known to have been found in the neighbourhood; but this cannot be a matter of surprise, as the greater part of the land in the immediate vicinity is mountain, and, of course, unreclaimed.

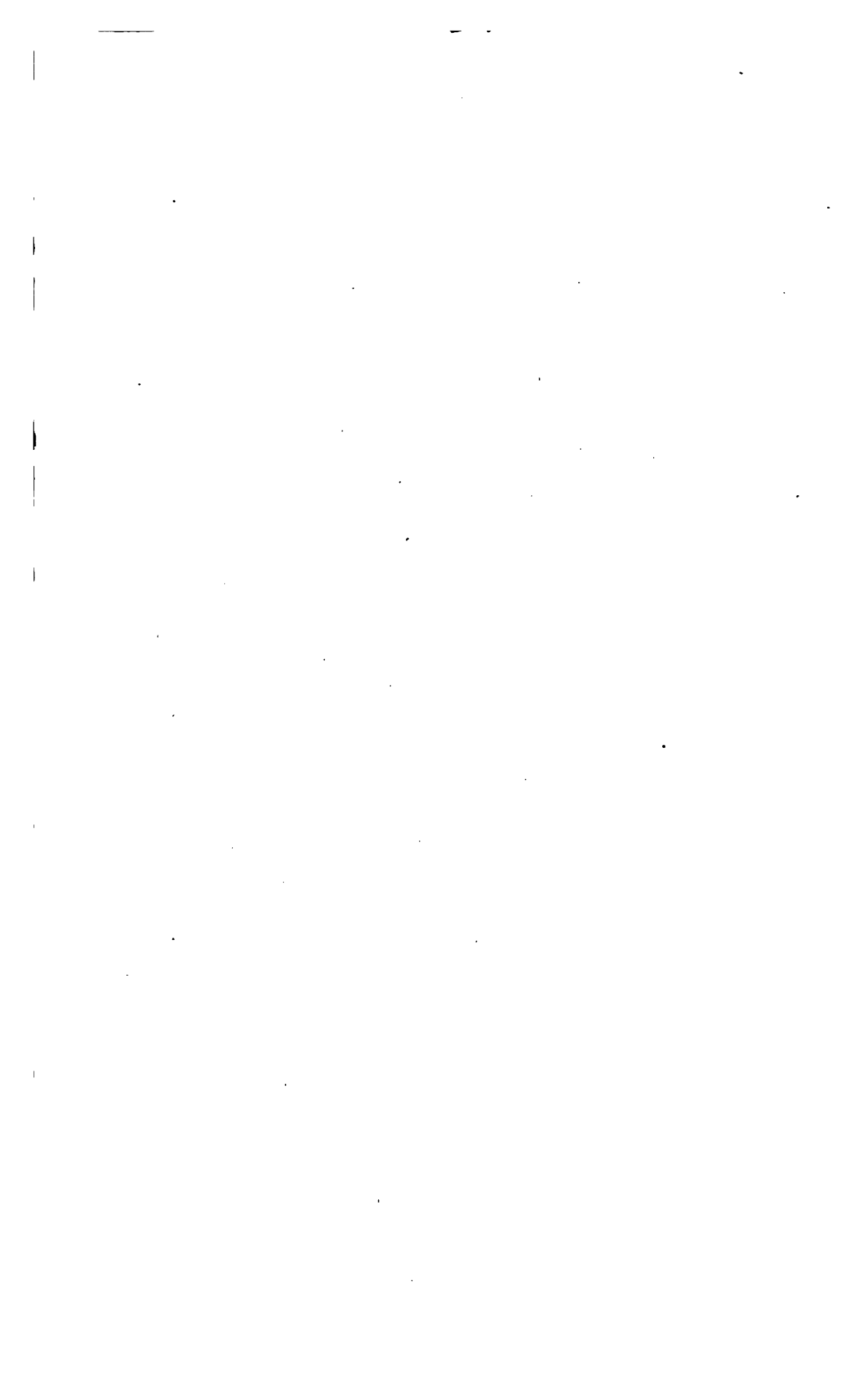
"What these peculiar markings represent is a question still unanswered, though various conjectures have been made. Professor Nilsson considers them to be of Phœnician origin; he believes that, anterior to Druidism, there existed a form of Eastern Solar Worship; that Stonehenge, &c., were raised by these Sun Worshippers, and not by the Druids, as Temples to their Sun God Baal, and that the ring markings are their work, and symbolize the Sun, and some of the other heavenly bodies.

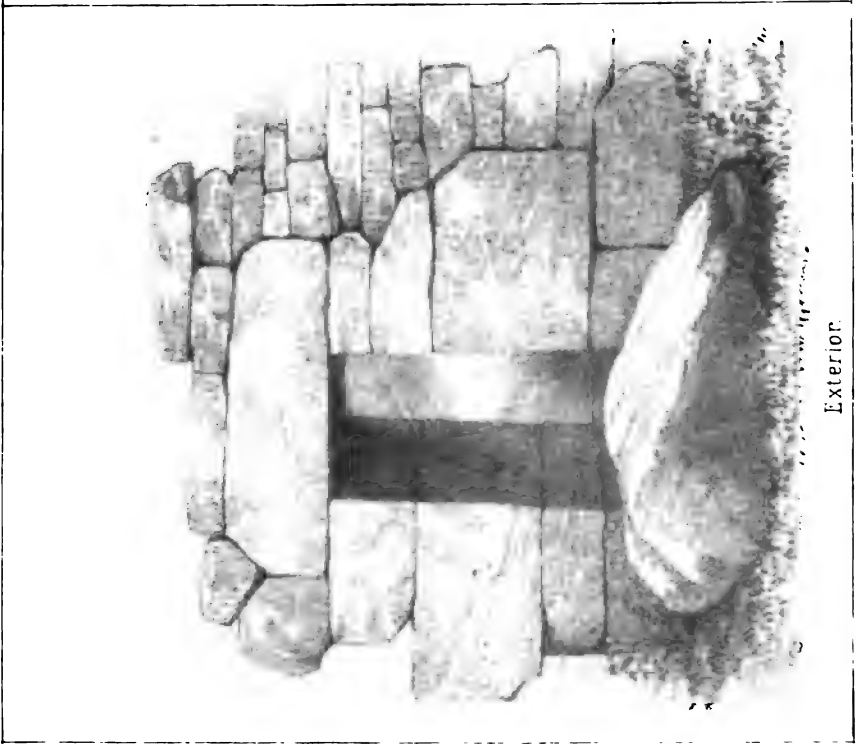
"Professor Simpson, on the other hand, says, if they were Phœnicians, why have they not been found in Cornwall, Pembroke, or Devon, to which districts there can be but little doubt the Phœnicians traded largely for tin? He proves clearly that they preceded the knowledge of letters and traditions, at least in England, and he connects many with the dwellings and sepultures of Archaic Man, and shows that any antiquities found with them are of a prehistoric character.

"In 'Fiji and the Fijians' (2nd Ed., vol. i., p. 220) are figured two sacred pillar stones; on one of these is engraved three separate series of ring and cup markings, consisting in each case of two concentric rings, with the central cup, similar to those already described. These Fiji monoliths are consecrated objects, being the emblems of some Gods, and denoting the resting-place of others, where offerings of food are occasionally made. The fact of these symbols being found engraved on pillar stones in countries so widely separated, is an interesting subject, and well worth investigating. Do they typify a universal belief in the never-ending eternity of which the circle is so apt an emblem, and in which even the rudest savage has more or less faith? or are they, as Nilsson supposes, emblems of that highest order of idolatry—the worship of the heavenly bodies?"

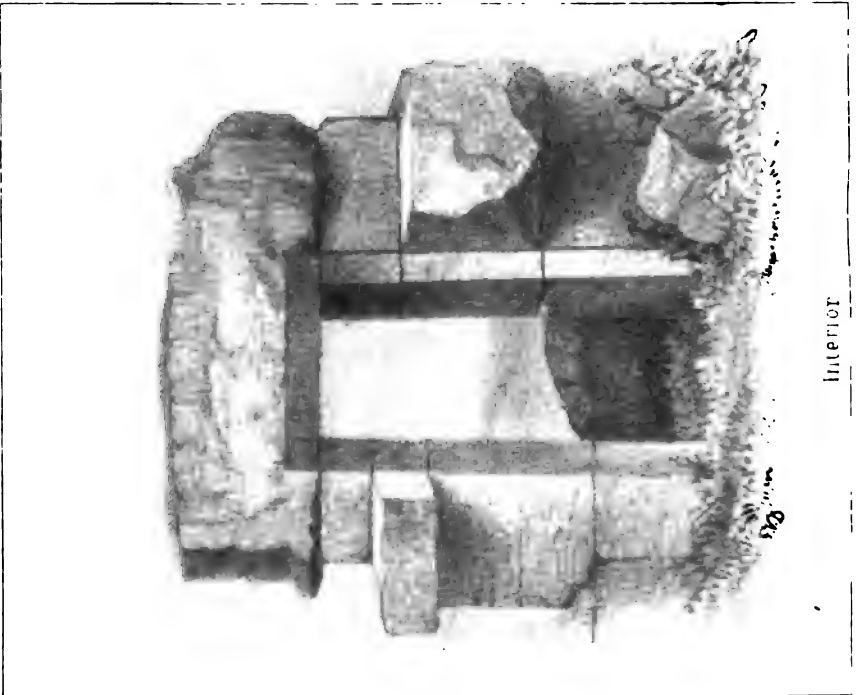
The following Papers were submitted to the Meeting :—







Exterior



Interior

CILL-SLEIBHE-CUILLINN. FOUNDED BY ST. DARERCA,  
ALIAS MONINNE, ABOUT A.D. 518.

BY THE REV. GEORGE H. READE, M. A.

IRELAND cannot boast of the splendid architectural remains of mediæval antiquity which are so plentifully scattered throughout England; and whoever expects to find in the ruins of her very ancient churches objects of wonder, because of their magnificence, will be much disappointed. But although she cannot boast of lofty pillar and soaring arch—"the long drawn aisle and fretted vault," yet she appeals to our deepest feelings and imaginations much more strongly by the very simple remains of ecclesiastical antiquity with which she abounds.

As no other country, except Palestine, possesses such minute and authentic records of men and days long gone by, so in no other country are there so many and so interesting remains of Primitive Christianity, interesting, as exhibiting to our eyes the very first efforts of the humble and zealous Christians to establish their pure faith in this island, in which the first houses built with stone and lime were dedicated to the honour of God and the religion of our Blessed Saviour. Most of these churches, which are generally in out of the way and inaccessible places, would be easily passed over by the careless or inattentive observer; there is not much in them to *attract* attention, and the great tide of life which once thronged around them, has long since retreated and swells the crowded city, the manufacturing town, or the busy seaport. It is only occasionally, where the lofty pillar tower commands admiration from afar, that the foot of the inquirer is turned towards those venerable structures which formerly reposed beneath their shadow. But even the pillar tower of Cill-sleibhe has long since passed away. It is true that Ireland contains very many noble and interesting ecclesiastical buildings of the 12th and 13th centuries, arising, like Dunbrody and Tintern, from the vows of the Anglo-Norman conquerors, beside the many other beautiful structures, the offspring of their devotion when settled in the land; but

none of them appeal to the true antiquary's feelings with half the power of the rude Cyclopean masonry of St. Brigid, St. Columb, or St. Moninne, bearing the unmistakeable marks of the earliest architecture of the sixth century. Sir Walter Scott is reported to have stood in silent admiration before the doorway of the church of the Blessed Virgin in Glendalough. Such feelings, however, are not common, and where there is so much more to be felt than to be seen or described, few antiquaries are stoical enough to endure, or draw upon themselves the smile, the scoff, or the taunt, which generally accompanies the exhibition of such rude architecture—such poor remains.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that these ecclesiastical structures remained so long unnoticed, when even Sir James Ware, that most careful and judicious antiquary, asserts that the Irish knew nothing of stone and lime building until the twelfth century! He says that "Malachy O'Morgair, Archbishop of Armagh, who died in A.D. 1148, was the first Irishman, or at least one of the first, who began to build with stone and mortar;" and he tells us "how astonished the natives were at the novelty of such buildings, because such were never before seen in that country." Thus overlooking the account which Giraldus Cambrensis gives of the round towers, which at least were conspicuous enough, even if the little stone churches beside them were too insignificant to be noticed.

The *interest* which is felt to attach itself to these structures is, that they are the true representatives of the original architecture of the Irish church, which the more pretentious Anglo-Norman edifices *are not*—that church, first founded by St. Declan, St. Ibar, St. Ailbe, and St. Kieran, and followed up by St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Columb, and St. Moninne.

These churches, when once seen, impress themselves upon the memory by their simple and peculiar architecture. They are of very small dimensions; some of the earliest being only 15 feet long; the usual prescribed length for the largest being 60 feet. The doorway was invariably in the west end; the windows few, and very small. Generally the doorways were composed of three or four large stones, extending through the whole thickness of the wall,

and covered at top by an enormous thorough block, the jambs inclining inwards, not unlike the Egyptian architecture. Such were the erections of Patrick and his three stone-masons :—

“His three masons, good, strong, was their intelligence;  
Caeman, Cruithnec, Luchraid strong;  
they made stone churches first  
in Erin.—Eminent their history.”

St. Moninne, otherwise called Darerca, died in the year 517, as the “Annals of the Four Masters” state under that year :—

“The age of Christ 517, the fourteenth year of Muirheartach, Saint Darerca, of Cill-Sleibhe-Cuillinn, whose first name was Moninne, died on the 6th of July; *nine score* years was the length of her life, of whom was said :—

“ ‘ *Nine score* years together,  
According to rule, without error,  
Without folly, without evil, without danger,  
Was the age of Moninne.’ ”

She spent her long life in the service of God, teaching the Word, and founding churches and monasteries, not alone in Ireland, but also in Scotland, in which kingdom she built seven churches, one called Cilnacase, in Galloway; another on the summit of the mountain of Dunbreton; another on the mountain of Dundevenal, in Laudonia; the fourth at the Castle of Strivelin; the fifth at Dun-Edin, now Edinburgh; the sixth on the mountain of Duncelder; and the seventh at Lanfortin, near Dundee; thus showing the same attachment to building upon mountains in Scotland which led her to choose Sliabh Cuillinn for her convent in Ireland. She is said to have been brought up by St. Brigid, abbess of Kildare; she received her second name from Darerca, sister of St. Patrick, with whom she has been confounded by Ussher (*Primordia*, p. 705), and by Michael O’Cleary in his *Irish Calendar*; but, as Colgan shows, the days of their several festivals prove the difference—that of Darerca Moninne being on the 6th of July, and of Darerca, the sister (or supposed sister) of Patrick, being on the 22nd of March. It was probably from St. Brigid that she acquired her love for building

churches. Darerca, the sister of St. Patrick, was married to a Lombard, named Restitutus, who was author of a hymn in praise of his brother-in-law, Patrick. Their son was Seachnail, Bishop of Domhnach-Seachnail, now Dunshaughlin, in Meath, where he died A. D. 448. This Darerca had also another name, Liamhain, or Liemania. Another of her sons—for she had seven by the Lombard—was named Lugnat, or Lugnaedon. He was pilot to St. Patrick, and probably was much engaged in his occupation upon the waters of Lough Corrib, as some think his tombstone was discovered near “Patrick’s Church,” on the Island of Inchaguill, nearly midway between Oughterard and Cong. This church, which may also claim connexion with Darerca Liemania, shows by its doorway that it is of very ancient date.

St. Moninne’s long life was one of hard work, passed in busy and stirring times, taking part and interest in the great and wondrous events which followed the preaching of her friend’s brother, besides her own zealous endeavours to spread the faith of Christ in every quarter, and her labours in founding and governing so many churches and convents. How she must have rejoiced in the conversion of the King of Connaught, and his 12,000 men, by Patrick’s preaching! She was also probably at the foundation of Ard-macha, i. e. the height of Macha. She had seen the great battle of Athdara, the captivity of King Laeghaire; heard also of his Pagan oath and perjury, and his sudden death—“killed by the sun and wind.” She was also very probably at the great feast of Tara, celebrated in the year 463 by King Oilioll, whose funeral mound may possibly be that which stands beside the round tower of Inniskeen. She saw the death of her old and intimate friend, Patrick’s Psalmist, St. Benan, at Armagh, of which he was second bishop, as well as that of his successor, St. Iarlath, fourteen years after. In 493 she witnessed the death of her good friend, St. Patrick, in the 122nd year of his age. Her friends were now falling fast around her. Shortly before her own departure, “Patrick’s sweet-spoken judge,” Bishop Erc, of Slane, died. At length, upon the 6th day of July, A. D. 517, the good St. Darerca, of Sliabh-Cuillinn breathed her last in peace—a few years before her friend and fel-

low-virgin, St. Brigid, abbess of Kildare; and until lately her "patron" was held at Killeavy upon that day.

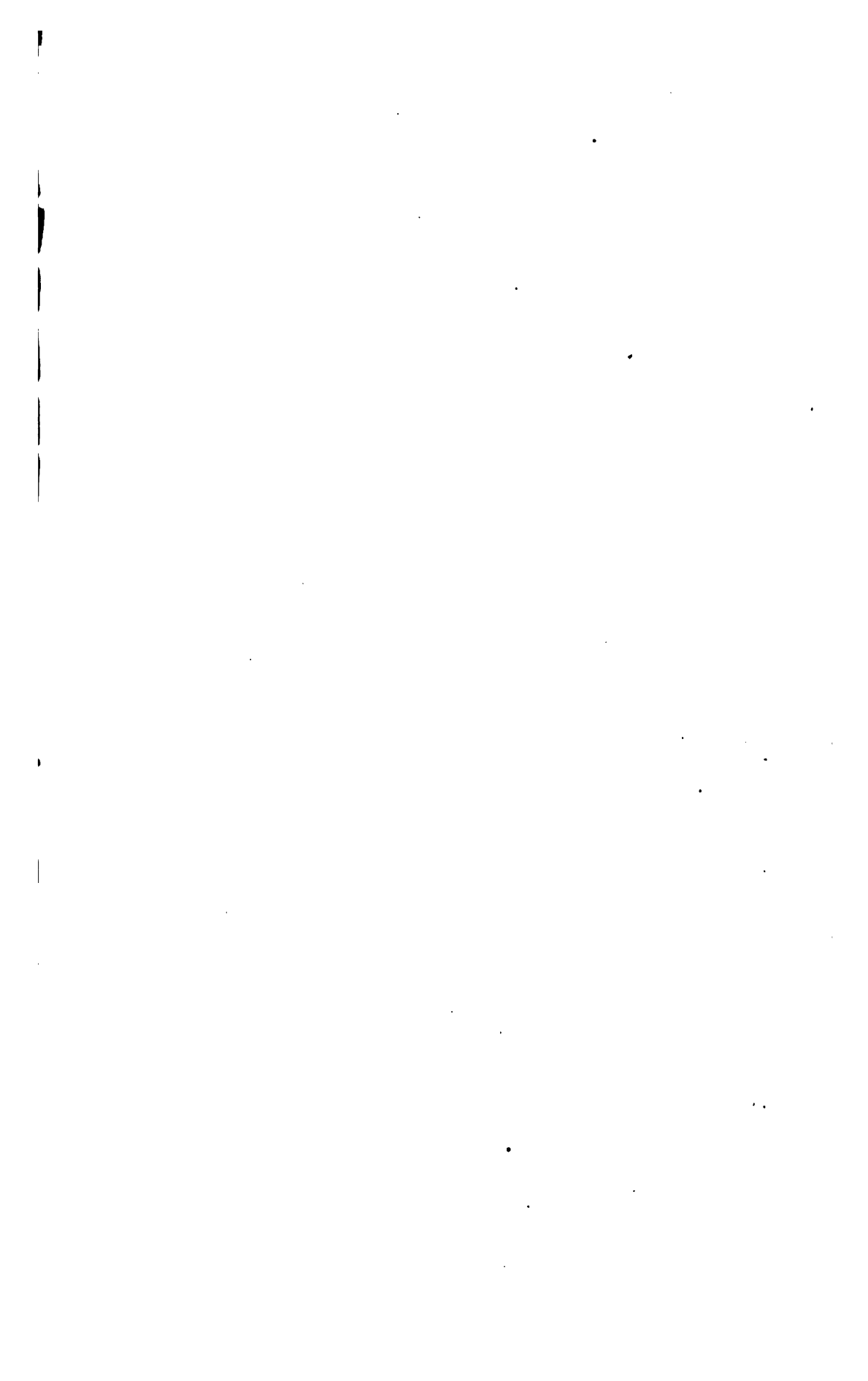
After her death, no notice is taken of her church or monastery in the Annals until the year 654, when the death of Coincenn of Cill-sleibhe is noted, and many years of peace seem to have passed over it, as over the whole of Ireland, until the incursions of the Danes, or, as they are called in the "Annals of Ulster," the Gentiles, or Pagan Danes; in 790, these plunderers landed on the island of Lambay, and burned its church and "broke and plundered its shrines;" this was their first footing on the Irish coast, and henceforward, for several centuries, no place was safe from their violence; the monasteries were plundered, the monks murdered, the manuscript books burned and destroyed. They formed a station at Narrow-water, whence they sent out marauding parties, and passing over the intervening mountain ridge, the very first place which attracted them was the monastery of Cill-sleibhe. In the year 851, they overran and spoiled Armagh upon Easter-day. The "Annals of the Four Masters" relate that in A. D. 850, "A fleet of eight score ships of Finghoill (white foreigners) arrived at Snamh Eidheaneach (Carlingford Lough), to give battle to the Dubghoill (black foreigners), and they fought with each other for three days and three nights, and the Dubghoill gained the victory, and the Finnghoill left their ships to them." The "Annals of Ulster" notice it under the above date, 851, thus:—"The spoile of Armagh by the foreigners in Easter-day—the navy of 28 ships of white Gentiles, came to give battle to Black gentiles, to Carlingford loch: 3 days and 3 nights were passed by them in fighting, but the Blacke broake at last, and ran away." Small as the round tower of Cill-sleibhe was, it may have served as a refuge from the barbarous plunderers in those troublous times, its comparative proximity to Narrow-water marking it out for their hostility; but the poor recluses were not always quick enough in reaching its sheltering walls; for in the year 921, a priest named Dubhliter, who appears to have come to Cill-sleibhe, on a visit, from Armagh, was seized upon by the foreigners of Carlingford Lough and martyred. Shortly after they suffered for their sacrilege and murder, being utterly routed and driven from

Carlingford by Murray Mc Neil, and then, as the Annals express it, "the foreigners deserted Ireland." The quiet of the inhabitants of Cill-sleibhe was disturbed by a savage duel in 1029, between the Lord of Fermanagh and the Lord of Louth, Donagh O'Donnegan, and Kenny Mc Angirce; they both fell by each other's hands under its walls. An instance of a married woman being an abbess occurred at Cill-sleibhe, A. D. 1077, when the "Four Masters" relate, that "Ailbhe, wife of the Lord of the Airtheara (Oriors), and the successor of Moninne, died." A year of very great scarcity of victuals, and of persecution of religious houses followed, in which Colca O'Hieran, who was called "Head of the poor of Armagh," died, and in which also the evil passions of men added much misery, burning, and slaughtering, and carrying away cattle, and the murder of many chiefs.

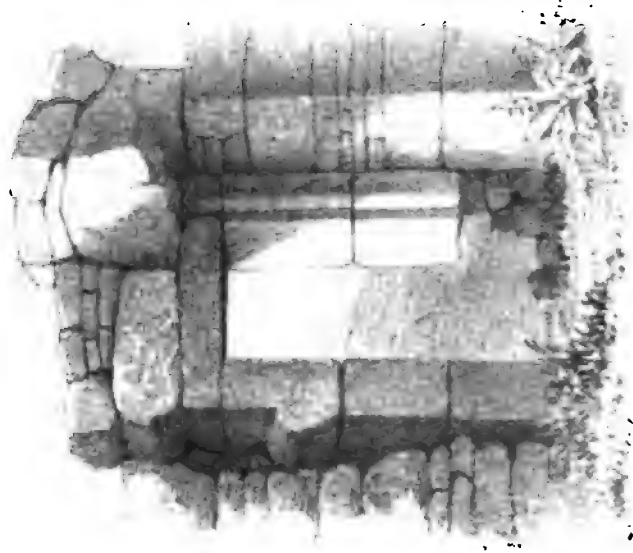
There occurred in 1146, a great storm of wind which caused much destruction in Ireland, the establishment at Cill-sleibhe not escaping; the account is thus given:—"The age of Christ 1146, a great wind storm occurred on the third day of December, which caused a great destruction of woods throughout Ireland; it prostrated sixty trees at Doire Choluim-chille, tearing them out by the roots, and killed and smothered many persons in the church; it also killed other people at Cill-sleibhe." The next mention of Cill-sleibhe in the Annals records the death there of "a pious good Senior at an advanced age, called Cailleach of Cill-Sleibhe, in which year the chief Senior of all Ireland also died."

In the year 1163, the monastery was subjected to the demands of Niall, son of Murray O'Lochlin, for the support of what is called a Royal Heir's feasting, in which the king appears to have overrun a great part of the kingdom, demanding meat and drink, and all kinds of property, for the support and advantage of his followers: his first visit was to Cill-sleibhe, where the successor of St. Moninne seems to have complied with his demands, as he passed on without any record of injury done to the establishment; his course afterwards was marked with rapine and violence. The Annals state: "He proceeded afterwards into Airghialla, Tir-Bruin, and Meath, and he committed various acts

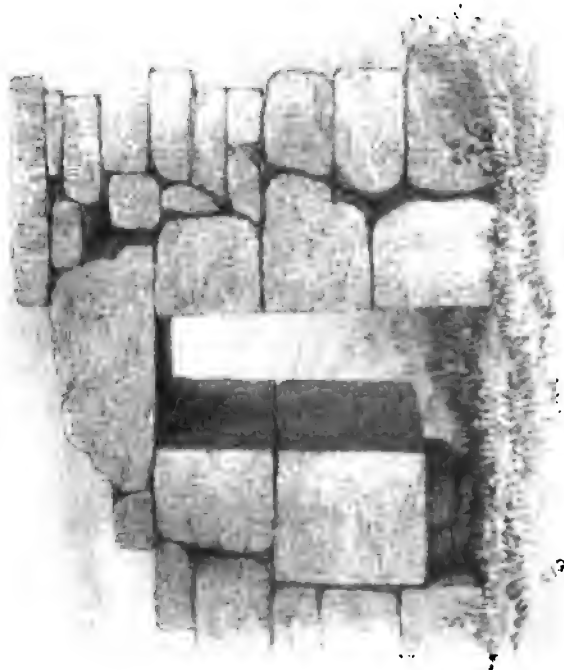




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of violence in territories and churches, and particularly at Ceanannus, Ard-Breccain, Fobhar-Fechin, Eacharadh-Lobrain, and Cluain-mic-nois; they then went into Connaught across Ath Luain (Athlone), and feasted upon the "Ui-Maine," where, however, they met their just deserts, being, with the exception of some fugitives and deserters, all killed.

After the Anglo-Norman conquest Cill-sleibhe appears to have been connected with the Knights of St. John, at which time most probably the large addition [see plan p. 101] was made at the eastern end of St. Moninne's church, the builders of which endeavoured very successfully to keep up the same style and appearance in the *external* face of the northern doorway, so that at the first glance it might be easily mistaken as belonging to a much earlier date; a moment's comparison, however, of the *inside* with that of the ancient western door will exhibit the marked difference between the simple architecture of St. Moninne's and the more ornate of the Anglo-Normans. The lancet window also, and the gable barge-stone at the east end, show at once the comparatively modern architecture of this addition. The outside of this northern door is represented on the plate facing this page. Of the round tower I could find no trace; a large quantity of stones on the southern side are said to be its remains. Perhaps the low closed doorway,



Closed Doorway.



Original East Window.

covered with a lintel five feet long, here represented, may have been to give easy access to it. The tower is reported to have fallen about 100 years ago, and it is also said that there exists a song made upon its fall. In the accompanying cut is shown the inside of the original east window of

St. Moninne's church. What is called a cave, passes from the churchyard under the road: it probably was a place of refuge connected with the ecclesiastical establishment so long resident here.

The unsparing tyrant and monster, Henry VIII., fixed his cruel grasp upon St. Moninne's inheritance in the 34th year of his reign, and upon the 10th of March in that year expelled the last abbess—Alicia Nigen M'Donchy O'Hanlon (the O'Hanlons were hereditary standard-bearers to the Kings of Ulster, and the present representative, who lives in Dundalk, can show his genealogy almost to the days of St. Moninne). An inquisition of the 3rd of James I. finds that at that time the abbess had been, in right of the abbey, seised of townlands and tythes in the county of Armagh, of the annual value, besides reprises, of forty shillings Irish money. And thus Cill-sleibhe-Cuillinn passes from the page of history.

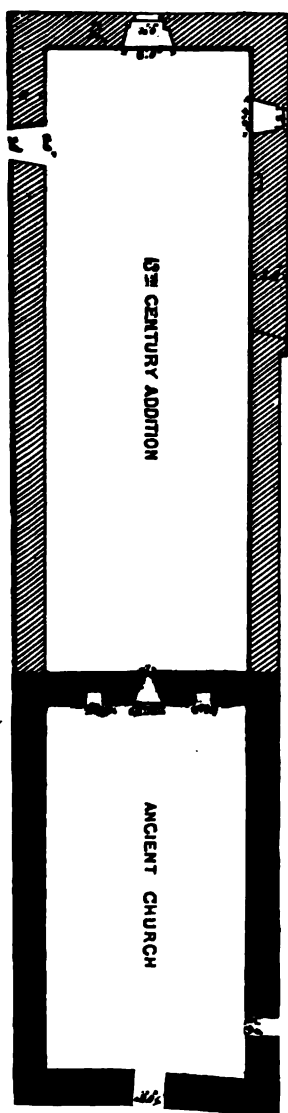
The exact date of the foundation of St. Moninne's Abbey is stated by Louis Lucas to be A.D. 518: "Kilslieve, ou Kilslebe, estoit une ancienne abbaye, fondée l'an 518, par Darerca surnommée Moninne, quien fut Abbessse" ("Histoire Monastique D'Ireland," Paris, 1690). The original church, founded by Darerca, appears to have been of wood, of which this was the successor, so that the date about 450, which is supposed to be that of her first erection here, leaves time sufficient for the decay of the wooden structure. The "Life of St. Moninne," compiled by Conchubran in the 12th century, states that it was originally made of smoothed timber, according to the fashion of the Scotie nations, who were not accustomed to erect stone walls or get them erected—"Elapide enim sacras ædes efficere, tam Scotis quam Britonibus morem fuisse insolitum, ex Beda quoque didicimus. Indequè in S. Monennæ monasterio Ecclesiam constructam fuisse notat Conchubranus, tabulis de dolatis, juxta morem Scoticarum gentium."—Ussher "De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis," p. 737.

The brief notice by the "Four Masters" of Cill-sleibhe, under the year 654, leaves it in doubt who Coincenn was, merely stating, "The age of Christ, 654, Coincenn of Cill-Sleibhe died," but the "Histoire Monastique" above quoted states: "Saint Conchenne fut aussi Abbessse de Kilsleibe

dans le septieme siecle;" and also that she was "Chanoiness reg. de saint Aug." The same authority also states, 293: "A Kilsleve dans le comté d'Armagh il y a un Convent, dont le pere Thomas Ornay Tiercere fut etably Commissaire perpetuel en 1457, il estoit aussi Visiteur de son ordre en Irlande, ce Convent de Kilsleve estoit le plus considerable des Picpus d'Irlande."

The derivation of the terms, "Tercieres," and "Picpus" is thus given: "Convens que le Tiers ordre de Saint Francis, a eus en Irlande, on appelle les religieux de cet order communement Tiercieres, et a Paris, Picpus, par ce quils ont este premierement établis dans le village de Picpus, a l'extremite du faubourg Saint Antoine." There were thirty-seven convents of this order in Ireland, of which the ancient establishment of Cill-sleibhe became one.

According to Ussher, the abbey at Fochard was founded by St. Moninne in honour of the birth-place of her friend St. Brigid. Some have attributed this foundation to the sister of St. Patrick, which mistake arises from the similarity of names; but as Fochard was founded A. D. 630, and Moninne died A. D. 517, this cannot be; neither could St. Brigid herself have founded it, as some say, for she died A. D. 525, unless reference is made to some wooden church, the predecessor of that of



Plan of Cill-sleibhe-Cuillinn.

lime and stone; but no mention is made of such a structure. It is said there were 150 "chanoinesses," in Fochard,

so that Cill-sleibhe and its "canonesses" there were not without friends and religious society, for comfort and counsel in those troubled times. Lucas, the author of the "*Histoire Monastique*," also tells us that "*Darerca Moninna de Kilslebé estoit de la familles des Roderics d'Ultonie*."

The plan of the church of Cill-sleibhe-Cuillinn given at p. 101 has been executed by H. S. Foxall, Esq., C. E. ; he has also furnished the drawings of the closed door and of the window, engraved at p. 99. The irregularity of the western wall affords an example of that carelessness in measurement of which the ancient builders were so often guilty. A portion of the south wall of the Anglo-Norman addition has been built with a batter, five feet in height, which has preserved it to the present day quite perfect.

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#### NOTES OF SOME ANTIQUITIES ON ARANMORE, IN THE BAY OF GALWAY.

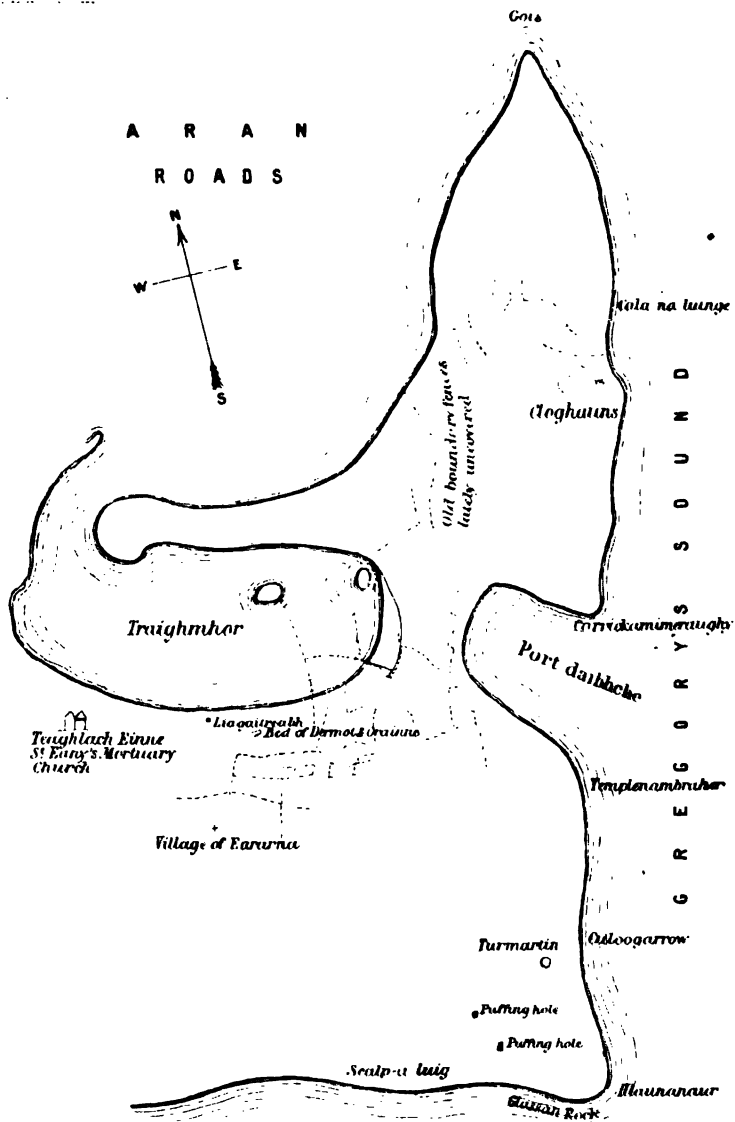
##### NO. I.—IARARNA.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM KILBRIDE.

IARARNA is the extreme southern part of Killeany, one of the six townlands into which the island of Aranmore, in Galway bay, is divided. The south-eastern portion of this "Quarter" lies low and flat, and protrudes out some distance in the sea, opposite to Straw Island. Some twenty or thirty years ago it formed, for the most part, one level plain of sand, of from ten to fifteen feet in height. Since then, the sand has been almost all swept by the winds into the sea, and the limestone rock on which it rested left bare. In consequence of this denudation, several objects of great antiquarian interest have been disclosed, which, up to that period, were unknown to exist there. These ancient remains, so lately revealed to view, are very curious, and deserve attention—not from any novelty of construction,



The dotted lines are  
ancient walls until  
lately covered by the  
sand



ATLANTIC OCEAN

MAP OF A PORTION OF ARAN ISLAND.

Drawn by W. Rowan

London & Co. Lith. Dublin



size, or shape, as there are several of exactly the same description scattered in different parts of the island—so much as from the fact of their having been built on the solid rock beneath the large sand-plain, which completely covered them to the extent of several feet above their highest parts.

These ancient remains consist of—1st. Two clocháns; 2nd. Several double stone-wall fences, some of them running through part of Traighmhór, while others terminate at the very water's brink, and seem to have extended outwards under the sea; and, 3rd. A structure formed of flags placed on edge, and corresponding in size and make with the flag-cells on the islands usually denominated Dermot's and Graine's beds.

Captain Rowan, of Belmont, Tralee, while on a visit here in the summer, took a lively interest in these relics of by-gone ages—had the clocháns cleared out of the sand and *débris* filling them, and during the process of excavation uncovered some human bones and an entire skeleton, which will be referred to hereafter. He also sketched the clocháns, and mapped out the locality in which they lie, together with the stone walls and "bed"—thus, from the plates lithographed from his sketches, and accompanying this paper, enabling the eye to take in with a glance the features of the place, and the position the old remains occupy.

A few preliminary observations, however, on the whole district, may not be deemed unnecessary here, as Captain Rowan's map only illustrates the portion on which the remains are found.

The east side of the three islands of Aran contains several extensive sand-plains, and may have been in former ages one continuous and unbroken sea shore. At Kilmurvy there is one; another in the village of Monaster; Kilronan comes next; and to it succeeds the one at Iarárna. Passing over Gregory's Sound, we find a large portion of the middle island near the sea almost composed of sand; crossing again the Foul Sound from Sand-head, we arrive at Innis Saor, and find the sand occupying the entire sea border, and extending some distance along the Sound, between it and the Clare coast.

It is allowable to conjecture that the sand in all these places was deposited at one and the same time. The old remains found under the sand of Iarárna lead us to suppose they must have been erected, anterior to that period. It is, no doubt, difficult to understand how this can be, as the clocháns and fences seem to be comparatively modern. The "bed," it is true, belongs to more ancient times, being connected, as many suppose, with the mythology of the Pagan Irish. This, however, only brings us back to the second or third century of the Christian era; but unless some more plausible way can be found for accounting for the accumulation of sand over these ancient structures, it must be referred to a date posterior to their erection.

Iarárna comprises the southern extremity of the townland of Killeany. The Glassan rocks lie to the south, at the entrance of Gregory's Sound. These are horizontal table-rocks about twenty feet above the sea level, from which the superincumbent strata of limestone have been detached and washed away, to the depth of fourteen feet, by the action of the sea, thus leaving a perfectly level and smooth platform of great extent on the sea-side margin of the cliff. This natural *promenade* has been much frequented by visitors—many of whose initials and names are incised on the smooth faces of the vertical rocks on the land side. In the spring and summer months, old men, now too feeble to battle with the elements and work the light canoe in either calm or storm, and young boys, as yet unpractised to handle the frail oar, resort here in numbers, and, with either hand-lines, or rods of seasoned sallow, fish from the brink of the rocky platform. In certain seasons the "take" is abundant; and they not only supply their own families, but have some for sale.

Fishing from a high ledge of rock, with the sea rolling and tossing beneath, is a rather appalling occupation to the unpractised eye and giddy head, and also not unattended with danger, as the following fearful incident, which occurred here, fully testifies:—

In 1852, on a calm, mild day, when the sea rolled sluggishly along in gentle undulations, several persons were seated on the platform, quietly chatting and enjoying

the warm day, holding their lines and rods suspended over the rock, waiting patiently for the nibble of the hungry inhabitants of the deep playing in tiny shoals around its base, while they fearlessly stood without a single thought of their impending danger on the margin of the ledge; when, suddenly, and without the least intimation or warning of any kind, a huge mountain mass of waters rose up as if by magic, swept over the entire rocky platform, engulfing those stationed there, and then marched on with irresistible might until it met the vertical cliff on the land side, where its further progress was stayed; it then slowly retired, carrying along with it seven human beings, some of whom were immediately drowned, while the others struggled for a few moments, with blind frenzy, against their fate; but they also were soon swallowed up, and were seen no more. Several of their companions standing in close proximity, but in a higher position, providentially escaped. They, however, witnessed the whole occurrence, but were so stupified with the suddenness of the catastrophe, and the magnitude of the calamity, that they only could gaze on with awe and horror, unable to render the least assistance to their drowning comrades.

The Glassan rocks receive their name from the large quantities of "pollock" usually caught there. Its Irish name is "Ail na n-glasóg," or "glassán," from whence also is derived its English appellation.

South-west of the Glassan rocks are two large puffing holes, through which, when the wind blows from the west, with the least stir in the sea, the waters seethe and rush upwards as if from some huge caldron, and with terrific roar cast their white foam and thick clouds of spray aloft.

Passing along towards the village of Iarárna, the island rises up in a ridge-like shape, from whence we obtain a full and complete view of the picturesque and grand but stern scenery by which we are surrounded. In the distance, far off seaward, are the Brandon hills, whose outlines are faintly discernible through the light hazy mantle of bewitching blue with which they are enveloped. Our glance next rests on the cliffs of Mohar, raising their lofty heads in solemn, silent and majestic grandeur. Then we gaze for a moment on the Clare coast, until the eye rests on the

summits of grey Ceanbóirne (Black head), which often, of a summer's eve, when the sun is about to sink to rest, is lit up with a magic splendour and golden glory of such gorgeous beauty as words cannot express. Then right before us is Galway bay, surrounded by the Connemara hills, which, like towering giants, rise in the far off distance. Their rugged sides and summits are bathed in a soft, bewitching haze of purple; distance lends a dreamy softness to their giant forms, and the light vapoury mantle in which they are enshrouded mellows down the sternness with which a nearer view might invest them.

The little village of Iarárna is situated low down on the eastern face of the declivity, on the brink of the sand-plain. It boasts of no great antiquity. Two or three generations, at the most, have only passed since the first cottage was reared there. It is marked on the Ordnance Map as "Eararna." The natives, however, always pronounce it "Iarárna," with the first syllable sounded as "ear," in the sentence, "ear of corn", &c. Its meaning is, "the hinder part, or extremity of Aran." "Ear" and Íar, in compounds are synonymous, as we gather from the word "earball" = "iarball," compounded of "ear and ball," the extreme member, literally "tail." The two last syllables "arna" of this word are an abbreviated form of the genitive case of "Ara," a feminine noun of the third declension whose regular genitive would be, "Arána," meaning "the Aran isle."

We now advance onward by the side of Gregory's Sound, and arrive at the site of "Teampol na m-Brathar" (tsampul ná mraw-ar), as marked in the Ordnance Map, of which not a vestige now remains. From this we proceed a short distance eastward until we meet "Port-Deha;" and here we must pause a while, as there is a legend connected with this little indentation, which deserves some attention.

Port Deha is a little hollow, or bight, of a rather rough and stormy character, but at the same time exceedingly beneficial, as large masses of seaweed enter there; and the hardy islanders combat the huge billows, struggling to rescue this useful commodity from their fierce grasp. This rocky, but tiny beach, is notable for the consummation of a great miracle wrought in favour of Endeus, the first Christian

teacher on these islands. The legend respecting it informs us that Corbanus, the Firbolgic chief of the Aranites, fled with rather precipitate haste, and without any apparent reason, from the island, on the approach of Endeus. The wonderful manner in which the missionary, and several companions, traversed over in a large stone boat from Garomna Head to the village of Cowrogh may have bewildered him; but of this we are not informed. He, however, fled in a disgraceful way—no one either contesting his claim or resisting his authority—and never rested until he passed the intervening sea, and stood in safety upon the Clare shore.

His mind, however, was not at rest. Fitful thoughts of his cowardly conduct flashed across and sank deeply into his perturbed soul. But while moodily revolving recent events, a happy idea emerged from the chaos of conflicting doubts and fears, and under its inspiration he resolved by one bold stroke to decide his own fortune, and at the same time test the stranger's claim to supernatural protection.

This he effected in the following manner :—Corbanus filled a large barrel with corn seed, placed it on the shore, saying, that if Endeus was the favoured one of the celestial powers it would be soon transported by some means over the sea, and reach him safely. If this were done, the miracle would decidedly prove that all hopes of regaining his abandoned principality were utterly vain, as heaven no longer favoured his cause, but that of the Christian missionary; whereas, if the barrel remained stationary, this would be a happy omen, assuring him of success in his contemplated struggle with the usurping stranger, who had not only deprived him of his patrimony, but also lowered his self-esteem, and degraded him from his chieftain's rank.

The barrel containing the seed corn soon set his doubts at rest. It was removed without human agency from the Clare shore, wafted gently over the sea, until, at last, it reached the small beach of Port-Deha, leaving behind it a luminous and tranquil track, which, some aver, exists to the present day, thus marking out the path which the vessel traversed on this occasion. The little beach, we are told, received its name of Port Daibhche (dow-ke), (and not Deha, as corruptly given on the Ordnance Map), from this

wonderful event, which O'Flaherty mentions in the following terms:—

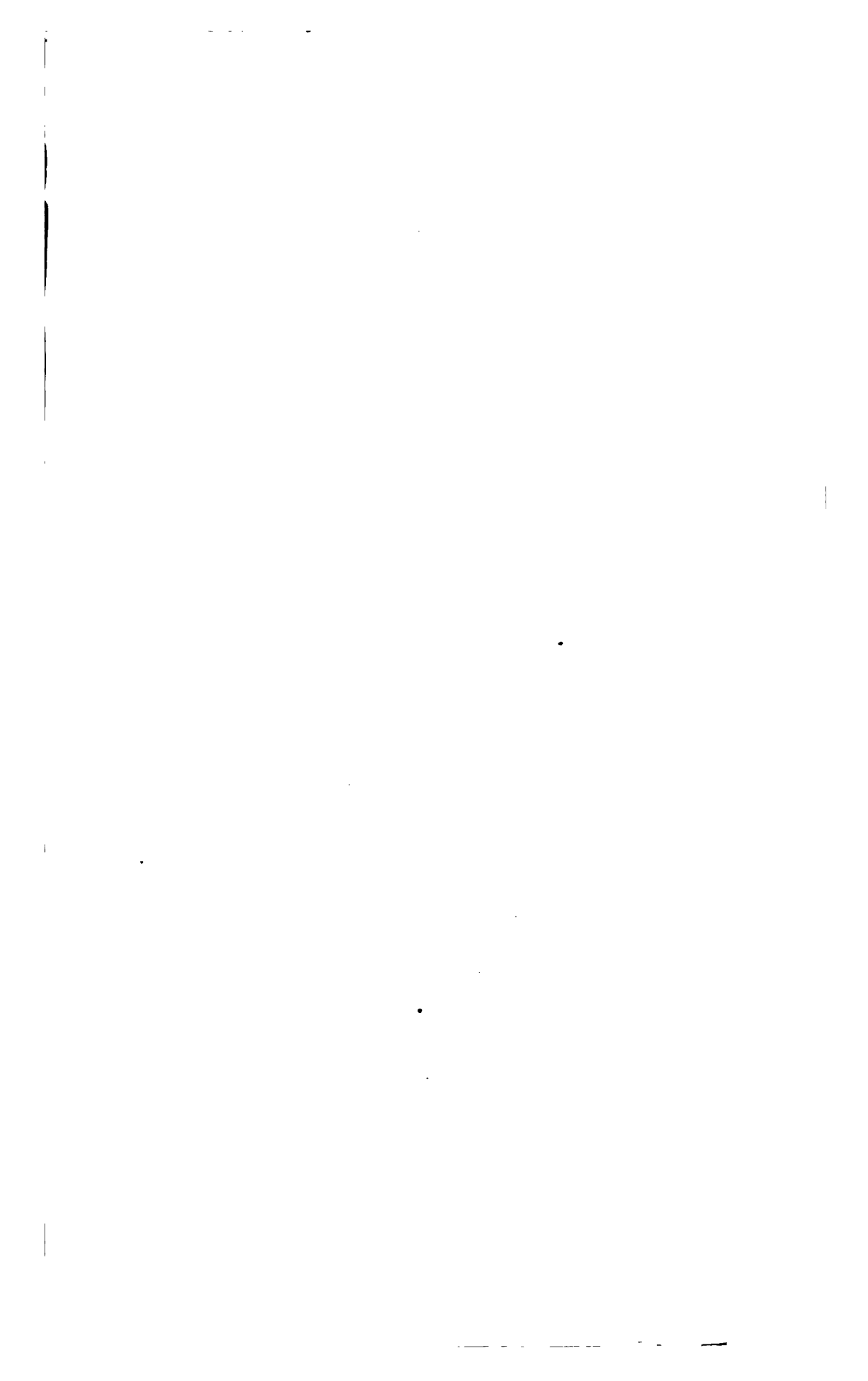
“There is, on the east side of this island [Aranmore], Portdoibhche, i. e. Portus-Doly [recte, *Portus Dolis*], mentioned in St. Enn's life (cap. 16), now corruptedly Port-eiche; and in each of the two other islands is Trach-na-neach, or Tracht-each, i. e. the horse's shore, situated as in his life (cap. 15).”—“Iarconnaught,” p. 83.

The Irish language has four terms expressive of different kinds of sand beach, or collections of sand. Traigh (Tráw) indicates the part between high and low water mark. Cladach commences at high water mark, and reaches from thence to the Dúirling, where it terminates. Dúirling is the ridge or summit above this, generally covered with water-worn stones. Dubhach (doo-ach) follows it, and is the name usually given to flat plains of sand, whether of great or small extent, but never approached by the tide. In these islands “Dubhach” is seldom employed, and Gúaradh (goo-ráh) is used instead; but this word properly means any detached or isolated sand bank; especially such a one as may be acted on or scattered by the wind.

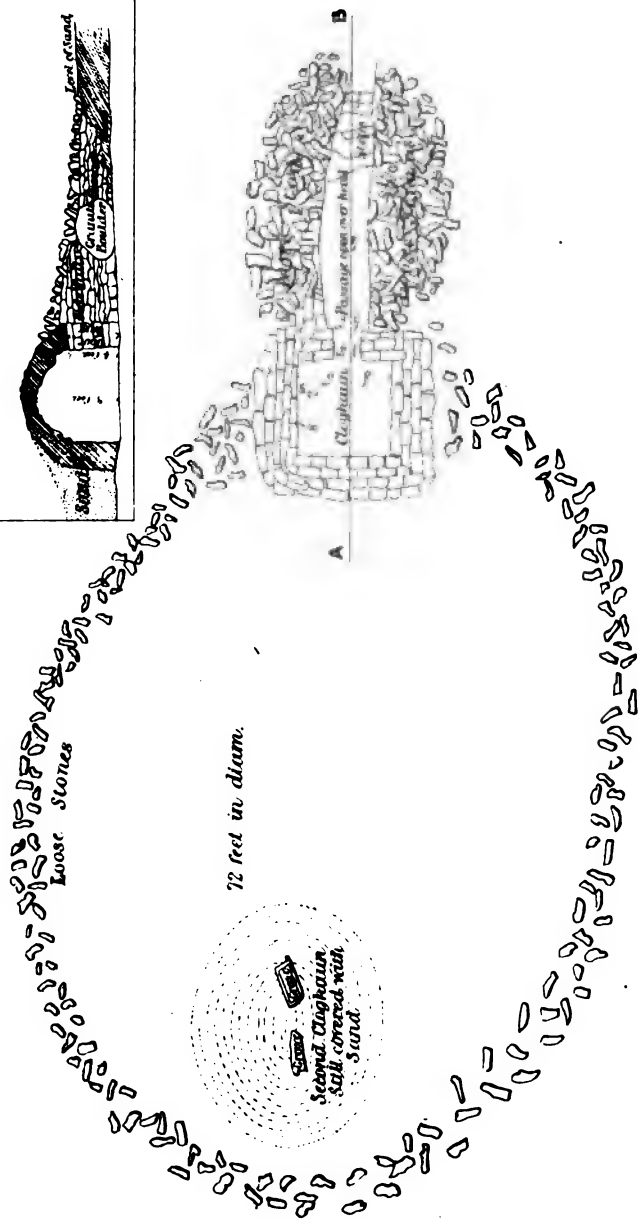
Thus, we see there is but slight difference between the two words “dubhach” and “dabhach:” in rapid pronunciation this is scarcely noticeable, and in the genitive case, in which each word would be used in conjunction with “Port,” still less so, as both belong to the same declension and gender. From this it might be conjectured that “dabhach,” “tub or vat,” is only a corruption of “dubhach,” “a sand plain,” a name which exactly and truthfully expresses the characteristics of the locality in which this little beach of “Portdoibhche” was situated, and surrounded as it was by one level, extensive, and then unbroken plain of sand.

The mistake thus originated may have led on some fertile imagination to account for this singular appellation, and thus the legend of the miraculous transport of the “dabhach,” “vat or tun,” may have been invented.

A little to the east of this, again, we come to another small rocky beach, called by the natives “Cala na luinge,” “ship harbour or cove.” A tradition, but of comparatively recent date, is also connected with this place. It will be noticed shortly; but now we have reached the spot where the relics of by-gone days commence, and so we turn



SECTION THROUGH A. B.



PLAN AND SECTION OF A CLOCHANN, ARAN ISLAND

Drawn by A. Peck

Antiquities of Aran Islands



our attention to the most prominent, if not the most interesting of these remains.

THE CLOCHÁNS are two in number, and lie within a few hundred yards north of Cala-na-luinge. At a little distance they appear like two large mounds of loose, disjointed stones, half buried in sand; but on a nearer survey something like order, though of a very rugged and rude character, begins to be perceived, but it is not until we really stand upon the summit of the one nearest the Sound that it could be identified as one of those ancient structures denominated clocháns. The rounded, or beehive-shaped roof, as it is called, then becomes apparent. When the writer first saw it a few years ago, the greater part of this building was imbedded in the sand, nothing of it being visible except a few of the topmost courses of light flags forming part of the roof, and the horizontal ones stretched across the top, and covering all in. The lie of the stones, and the formation of the roof, however, proclaimed the character of the building. The second clochán is only distant a few yards from the first, lying in a straight line to the north of it. Externally it only presents a mass of ruins imbedded in sand with loose stones scattered over it. On the top, in the centre, lies a heavy slab of limestone, which, although rude, shows evident signs of having undergone some preparation in order to fit it out as a tombstone, for which purpose it was evidently designed, and also used to point out the spot where some lone stranger found his last resting-place. Round about this mound several small headstones are apparently observable. On the south-east side are two smaller ones of that description, placed, one at the head and the other at the foot of a grave. This clochán, as already remarked, is in ruins. The reason of its greater dilapidation may be accounted for by the following tradition still preserved amongst the islanders. It was related to the writer by a villager of Iarárna about fifty years of age, who stated, that he often heard his father (who died upwards of eighty years of age) mentioning it as a tradition received from his father, and often spoken of amongst them as having happened before his time; so that the occurrence to which it refers may date, perhaps, from one

hundred to one hundred and fifty years back, and is as follows :—A Spanish (some say French) ship was driven into Cala-na-luinge (whether from stress of weather, or any other cause, is not remembered), and all on board were lost. The bodies were washed ashore; but the islanders have been, it seems, ever averse to inter strangers, and especially shipwrecked ones, in their own burial grounds. Being, however, unwilling to deny them the rite of sepulture, they resolved to bury them in the great sand plain around them, and for this purpose opened the graves accidentally over the spot where the clochán lay entombed beneath the sand. They never imagined for a moment that a building of any description lay underneath; for the sand plain was at the time several feet higher than the tops of the clocháns. In digging down, they, however, disturbed the roof, which must have fallen inwards, and also the side walls, from which cause the building, when the sand was drifted by the wind from it about fifteen years ago, was found in ruins, a mere mass of loose stones imbedded in sand.

That this tradition is in the main correct there is now little or no room for doubt. Captain Rowan, while investigating the place, collected several detached human bones; and in the spot marked by the two upright stones already mentioned discovered an entire skeleton. Had the search been mainly directed to that purpose, or further continued, others might have been obtained; but sufficient proof was supplied, in what was found, of the truth of the story, without further search.

Two important facts, however, and of the greatest interest with respect to this locality, are furnished by the above long-remembered tradition. In the first, we see that the sand formed one great plain of from ten to fifteen feet in height, rising as it did when those bodies were interred there, several feet above the highest tops of the clocháns. The dilapidated state of the one in which they were buried, together with the tombstone now lying on its summit, fully attest this. The second is, that it is only within the past twenty years the sand forming this extensive plain has been swept away. Within this period, not only the clocháns, but also the other remains have been uncovered, and

become objects of observation. Before that time they were entirely hid from view, entombed beneath the sand, and consequently unseen and unknown.

On September 7, 1867, Mr. Thompson, of 95, Leeson-street, Dublin, and Captain Rowan, determined upon having the clochán nearest Cala-na-luinge excavated. To effect this, men were employed to clear out the sand with which it was filled; but during the process some of the top stones, when deprived of this support, fell in. Nothing but sand was found in the interior, which, when emptied, proved to be more capacious than what might have been expected from its external appearance. Its foundation rests on the solid rock, and is of a quadrangular shape on the inside, which form is retained until it reaches the height of four feet, when the beehive-shaped roof commences. It measures eight feet two inches by eight feet nine inches, and eight feet in height. It had neither chimney to emit the smoke, nor window to admit light. The door or entrance was narrow, being only one foot seven inches in breadth; the jambs were, however, perpendicular, and without that incline inward at top so observable in the other ancient buildings on the islands; they are also pretty well built, and the different courses of masonry are far more regular, and of a better construction than usually met with in clocháns. From the door there is a narrow passage three feet six inches in breadth (except in one spot where it widens out to four feet seven inches, in order to include a large boulder), leading outward, and enclosed by walls well built, of about three feet six inches in height. At the termination of this are six steps; the topmost one on a level with the side walls of the passage, thus forming an enclosure or alley, erected, no doubt, for the double purpose of a protection from the winds and storm, and also from the drift sand. The steps lead us to suppose the latter was the principal enemy to be guarded against. Outside this passage, through its whole length on each side, are piled large heaps of stones, as if forming an exterior defence.

From the west and east corners of this clochán a large circle of loose stones commences, which includes the second clochán within its circumference, but in close proximity to its northern extremity. This circle, which was doubtless intended for a defensive enclosure, in the same manner as the

passage leading up to the first one, was seventy-two feet in diameter. From the position of the two clocháns, and the circle surrounding them, taking in what may be called the back wall of the first one as part of the enclosure, it may be reasonably conjectured that they formed one establishment, connected by a covered passage with each other, as may be seen in some of the clocháns near the village of Cowrogh, where there is a whole assemblage of these buildings forming a little town, not inaptly called "Baile-na-Sean," or town of the ancient ones, which has been, until the present year, left unnoticed, not having been even marked on the Ordnance Map. The plate which faces page 111, lithographed from Captain Rowan's drawing, serves to illustrate the foregoing description.

The late Dr. Petrie, in his elaborate work on the "Round Towers," when describing these remarkable and curious structures, informs us that the Pagan clocháns differ in two material characteristics from the Christian ones. The former were round or oval in shape, and always without cement, while the latter deviated from that type, assumed the rectangular, at least at their base, and gradually introduced cement. It is to be feared this rule, at least with respect to their form of construction, will not hold good in these islands. The various stone cells surrounding the old fortress of "Dubh-chathair," although not covered in with the beehive-shaped roofs adopted in the formation of clocháns, are, however, esteemed as the most ancient of such habitations in the islands, yet they are one and all invariably rectangular. If Dr. Petrie's theory, however, be correct, these Iarárna clocháns are undoubtedly of Christian origin; and if the masonry of which they are composed is taken into consideration, they belong to more recent times than most of the others. If such be the fact, how can the accumulation of the vast plain of sand, not only surrounding them, but rising several feet above their summits, be accounted for? From whence, and by what agency was it driven there? To say the sand was excavated until the rock was reached on which their foundations were placed will not solve the difficulty, as we find the sand completely covering them to the extent of several feet. The boundary fences, hereafter to be referred to, were covered up in the same way: they can be easily traced out, some entirely de-

nuded of sand, others only a few inches above it, and these can be tracked in their progress until they entirely disappear underneath it. Then, again, we have the mortuary chapel of Endeus, beneath which it is said one hundred and twenty-five bodies of saints are interred, built on the surface of the sand plain, from ten to fifteen feet above the rock. This example before the eyes of the builders of the clocháns might lead us to suppose that if the sand existed there at the time of their erection, they would scarcely have undergone so much labour as to sink down to the solid rock merely to erect a clochán.

THE STONE FENCES.—These are simple stone walls used as boundaries to mark off and defend the fields and gardens enclosed by them. Some are double, a few single, and extremely well built, considering the kind of stones with which they were constructed. They are without cement, and the stones used seem to have been partly worn down by friction, though not to such an extent as those usually obtained on beaches; while others are surface stones, but not such as could have been raised in the vicinity of the walls. They are limestone, but none similar to the partially worn down ones are now visible on the shore. The fields partitioned off were of good size, but the soil must have been very shallow, as the walls rest on the solid rock; this they would scarcely do if any great depth of either clay or sand existed at the time of their erection. If the sand, until lately forming an extensive plain, had been there then, there would be very little likelihood indeed of the people being so very unwise, or so fond of useless labour as to sink down to the foundation rock, and then only raising the fences to about half the height of the sand plain. This would have been a procedure of such rare, and so foolish a character, that it need not be entertained for a single moment. We find the fences, some altogether denuded of sand, others with one side uncovered, and the sheltered side buried in it. In other places, where it has been only partially drifted away, the fences are seen with only a foot, or perhaps a few inches exposed; following these, we find them receding under the sand until they are finally lost to view; when digging down a foot or so

we again come upon them, but in all places they are found to rest upon the rock as their foundation.

The nature of the soil is difficult to make out, for in most places the now surface rock from which the sand has been swept away is quite bare, nay, even polished. It could not have been of clay, or of that gravelly kind underlying a great part of the surface soil in the islands. Either of these would have been too heavy and tenacious to have been swept away by the wind along with the sand, and certainly some remnant would be found here and there in the fissures and chinks of the rock if the soil had been composed of either kind.

That some soil existed is evident; otherwise stone fences would not have been made with such care on a soil-less rock. And as all signs of clay, or soil of a clayey nature are absent, it most likely was of that description called "muirbheach," a mixture of sand and clay usually found in different proportions, and generally very productive, especially when well manured. The greater part of the sand on the three islands partakes either more or less of this description. But in this locality the soil (judging from what may be obtained at the very bottom of the fences) was formerly of the best quality of "muirbheach" (mir-vach).

Some of the fences appear to have passed through Traghmhôr (Trá-wore), thus indicating that this tidal lake was not in existence at the period of their erection; although, in an old map drawn upwards of a hundred years ago, and copied from a still older one, the lake seemingly presents the same appearance and extent as it does now. This, however, cannot be the fact, as we shall presently see. Others of the fences run out apparently under the sea; at least they are traceable to low water-mark, thus showing the sea has encroached in this quarter upon the land.

TRAGHMHOR (TRÁ-WORE) is a large lake-like depression scooped out of the sandbank by which it was formerly surrounded on all sides. At the north-east end of the beach the sea worked out a channel through which, at spring tides, the sea rushes up and fills the hollow now known as

“Trághmhór,” or the great strand. Some few years ago the passage by which the tide enters was deeper than it now is, and was also enclosed on each side by high sandbanks. Small sail boats entered through it, and either received or discharged their cargoes from their brink. This they could not do at present, for on the north side of the channel the bank has been lowered, and partly washed away, while the south one has nearly disappeared through the united agencies of both wind and tide. Between the beach and lake, within the memory of some of the old people still living, a long stripe of sandbank of great height extended the whole length of the beach. It was reckoned the best piece of fattening land on the island; but it has been swept away, and a barren waste now occupies its place.

The southern point of this tidal lake is only separated from Port Daibhche by a narrow neck of sand. On the western brink stands the mortuary chapel of Endeus, and within forty or fifty yards of this, again, is to be found the third great object of curiosity which signalizes the locality.

Some of the stone fences already mentioned run through this lake; their direction is west and east. Their appearance here undoubtedly proves the non-existence of the water at the time of their erection. They, too, lay beneath the great sand plain; yet, in the map already referred to, we find that upwards of one hundred years ago the lake, according to it, occupied the same extent of ground it now does. But this cannot be correct, as the long stripe of sandbank already alluded to, stood, until very lately, between it and the beach. This has been swept away, and part of the ground covered by it has been added to the tidal lake of Trághmhór.

THE BED.—On the western brink of Trághmhór, about forty or fifty yards south of the mortuary chapel of Endeus, we come to a very curious old relic of bygone days. The most remarkable thing connected with it is its position. There are several others of the same kind scattered throughout the island, similar in shape and make, and also in the size of the flags with which they are formed; but these are all found on the surface rock, while the one at Iarárna lay imbedded under the often-mentioned sand

plain, which in this direction ran along from within a little distance south of the village of Killeany up to the very brink of Port Daibhche, in Gregory's Sound. Taking the bank close by on which the mortuary church is situated, as showing about the average height of the plain; this bed had twelve feet of sand in height deposited over it. Some of the villagers still remember the place before the wind began to sweep away the sand. They also recollect when the bed first began to make its appearance, and before the place was entirely denuded, often wondered what it could have been. They state, that not more than from fifteen to twenty years have elapsed since it was uncovered. When this occurred they, struck by its extreme likeness to the other beds, immediately called it "Leabuidh Diarmaid agus Graine," or Dermot's and Graine's bed.

It is about nine feet long, and enclosed on three sides. The ends face south and north, which is open on that end; the west side is formed of one entire flag, rather thin for its size, and is nine feet long; the south end is also of one flag; but the east side is formed of two, whose tops have been evidently broken off, as it is somewhat lower than the western one. The horizontal capping flags are wanting, and not to be seen near the place; however, they cannot be removed far, and may be yet found under the sand close by.

There cannot be the least doubt of this being an artificial building erected by man. The flags of which it is composed are large, and firmly planted on their edges on the solid rock, on which they stand erect. Had they been found in a mere confused heap, some room for doubt might exist; but as they are, this is not possible. They form an enclosure nine feet long by three and a half broad, and as many in height. Its exact similarity to the other beds ascribed to Dermot and Graine, in every particular, strikes the beholder at the first glance. These personages belong to the second or third century of the Christian era, and are closely connected with the mythology of the ancient Irish. From the legends associated with them, and the stories which have reached us of their time and doings, it would appear that some change or development had been effected by them, or in their age, in the ancient Celtic religion. Their disenchanting powers, their expertness and



ready ability in transforming individuals at will, by magic, into animals of various kinds, would lead us to suppose that they, if not the actual introducers, yet helped to propagate and extend a belief in the metempsychosis.

From a consideration of these ancient remains found in the locality—buried as they were until very lately under the sand—we are led to inquire, how or when this occurred. That the relics were "*in situ*" there before the deposition of the sand plain is evident. The depth of sand lodged on the rock, and the vast extent of the plain, forbid the supposition that it could have been wafted over from Killeany side. The sand there, which is also of great depth, preserves a level and uniform appearance; it, at least, has not been disturbed since Cromwell's soldiers occupied the castle of Arkin, upwards of two hundred years ago. An old stone called the cross (Cros an fhéuir), which then served as a boundary mark, still exists, and in the same position. Endeus' old church, which even in its present state cannot date back less than five or six hundred years (the original one a thousand years), has been built on the summit of the plain running into Gregory's Sound. The greater part of this has been swept away; but still the old church remains to testify to the extent and height of the plain. If at the time of its erection the bank was disturbed, or appeared likely to have been drifted away, it is not probable it would have been built upon. Whether the clocháns or fences already described are of very ancient date, it would be now difficult to say; but with respect to Dermot's bed, which is pre-Christian, there cannot be the least doubt. Since its erection the sand must have accumulated there, perhaps somewhere between its time and the building of the original mortuary church dedicated to the first Christian missionary, Endeus.

Captain Rowan's map of the locality represents, with sufficient distinctness, the position of the several old remains slightly glanced at in this paper. His sketch of the clocháns show plainly to the eye every peculiarity belonging to them. Their height, shape, the passage leading to the entrance of one of the circles enclosing the other, together with the graves found on it, are easily understood from the drawing. The several fences, the direction in

which they run, and the size of the fields enclosed, can be accurately gathered from it; and lastly, the position of the bed, its situation as regards Endeus' church, the sand plain, and the tidal lake of Trághmhór, are accurately marked down, so that the reader has only to glance at it in order to comprehend the locality and its antiquarian objects.

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ON THE SESKINAN OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS, COUNTY  
OF WATERFORD.

BY RICHARD R. BRASH, M. R. I. A.

SESKINAN is a ruined church in the parish of the same name, barony of Decies Without Drum, and county of Waterford. It stands on the townland of Knockboy, and is marked "Seskinan's Church," on sheet No. 13 of the Ordnance Survey of the county. The parish of Seskinan occupies a fertile upland plain lying between the Knock-Maol-Dùn mountains on the west, and the Monavulla range, a spur of the Comeraghs, on the east. It is about twelve miles from Clonmel, seven from Cappoquin, and nine from Dungarvan; standing on the farm of Mr. Gleeson, about three quarters of a mile north-east of Beary's Cross, which is on the high road from Clonmel to Dungarvan. I am thus minute in describing the locality, as I have been frequently at great loss of time and trouble in finding the whereabouts of similar monuments, owing to the defective and careless descriptions of even professed archæologists.

The old church stands in the north-east corner of the graveyard, which is of a quadrangular form, and enclosed by a thick fence of earth and stones, and of modern construction. The building, as will appear by the accompanying ground plan, is a simple quadrangle, standing east and west, being seventy-two feet ten inches in length, and twenty-four feet nine inches in breadth in clear of walls, which are three feet in thickness; the walls are all standing, and are built of coarse rubble work, the material being apparently field stones and small boulders; the quoins,

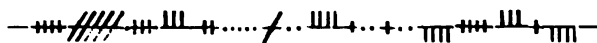
door, and window jambs being of dressed stone. On the apex of the west gable is a rude double bell-cot. The entrances are in the south and north walls towards the west end, and have pointed arches externally, the jambs being simply chamfered without labels. The windows are five in number. The east window is a long narrow ope, having a chamfered dressing and a trefoiled arch without a label; there is one window-ope in the north wall, one in the south, and two in the west gable, one over the other, and all of the same character. These opes, as well as the entrance, are lintelled internally with long stone slabs, over which are rude discharging arches; on certain of these lintels are to be found inscriptions in Ogham characters.

These inscriptions were discovered by Mr. George V. Du Noyer, M. R. I. A., "Geological Survey of Ireland," and a set of admirably executed sketches, and a ground plan of this edifice will be found in the series of "Illustrations of Irish Architecture and Antiquities," presented by him to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Being anxious to make a personal examination of these inscriptions, I visited Seskinan Church on Saturday, May 30th, accompanied by Dr. Caulfield, F. S. A. We started from Youghal at an early hour in the morning, crossed the Blackwater by the great timber bridge, went through the pretty village of Clashmore, by Aglish and Whitechurch, to Cappagh, leaving Dromana and Affane to the left; from Cappagh we struck across the country by the new Board of Works road, and came out on the high



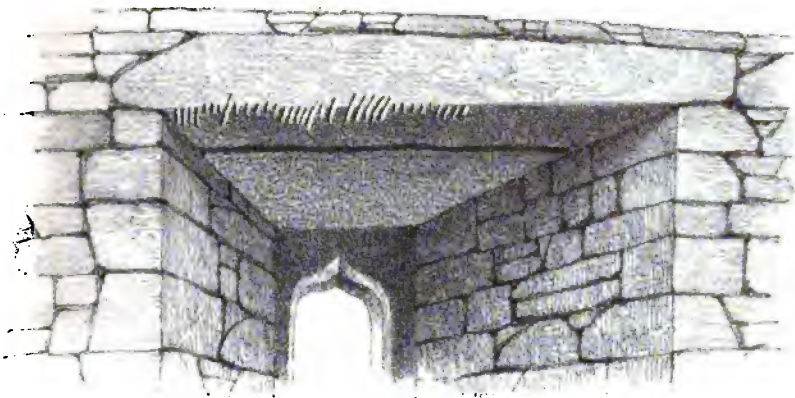
road from Dungarvan to Clonmel at Curragh-na-Modderree, two miles south of Beary's Cross. Having procured a ladder, we proceeded to the church, of which we made a careful examination, taking accurate copies of the inscriptions, the results of which I now proceed to lay before the Association.

No. 1. This is the internal lintel of the north window, next to the east gable; it is five feet nine inches in length, twelve inches in breadth, and six and a half in thickness at the centre; it has a mutilated inscription on an external angle commencing two feet three inches from the end, and running to the top, one of the characters being turned round on the top, which is fractured. The letters are much defaced, and several are missing, owing to spawls having been knocked off the edge of the stone, apparently by the mason, to form a straight arris over the ope.

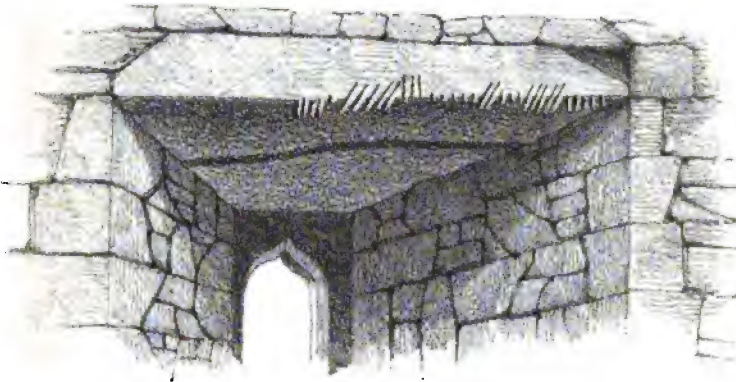

  
 E R U T O M Q S E T A S

The vertical and sloping *dotted* strokes are open to doubt, not being so clearly marked as the rest; there are, however, very strong indications of the values I have ascribed to them. I have no doubt that the sixth, seventh, and eighth characters form portions of the usual word "Maqi," the genitive case of Mac, as usually found on these monuments, and forming the key-word of the inscription; the injured angle spaces, marked above by horizontal dots in continuation of the fleasg line, allow for the completion of the word.

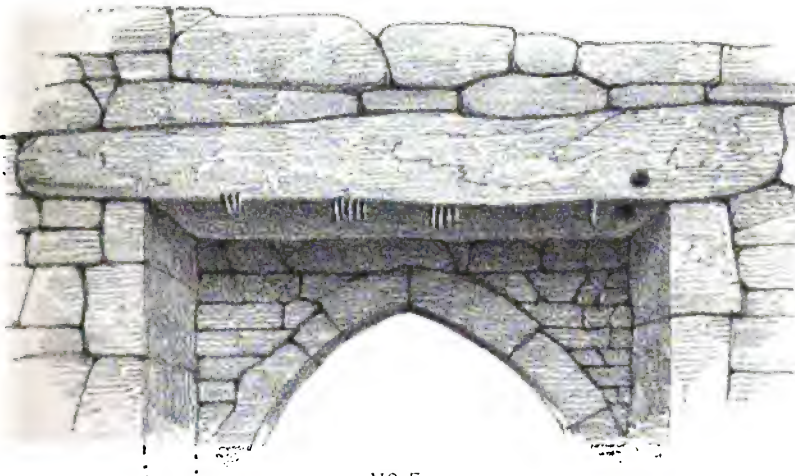
No. 2. This forms the internal lintel of the south window, next the east gable; it is four feet four inches in length, eleven inches in breadth, and eight inches in thickness at the centre; it is a dark red clay slate. Like the former, it has been hammered and dressed, to make it fit its present position, consequently the inscription is incomplete, and several of the existing letters are much defaced. Owing to the present position of the stone, the inscription, when copied, must be reversed, and read from left to right;



N° 1.



N° 2.



N° 3.

OGHAMS BUILT INTO SESKINAN CHURCH  
CO WATERFORD.

Forster & Co Dublin.



it commences at one foot ten inches from the bottom, and is as follows :—



Owing to the damaged state of this stone, nothing can be made of the inscription.

No. 3. Over the lintel bearing the above inscription is a discharging arch of rough rubble work; one of the arch stones is a fragment of an inscribed Ogham monument; it is fourteen inches in length, and two and a half inches in thickness; the inscription is on one of the front angles, and is quite legible, as follows :—



It has been suggested that this is a portion of the lintel inscription under it: upon comparison, however, I could not connect them, neither could I do so with any of the other inscriptions. I rather think it is a fragment of an independent monument; indeed it is probable that many other fragments are built into the walls of this church.

No. 4. This is the internal lintel over the south doorway (see Plate facing page 120, fig. 3), and measures six feet two inches in length, ten and a half inches in breadth, and eight and a half inches in thickness at the centre; it is much damaged and spawled, on the inscribed angle particularly; this dressing was done probably to bring the soffit angle of the stone to a regular line; its effect has been to obliterate the inscription excepting a few scores, as follows :—



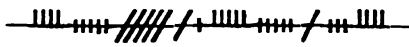
This monument appears to have been of the class called "Holed Stones," as through the external angle at the right hand side a circular hole of two inches diameter has been drilled. This is not the only example we have of a holed stone having an Ogham inscription. In the churchyard of Kilmaelkedar, county of Kerry, we have a fine monu-

ment of this class having an inscription on two angles, and a perforation close to the angle, as in the Seskinan example.

The inscribed monument at Ballymorereagh, county of Kerry, was also one of this class, as the remains of the perforation can still be seen on it. An example of what I believe to be a PAGAN HOLED STONE *converted into a Christian monument* may be seen in the old graveyard of the church of Pecaun, county of Tipperary, where it and a number of singular Irish inscribed tomb slabs were discovered by Mr. Du Noyer, and are figured by him in his "Antiquarian Sketches," Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The perforation in this case also being on the angle.<sup>1</sup>

No. 5. This forms the internal lintel of the upper window in the west gable (see Plate facing page 120, fig. 1); it is four feet nine inches in length, one foot three inches in breadth, and seven inches in thickness at the centre. The inscription is on the front angle, and in its present position cannot be read, as it is upside down; therefore, when copied, the copy must be reversed in order to read it correctly—an evidence either that the builders of this church knew nothing of the Ogham, or if otherwise, they did not wish it to be read.

The inscription on this lintel is the best preserved of any, as all the characters are quite legible, this in all probability is owing to the fact of the stone being placed at such a height from observation, that the builders did not think it necessary to deface the markings. Mr. Du Noyer's copy of this inscription is correct, with the exception of one letter, the seventh, which in his copy is an E; it is actually an I, which I took particular care to verify, as on my visit I had copies of the inscriptions taken from that gentleman's sketches with me, therefore any differences I was careful to note, and had every mark examined and verified by Dr. Caulfield; it therefore stands thus:—

  
 C I R M A Q I M U C

<sup>1</sup> Other examples of this class of antiquities, and an account of the superstitions connected with "Holed Stones" will be

found in a paper contributed by the writer of this article to the "Gentleman's Magazine," Dec., 1864.



Fortunately there can be no controversy about this inscription, which reads

“Cir, the son of Muc.”

The name of Cir, or Ciar, is one of considerable antiquity in Gaedhelic history. Keating relates, from the “Book of Invasions,” that the Clanna Miledh brought with them into Ireland a celebrated poet named Cir, the son of Cis. Ciar is a celebrated Munster name; he was an illegitimate son of Fergus, King of Ulster, by Meav, Queen of Connaught: being expelled from the court of Cruachan, he sought refuge in Munster, and obtained a large extent of territory, from him called Ciarraidhe Luachra, or Kerry the Rushy, and extending from Tralee bay to the mouth of the Shannon, and from Sliabh Luachra to Tarbert, and from which territory the present county of Kerry is named. Dr. O'Donovan (“Book of Rights,” n., pp. 48, 100), states, that the descendants of Ciar removed back to Connaught “in the reign of Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna, the eighth Christian king of Connaught, under the conduct of Cairbre, son of Conaire.” The principal family of their race took the surname of O'Conchobhair (O'Conor). Keating states that Ciar was the son of Feargus, the son of Roigh, by Meav, Queen of Connaught, that he gave his name to Ciaruidh, that is Kerry in the province of Munster, and that from him the family of “O'Conor Kerry” is descended.

I have not been able to identify this name at any later period; it is not to be found in O'Donovan's Index to his “Annals of the Four Masters,” neither in the Indexes to the various works published by the “Archæological” and “Celtic Societies,” so that we must admit it to be a name of a very remote antiquity, and a very suitable one to be found inscribed in this archæic character.

The form of the genitive case of the word “Mac” found on this stone is that most general on Ogham monuments—“Maqi;” other forms are also found, as Maqqi, Maqqu, Mage, Maccu, Mag, Magu. There is, properly speaking, no Q in the Gaedhelic alphabet; the Oghamic character of five strokes above the line, which enters into the formation of the above word, is represented in sound by the Gaedhelic

CU, equivalent to the English Q. The commutability of the letters C and G, as well as of the vowels in the Irish language, will account for the various forms of this word found not only on these monuments, but also in ancient Gaedhelic MSS.

The identification of this word on Ogham monuments we owe to the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, who first called public attention to it; and which identification has had a very important bearing on the decyphering of these inscriptions, as its occurrence always points out the way in which they should be read, leads us to look before and after it for proper names, and indicates beyond doubt the monumental character of the stone.

The patronymic "Muc" inscribed on this stone is one form of a name very frequently found on these monuments; it appears to have been the name of a very powerful and numerous tribe, diffused through the south and south-west coasts of Ireland, from Tralee Bay to Waterford Harbour, and is found in various forms, as Muc, Muce, Mucoi, the last being the most frequent. This name is found on the Lougher stone, No. 8, of the Royal Irish Academy collection, also on No. 11 of the same collection; on a stone at Ballintaggart; on one at Ballinrannig; on one in the cave of Dunloe; the above are in Kerry. In the county of Cork it occurs on the following monuments:—Roovesmore, Aghaliskey, and Placus, or Green Hill. In the county of Waterford, at Drumloghan and Seskinan. The name is evidently a tribe name, and derived from Muc, the Gaedhelic for boar. Tribe names derived from animals were as usual in Ireland as in other countries; thus we have had the Mac Turcs, Mac Sionachs, Mac Tires, Mac Cues, Mac Cons, &c. That the boar was held in great estimation in Ireland, if not actually revered, we have strong indications in traditions, and in the folk-lore of the peasantry, and yet stronger evidence in the fact that it enters largely into the topographical nomenclature of our island. Thus an ancient name of Ireland was Muc-inis, or Boar Island; there is a Muc-inis in Lough Derg, on the Shannon, also a Muc-inis on the coast of Clare, and Inish Muck off the shore of Island Magee, county of Antrim, as well as a district on the banks of the River Brick, in Kerry,

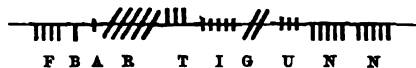
of the same name. And as for Rath-na-mucs, Cool-na-mucs, Bally-na-mucs, Kil-na-mucs, and other topographical designations into which this word enters, they are exceedingly numerous. I would also remark that those into which the words Torc, Liath, Chollan, Cro, and Banbh enter, all refer to this animal. One of our early kings is called "Olmucadha," or "of the great Swine."

The prominence thus given to this animal in our topographical nomenclature and legendary tales suggests the idea, that the boar may have been indentified with that system of animal worship which we have some reason for believing once existed in this country.

The Hindoos revered the "Varaha" or Boar, as one of the incarnations of Vishnu; and in the geography of that people Europe is set forth as "Varaha Dwipa," or "Boar Island," equivalent to our own "Muc-inis." Vishnu is represented as residing there in the form of a boar; and he is described as the chief of a numerous offspring of followers in that shape ("Asiatic Researches," vol. viii., pp. 302-361). With such facts before us we cannot, therefore, be surprised at finding the name of this animal given to a tribe in all probability the most ancient we have recorded.

No. 6. This forms the internal lintel of the lower window in the west gable (see Plate facing page 120, fig. 2); it is three feet eleven inches in length, eight inches in breadth, and seven inches in depth.

The inscription is short, but in fair preservation, and the values of the characters can be accurately ascertained; it finishes close to the top of the stone, and is in its proper position for being read, and shows no visible trace of any other characters having been on the monument. Mr. Du Noyer's copy of the inscription differs from mine; his is as follows:—



Having had the use of a ladder, I was enabled to examine this inscription very closely, and having had the assistance of Dr. Caulfield in the examination and appropriation of

every mark, I have no hesitation in giving the following as a true copy.



The fourth stroke of the first group belongs unmistakably to it, as there is scarcely a shade of difference in the relative spaces between them. I am not surprised that Mr. Du Noyer should copy the second last character as an N, instead of an R; I was nigh committing the same error myself at the first glance, as the upper half of the five scores was covered by a patch of grey lichen, and required a close examination. An independent copy by Mr. Williams, of Dungarvan, agrees with mine in both these letters.

Mr. Williams read this "Sar Tigearn." "Sar" is a sign of the superlative degree; also means exceeding, excessive, great. "Tigearn" would be "Tighearna," a Lord, oghamically written. Here, however, we have not a sufficient number of vowel marks to form the letters E A. This would not be a great objection, as the word "Tigurn" would be sufficiently near to meet the modern grammatical form of the term. In this view it would read "Sar Tighearna," i. e. "The Great Lord."

This would, however, be a very unusual form for an Ogham inscription, which invariably contains a proper name, or names. It is true, the proper name of "the great lord" may be upon one of the concealed angles of the stone, in which case the rendering would be a very suitable and probable one. My own impression is, that the whole forms a proper name, "Sartigurn," bearing a family likeness to the British name "Vortigern." Simple names are not unfrequently found on these monuments, as "Coftet," on that at Ardovenagh, Kerry, and "Monges," on that at Been-na-Leacht, county of Cork.

Having thus described the church and its inscriptions, I would offer a few remarks on the peculiar circumstances under which they have been preserved. The age of the church cannot be accurately determined beyond this, that it cannot be earlier than the fourteenth, and may be as late as the sixteenth century. The architecture is

not of that distinctive type, nor the details of such a character, as would enable us to fix its date with certainty; and it is an established fact, that early types of architecture continued in use in remote districts of our island long after they had been superseded by other styles in the sister kingdom, and in towns, and more advanced centres of population in our own.

That the stones upon which these inscriptions are found were merely used as building material, is quite evident from the statements already made, some of them being placed in such positions as prevent their inscriptions being read; and as already stated, there is ample evidence that the stones have been hammer-dressed on the angles, and portions of the inscriptions knocked off, in order to produce a straight internal angle, and so render it suitable for the purpose to which it was devoted.

The question naturally arises, From whence were these inscribed monuments procured, and what was their original destination? This, I conceive, can be answered by an examination of the site. As I before stated, the present graveyard is a quadrangular area enclosed by a thick modern fence of earth and stones.

Outside of this fence, at the south side, and close to it, will be found a segment of a circular fence, evidently that of an ancient enclosure. Examining the graves inside the quadrangular fence, traces of this circular rampart may be traced. From this it is evident that an ancient rath existed here, partly upon which, and partly outside of which, the present church and graveyard were founded; and it is another curious fact, that the church stands outside of the northern rim of the traces of the ancient rampart. Now, it is evident that this enclosure was that of a Killeen, or Cealuragh, a place set apart in modern times for the burial of unbaptized infants, and persons who had died without receiving the rites of the church, and which are so very plentiful through the country, that it is believed they were originally Pagan cemeteries. The fence in this instance is that of a killeen. The distinction between this and the rath being, that each rampart of the latter has always an accompanying ditch, while the former has never more than one simple fence without a ditch. It is also noteworthy,

that the church is built outside the killeen, though close to it; the inference being, that at its erection the prejudice against the Pagan killeen strongly existed, though it gave way subsequently to such an extent as to allow the incorporation of a portion of it in the Christian graveyard, after, of course, the proper consecration. Now, if this was a killeen—as I have not the smallest doubt it was—the mystery of the Oghams is solved. They have always been the most prolific mines of these monuments; wherever they are discovered, a killeen, or the site of one, is sure to be seen in the neighbourhood. This is the case at Drumloghan, county of Waterford; at Keelboultragh, Roovesmore, Aghaliskey, and Liads, county of Cork; at Lugnagappul, Gortamaccaree, Ballintaggart, Ballymoreagh, Ballinrannig, Ardovenagh, Corkaboy, Drumcoar, and many others in the county of Kerry; in fact, so frequently is this the case, that wherever I find an Ogham, I always inquire for a killeen, and seldom fail in finding one in the immediate neighbourhood.

The facts are probably these, that the church was erected adjoining this Pagan cemetery; that the inscribed pillar stones standing in the old killeen were found so convenient for lintels, that the builders, having no reverence for them, used them up in the construction of the building. It may be that all the lintels are inscribed, the lettered angles being turned upwards, and concealed in the wall.

A fine Ogham inscription was found built into the wall of the Leabha, or penitential bed of St. Declan, at Ardmore (see our "Journal," vol. i., second series, p. 45); and another, now in the Museum of the Royal Cork Institution, was taken out of the wall of the old church of Aghabullog, when taken down for the purpose of rebuilding.

I am glad to find that the subject of our Ogham monuments has been revived in the pages of your "Journal." Having paid attention to it for some time past, I am convinced that it has an important bearing upon the question of our early colonization: up to the present it has been but sparingly discussed, and there seems to be, on the part of those who have hitherto investigated it, a strange reticence, not only as to their opinions, but as to their discoveries.

The subject is not one of such great mystery and difficulty as many have imagined; and ample materials, I am sure, yet exist undiscovered, awaiting the zeal and perseverance of the explorer of this field of our native archæology. Hundreds of concealed rath-caves yet exist in the counties of Cork, Waterford, and Kerry, many of which, doubtless, contain hoards of inscriptions, as in the case of Drumloghan, Roovesmore, Aghaliskey, Dunloe, Aghacarrible, and many others. It is a strange fact that the Ogham monuments of the county of Kilkenny have not yet been illustrated in our "Journal," with the exception of those of Tulloherin and the Dunbel "find."

The remarkable inscriptions at Gowran and Ballyboden, in the county of Kilkenny, have not yet been given to the public. I hope that some local member of the Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland will have both of these monuments photographed, and that we will have the satisfaction of seeing them engraved in the pages of our "Journal."

In a Paper contributed by me to the Royal Irish Academy, and published in their "Proceedings," on the Ogham Chamber at Drumloghan, I advanced some opinions upon the general question, which I take the liberty of quoting here as a fitting sequel to my account of those at Seskinan:—

"It has been to me a matter of some surprise that our very best Irish scholars have given scarcely any attention to the translation of these inscriptions; and I have heard it stated that such have on many occasions refused to offer an opinion on, or attempt a translation of, copies of inscriptions forwarded to them for that purpose. Such a fact has had a very discouraging effect on the study of these monuments; men of humbler pretensions naturally shrinking from a task avoided by those of greater learning and experience in Celtic philology.

"I rather think, however, that other important and pressing literary obligations, occupying the time and attention of such men as the late Professors O'Donovan and O'Curry, prevented them from entering on new fields of investigation, rather than any inability to cope with a subject which I believe either of these lamented scholars could easily have mastered, had they turned their attention towards it.

"While it must be admitted that many of the inscriptions are impossible of translation, it is equally a fact that very many others, from their extreme brevity and simplicity, can be easily understood; the failure of many attempted renderings resulting from one or other of the following causes:—

"Firstly. An ignorance of the true nature and intent of the monuments.

"Secondly. The linguistic difficulties presented by the obsolete Gaedhelic in which they are inscribed.

"Thirdly. Ignorance of the contractions used in engraving on a material where brevity was essential.

"Fourthly. Imperfection of copies, as well as of the inscriptions themselves, from weatherwear and other injuries.

"Fifthly. The pre-conceived ideas or prejudices of the translators, leading them to imagine what the inscription ought to be, and thence torturing, misplacing, and misreading the characters in every possible way, in order to bring out allusions to some local historic fact, or to the name of some famous mythic chief, king, or druid, or of some deity supposed to have been worshipped in pagan times.

"Rejecting such illusory modes of investigation, and taking up the key alphabet from the Book of Ballymote, as adopted by the Right Rev. Dr. Graves; and, with its assistance, comparing and carefully analyzing a number of these inscriptions, the candid and patient investigator will, I think, be led to the following conclusions:—

"Firstly. That the inscribed stones are almost exclusively sepulchral or monumental.

"Secondly. That in such cases they seldom record more than the name and tribe name of the deceased; with occasionally his profession as a warrior, a poet, a judge, and sometimes an exclamation of grief, as 'alas,' 'woe is me,' &c.

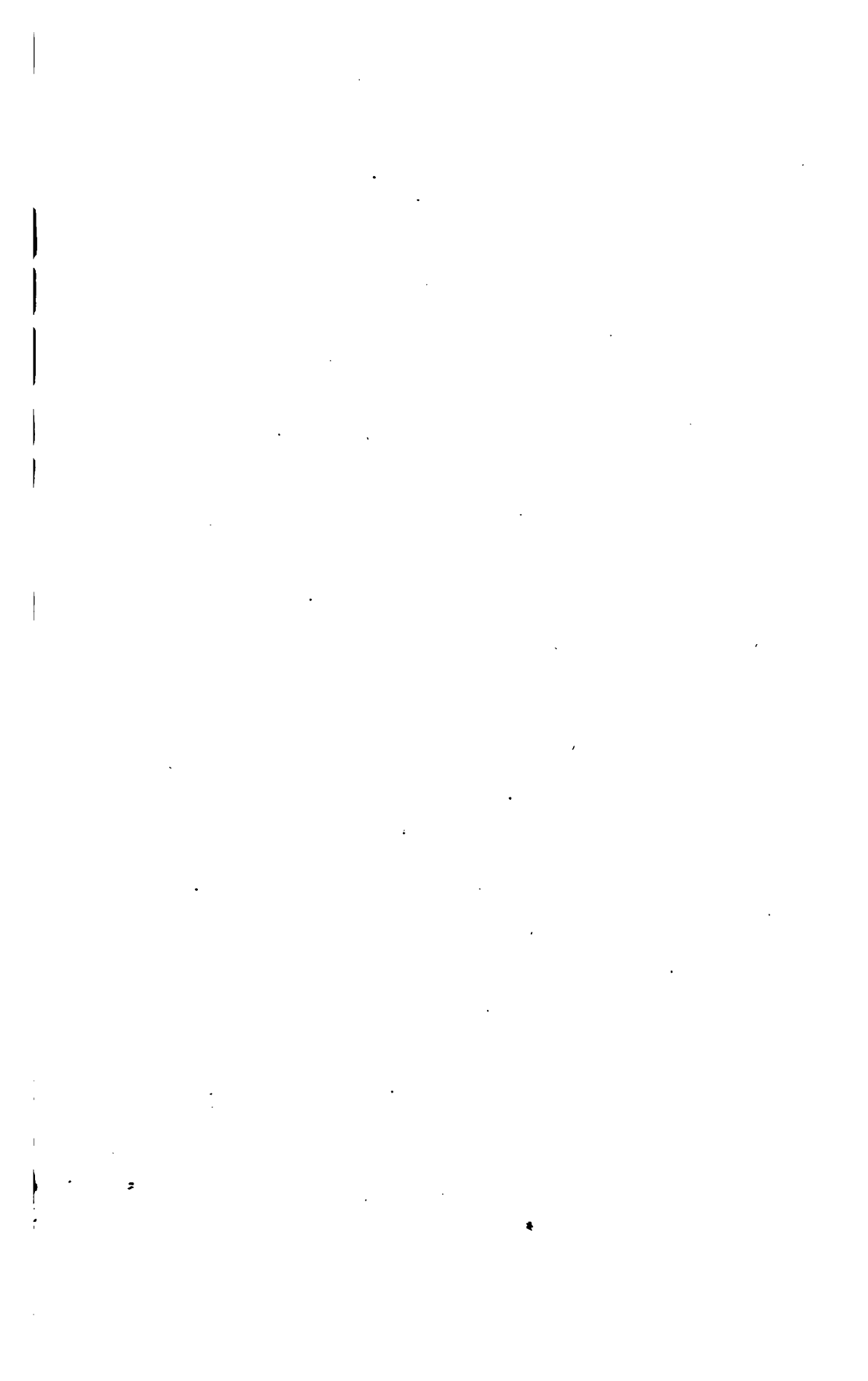
"Thirdly. That they are inscribed in the simplest and briefest manner, connecting words scarcely ever used, and words frequently expressed by initials.

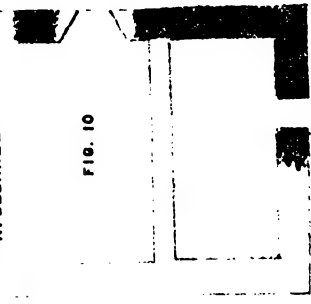
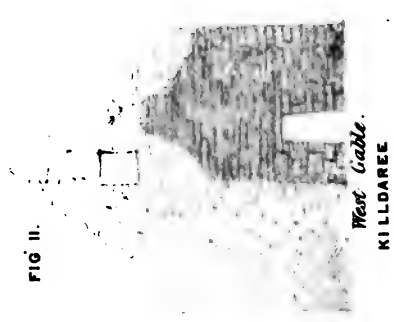
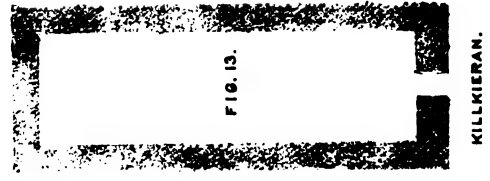
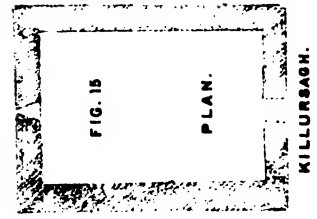
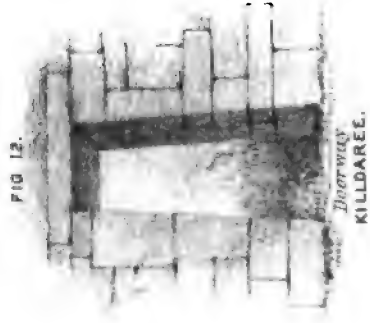
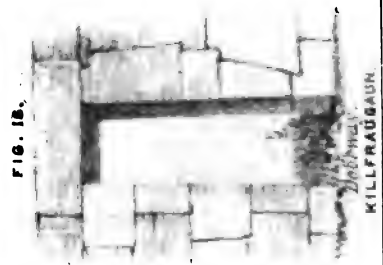
"Fourthly. That the word "Maqi," the genitive of [Mac] son, occurs in the majority of the monuments in some or other of its forms; and that where it thus occurs, it becomes the key-word of the inscription; as before, and after it, we are sure to find a proper name; and that the position of this word dictates the position in which the legend is to be read."

These conclusions I have arrived at after a careful examination of all the inscriptions known to exist; and I venture to predict that all future discoveries will tend to confirm them.

As to the exact age of these monuments, it is impossible, with the amount of information at present available, to assign to them any distinct date. This, however, I firmly believe, that the introduction of the Ogham character into Ireland occurred at an early age, long antecedent to our Christian era, and all the recent finds are strongly confirmatory of this view. I believe them to be the oldest existing written memorials in these islands. I cannot, at the close of this paper, advance all the facts and arguments that support this view of the subject, but I hope to return to it specially at a future time.







Scale for Plans, 16 feet - 1 inch.  
" Doorways, 4 ft. - 1 inch.

CYCLOPEAN CHURCHES IN THE VICINITY OF LOUGHS  
CORRIB, MASK, AND CARRA.—PART II.

BY G. HENRY KINAHAN, M. R. I. A.

ON the east of Lough Corrib, and two miles west of the village of Headford, is an old church called on the Ordnance map Kildáree, but by the inhabitants thereabouts Killursagh or Killfursagh, as they say that the site of Kildáree was about a mile further east, near the hamlet still called by that name.

This church of St. Fursagh is now only in part Cyclopean, as additions have been made to it since its first erection. When originally built it seems to have been not more than about 14 feet wide, and 24 feet long, but in process of time its north and east walls were pulled down and the church enlarged in those directions, the ruins now being 24 feet wide, and over 40 feet long. In the interior a chamber 9 feet wide was cut off from the west end of the enlarged church (see fig. 10, Pl. II.). Of the Cyclopean work there now remain parts of the south wall, and the west gable, the latter containing the primitive doorway. This doorway, on account of the additions to the church, does not now occupy the centre of the gable, as it stands a little more than a third of the way from the south side (see fig. 11, Pl. II.). The old part of this gable, with the grouting in the centre of the wall, can easily be distinguished from the modern; the Cyclopean doorway appears to have been the entrance into the primitive church, but in latter times seems to have been used only as a passage into the previously mentioned chamber, which was lighted by a slit window inserted into the south Cyclopean wall; whilst a peaked stone-arched doorway, also inserted in the same wall, appears to have been the entrance into the enlarged church. That various alterations and additions were made in the original building is highly probable from the different styles of masonry detected in the parts now remaining.

The primitive doorway (fig. 12, Pl. II.) is 5.25 feet high, 2.5 feet wide at bottom, and narrowing to 2 feet at top; it is covered by one stone 3.75 feet long, 5 inches thick,

by 2·5 feet wide—the breadth of the ancient Cyclopean wall. The lintel is a rough weather-worn flag, which appearance does not seem due to its being *inserted* at an after date, but to the nature of the rock, a flaggy calcareous sandstone which weathered freely.

St. Ursagh, or Fursagh, the patron saint of the O'Flaherties of *H-iar*, or West Connaught, was greatly distinguished for his untiring perseverance and ardent zeal in propagating the truths of Christianity; his father's name was Finton, son of Fionloga, a chieftain of South Munster, who having fought with his clan, came and settled for some time at Inchaquin, an island in Lough Corrib. Some authors say this saint was born and educated in Inchaquin, under St. Brendan; but it appears certain that after his birth his father returned to his native place, from whence Fursagh was sent to St. Meldan (supposed successor of Brendan at Inchaquin), to be educated. Fursagh, having reached adult years, determined on building a monastery for himself, which resolve shortly afterwards he put into execution by establishing one somewhere in the vicinity of the church just described, having, perhaps, even built the Cyclopean part of that structure. In 637, A. D., accompanied by his brothers, Foillan and Ultan, he visited England, laboured amongst the East Angles, and founded a monastical school at a place called Cnobheresburg, now known as Burgh Castle, in Suffolk; afterwards he departed for France, and in 644, A. D., founded a monastery at Lagny, near the River Marne, six leagues from Paris. In 650, A. D., he set out for England to see his brothers, but had not gone far before he sickened, died, and was buried by Erchinwald, mayor of the palace of Clovis II., King of Neustria and Burgundy, in the porch of a church that Erchinwald had just built at Peronne.—Lanigan, vol. ii., pp. 449, 459, King, vol. i. 236.<sup>1</sup>

Two miles S. W. of the village of Kilmaine, and about six and a half E. N. E. of Cong, county of Mayo, is the ruin of Kilkieran: it is rather unique, for although the church was only 14 feet wide, yet it was 34·33 feet long (see fig. 13, Pl. II.). This church stands near the south-

<sup>1</sup> Kilbride's "History of the West Aran Islands."

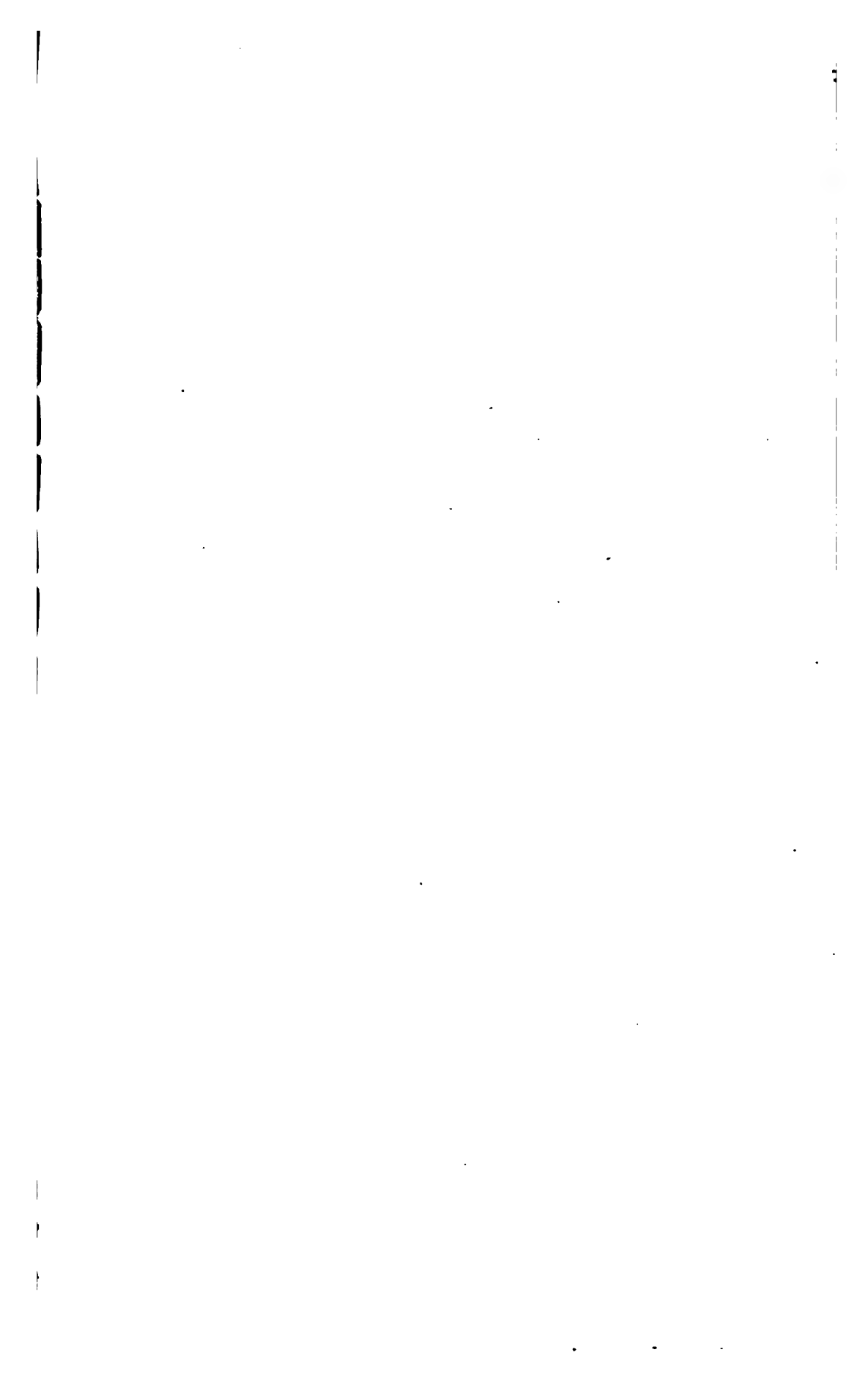
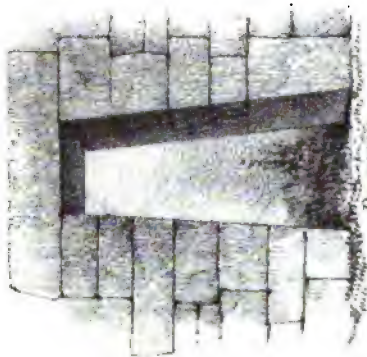


FIG. 19.



ROSS HILL ABBEY.  
*Doorway.*

FIG. 20.



INISHMAIN ABBEY.  
*Doorway.*

FIG. 22.



KILLKIERAN, N.  
*Doorway.*

ROSS HILL ABBEY



FIG. 18.

KILLKIERAN, N.

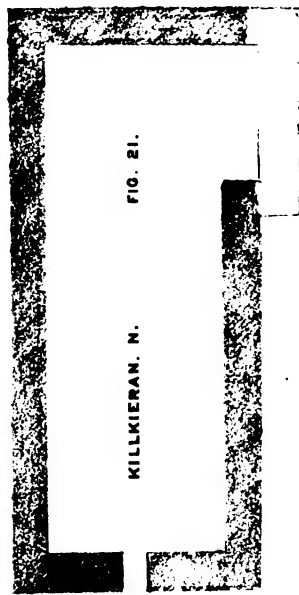


FIG. 21.

6 1/4  
Photo:

Scale for Plans, 16 feet = 1 inch.  
Doorways, 4 feet = 1 inch.

east corner of a square caher, or fort with stone ramparts : whilst about the caher, more especially towards the north, are apparently the ruins of a large village or settlement, but in such a dilapidated condition that the style of the structures could not be determined. The church is also in a sad way, as little more than the foundations of the north, east, and south wall remain ; but, fortunately, of the west gable enough exists to preserve a very picturesque doorway which is 5·83 feet high, 2 feet wide at bottom, and 1·75 feet at top (see fig. 14, Pl. II.) ; the stone forming the lintel being 3 feet long, 5 inches thick, and 2·25 feet wide, which is also the thickness of the walls. On the north side of the doorway, the fourth stone from the bottom has been taken away by some miscreant.

St. Kieran, the patron of this church, was no less a person than the famous founder of Clonmacnoise, on the River Shannon, usually styled "Mac-an-t-saoir," i. e. "the son of the carpenter, or artizan," as it is said his father belonged to that trade. He was born in the reign of Murchugh, son of the Christian Princess, Earca (Keating, vol. ii., p. 27), about A. D. 507. His parents were Beon and Darerca, who belonged originally to Ulster, but afterwards settled in Meath, where St. Kieran was born. The saint was educated by Finian, of Clonard, and having in 534 obtained testimonials from that great seat of learning, he repaired to the monastery of Nennedius, situated in one of the islands in Lough Erne ; there his stay was short, as soon after he removed to West Aran, then under the superintendence of St. Endeus. According to O'Flahertie and Ussher, the saint left Aran in A. D. 538 ; but Lanigan assigns his departure to the year 541. In 548 he established the monastery of Clonmacnoise on a piece of land given to him by King Dermot, and on the 9th of September in the following year he was cut off by a plague. His name and memory were highly revered both in Ireland and Scotland. Lanigan says, "St. Kieran was justly reckoned among the fathers of the Irish Church."<sup>1</sup>

A little to the N. N. W. of Cross, a hamlet two and a half miles east of Cong, are the ruins of Killfraughaun, built

<sup>1</sup> Kilbride's "History of the West Aran Islands."

at the foot of a small hill, and close to the large spring that supplies the Cross river with water. Of this church there now remains the foundation of the east wall, and part of the north, south, and west walls, with the primitive doorway in the latter. Inside, protruding about a foot from the south wall, and about 4 feet from the ground, three stone corbels were observed that would seem to have been used to support either a shelf or a gallery.<sup>1</sup> The church is 15·33 feet wide, by 22·5 feet long, the north and south walls being 2·33 feet thick, and the gables 2 feet. The doorway (fig. 16, Pl. II.) is 5·33 feet high, 2 feet wide at bottom, and 1·75 feet at top, being covered by a single stone 3·25 feet long, 18 inches high, and 2 feet wide. On the south pier a flat slab was placed to raise it to a similar height to that on the north and in the latter the second stone from the bottom is now gone.

Of the patrons of this church Sir W. Wilde says :—

“Of St. Fraughaun, if such a personage existed here, we know nothing; and our annals, calendars, martyrologies, and the saints’ lives, make no mention of him. The ancient name of the church, and one which is still living among the old people is ‘Kill-ard-creave-na-Naoimh;’ literally ‘the church of the high branch of the saints.’”

More than half a mile S. W. of Killfraughaun, and two miles east of Cong, are the ruins of Killursagh. This church, also dedicated to St. Ursagh or Fursagh, is 22·5 feet long, by 16·5 feet wide, and of it there now remains the foundations of the west wall, with part of the north, south, and east (see fig. 15, Pl. II.). The doorway is said to have been perfect about thirty years ago, but was pulled down about that time, as “the stones were wanted as quoins in a neighbouring cabin!” however, the east gable with the window still remains. The window (see figs. 1 and 2, Pl. IV.) is 21 inches high on the outside, 9 inches wide at bottom, and 4 inches at top, widening on the inside to 2 feet at bottom, and 1 foot at top. On the outside it is covered by a single large stone in which the arch is cut, while on the inside there are four stones, with part of the circle cut in

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Wilde, when describing this church, says of these corbels: “It was divided into an upper and lower apartment by a flat floor, some of the corbels of

which yet remain.” However, no trace of any corbels in the north wall now appear. “Lough Corrib, its Shores and its Islands; with Notices of Lough Mask,” p. 155.





FIG. 17.

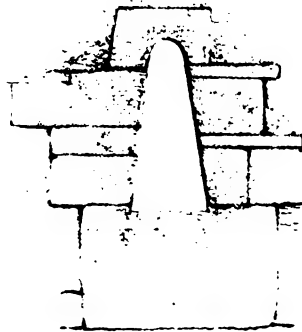
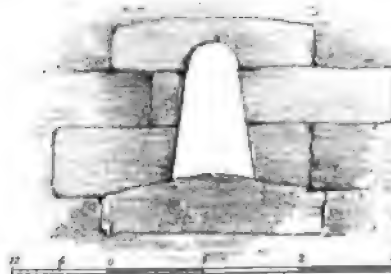


FIG. 18.



FIG. 19.



Scale of Feet.

Fig 17. E. Window, Killursagh. Exterior.  
 18 " " Interior.  
 19 " S<sup>t</sup> Breacan's Exterior.

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each ; the sill is formed of one large stone splayed away on the inside, the splay widening as it recedes from the outside ; on the inside are two large long supporting stones, between which there once seemed to have been a flag that continued the slope from the termination of the splay to the inside of the wall.

On one of the promontories extending into the south part of Lough Mask, and about three miles north-west of Cong is Ross Hill Abbey. This structure is mentioned in O'Flahertie's history,<sup>1</sup> and called the parish church of Ross, "whereof St. Brendan is patron." It would appear to have been a considerable settlement, as the foundations of various buildings can be traced, but the old church is all that now remains in any state of preservation. The church originally would seem to have been about 21·5 feet wide by 38 feet long (see fig. 18, Pl. III.), but afterwards it was considerably lengthened toward the east, being now 66 feet long. All of this enlarged structure, however, may not have been used for a church, as a chamber 18 feet wide was cut off at the west end of the building. In the south Cyclopean wall there was inserted, about 10 feet from the south-west corner, a semicircular arched doorway 3 feet wide, and, perhaps, also at the same time, a little towards the east, a square window of sawn stone work similar to the stone work in the church at Annaghdown, on the east shore of Lough Corrib. This square window was afterwards replaced by a pointed arched doorway of rude rubble masonry, and at present only the east jamb of the window is preserved.

Of the Cyclopean work there remains part of the south and north walls, with the west gable and the primitive doorway but the upper part of the gable has been remodelled ; and in the recent additions there is a slit window 18 inches high, by 6 inches wide at top, and 8 inches at bottom. The Cyclopean doorway is 6 feet high, 2·75 feet wide at bottom, and narrowing to 2 feet at top, being covered by a single stone 5 feet long, 1 foot high, and 3·25 feet wide, which is also about the thickness of the three Cyclopean walls. (See fig. 19, Pl. III.).

<sup>1</sup> "West Connaught," p. 49.

St. Brendan, sometimes called of Clonfert, at other times of Kerry, and after whom the Brandon Hills in that county are named, is famous for a mysterious voyage he made between the years A. D. 540 and 550 ; this voyage occupied about seven years, and during it he is distinctly stated to have discovered an unknown land. From the length of time spent on the voyage, the position and features of the new country, with other descriptive marks given by him, some learned men have come to the conclusion that America was discovered by him more than a thousand years before the birth of Columbus. Giraldus Cambrensis says : " There is an island called Aran, situated in the western part of Connaught, and consecrated to St. Brendan." In this he is in error, as St. Brendan had no connexion with Aran except as tradition reports his having visited it twice during the life time of Endeus ; the last visit being in A. D. 540, a short time previous to his departure on his great voyage.<sup>1</sup>

On the west of Lough Mask are the island and abbey of Inishmaine. Eminent archæologists consider it to be of the twelfth century, but in the north wall of the nave is a doorway nearly of a similar type to those of the primitive churches, the principal difference between it and them being, that it has two stones covering it, while all the others in the neighbourhood of these lakes have only one ; moreover, it looks towards the north instead of the west ; this last objection is, however, more apparent than real, as it might have belonged to the ancient church of St. Cormac, on which site the abbey is said to have been built, and in that case the doorway would have been adapted to its present site. None of the walls of the present structure are truly Cyclopean ; for although the masonry is peculiar, the wall being built of large stones set on edge, and few or none of them being thorough bonds, yet the spaces between the outside and inside tiers are regularly built, not grouted.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kilbride's "History of Aran."

<sup>2</sup> To me the doorway did not appear to be of the same age as the rest of the structure, as its work did not seem to tally with the work of the adjoining wall ; however, against this idea I must allow that in one

of the abbeys east of Lough Corrib (which I do not now remember), I observed one of these Cyclopean doorways. I may add that the Earl of Dunraven, who visited this abbey in company with the Rev. James H. Todd, D. D., Dr. Stokes, Sir W.

This Cyclopean doorway, of which fig. 20, Pl. III. is an elevation of the south face (inside), is 5·5 feet high, 2·5 feet wide at bottom, and 2 feet at top. As before mentioned, it is covered by two stones, the inside or south stone being four feet and three quarters long, while the outside is only four feet.

In the neighbourhood of Lough Carra, and also on many of the islands therein, are the ruins of small churches, but in such a state of dilapidation that it would be now difficult to determine their original style of construction. On the west shore of the townland of Killkieran are the ruins of two churches, about half a mile apart, undoubtedly Cyclopean in style. The most southern of these, which is in the village of Kilkieran, and called St. Kieran's Church, is much dilapidated, as there remain only parts of the south-east and north walls, the rest having been pulled down to build the houses in the village. This church would seem to have been 24 feet wide, and about 39 feet long, the walls being 3 feet thick. The more northern church (about which no tradition exists—not even the name of the patron saint could be learned) is more perfect, as portions of the four walls remain, with the northern half of the doorway in the west gable. This doorway (see fig. 22, Pl. III.), appears, from what now exists, to have been 4·75 feet high, 1·66 feet wide at bottom, and 1·33 feet at top. The church was originally 21 feet wide, and 49 feet long, but more recently, at the south-east corner, a small rectangle, 3 feet wide and 15 feet long, was added to it (see fig. 21, Pl. III.). A description of the Plates which illustrate the two parts of this paper will be found over leaf.

W. Wilde, &c., write: "We examined north door to be of the same age as the Inishmaine closely. . . . I believe the rest of the church."

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

### PLATE I.

- Fig. 1. Ground plan of Port-a-carron church.
- Fig. 2. Doorway of Port-a-carron church.
- Fig. 3. Ground plan of Temple-beg-na-neeve.
- Fig. 4. Restored interior of the east window of St. Breacan's church.
- Fig. 5. Restored doorway of Temple-beg-na-neeve.
- Fig. 6. Ground plan of St. Breacan's church.
- Fig. 9. Bullaun at St. Breacan's church.

### PLATE II.

- Fig. 10. Ground plan of the old part of Killydaree.
- Fig. 11. West gable of Killydaree.
- Fig. 12. Restored doorway of Killydaree.
- Fig. 13. Ground plan of Killkieran.
- Fig. 14. Restored doorway of Killkieran.
- Fig. 15. Ground plan of Killursagh.
- Fig. 16. Restored doorway of Killfraughaun.

### PLATE III.

- Fig. 18. Ground plan of the old part of Rosshill abbey.
- Fig. 19. Restored doorway of Rosshill abbey.
- Fig. 20. Restored doorway in north wall of Inishmain abbey.
- Fig. 21. Ground plan of Killkieran, north.
- Fig. 22. Restored half doorway of Killkieran, north.

### PLATE IV.

- Fig. 1. Restored exterior of the east window of Killursagh.
  - Fig. 2. Restored interior of the east window of Killursagh.
  - Fig. 3. Restored exterior of the east window of St. Breacan's church.
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## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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AT the GENERAL MEETING, held in the apartments of the Association, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October the 21st (by adjournment from the 7th), 1868,

The Very Rev. The DEAN of LEIGHLIN in the Chair,

The following new Members were elected :—

Edward Wilmot Williams, Esq., Herringston, Dorchester ; and W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., F. S. A., British Museum, London : proposed by the Earl of Enniskillen.

Sir Arthur E. Guinness, Bart., M. P., Dublin ; Sir John Benson, Monte Notte, Cork ; Rev. Henry M'Clintock, Mac-lonrigh Glebe, Macroom ; W. Deane Seymour, Esq., J. P., Wilmount House, Queenstown ; The Rev. John Cullinan, P. P., Macroom ; Henry Franks, Esq., 76, Patrick-street, Cork ; Dominick Ronayne Sarsfield, Esq., J. P., Dough-cloyne House, Cork ; Joshua Hargrave, Esq., Architect, Warren's-place, Cork ; and Henry Hill, Esq., Architect, 22, George's-street, Cork : proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq., M. R. I. A.

Rev. W. Denham, Clover-hill, Randalstown ; and Thomas Smith, Esq., 33, Castle-street, Belfast : proposed by G. V. Du Noyer, Esq.

Ralph Westropp, Esq., Rookhurst, Monkstown, Cork ; and Mr. F. M. Spong, Carlow : proposed by Robert Day, Jun., Esq., F. S. A.

James Sheane, Esq., Mountmellick : proposed by W. O'Driscoll, Esq.

The Rev. J. F. Ryland, M. A., The Mall, Waterford ; John C. Kieran, Esq., J. P., Rathbrist, Louth ; and George J. Mackesy, Esq., M. B., 38, Lady-lane, Waterford : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Daniel De la Cheroise, Esq., Manor House, Donaghadee, county Down ; Thomas Henry Purdon, Esq., 5, Wellington-place, Belfast ; Mrs. A. E. Harrison, 35, Queen-street, Belfast ; James W. Valentine, Esq., Fort William Park, Belfast ; James P. Kirk, Esq., Fort William Park, Belfast ; Charles Coates, Esq., 9, Donegal-place, Belfast ; John Macaulay, Esq., Larne, county Antrim ; John Lowry, Esq., White Abbey, Belfast ; and Henry MacCormac, Esq., M. D., 7, Fisherwick-place, Belfast : proposed by C. D. Purdon, Esq., M. D.

A. Fitzgibbon, Esq., Belfield House, Hook, Surbiton, Surrey : proposed by Maurice Fitzgibbon, Esq.

The Rev. Thomas Morrow, Tralee : proposed by J. W. Busteed, Esq.

The Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly : proposed by Maurice Lenihan, Esq.

Michael J. Crean, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 54, Stephen's-green, Dublin ; and Morgan W. J. Butler Kavanagh, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 51, Mountjoy-square, South, Dublin : proposed by M. O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C.

J. Ledlie Riggs, Esq., M. D., Armagh ; Eugene Shine, Esq., Seville-lodge, Kilkenny ; M. J. Barrington Ward, Esq., B. A., F. R. G. S., &c., 14, Alfred-street, Belfast ; and John Ward, Esq., Ulster Works, Belfast : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Edward Carr, Esq., Camlin, New Ross : proposed by the Rev. N. R. Brunskill.

James O'Flaherty, Esq., J. P., Aran Island, Galway : proposed by the Rev. W. Kilbride.

John M'Cartan, Esq., Warrington, Lurgan : proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Rev. J. Graves, on the part of the Committee appointed at the July Meeting to make such arrangements as might be practicable for the preservation of the Tower of St. Francis' Abbey, reported that, although the subscription entered into had not amounted to a sum sufficient to carry out all that was necessary, even on the most economical scale, still, as winter was coming on, and there was the greatest danger in further delay, the Committee thought it advisable, at least, to prop the tower at once. With this view they had got two strong metal pillars cast at Waterford, at an expense of £24, and these were now in course



of being erected under the south side of the tower arch, where the masonry was giving way. There had been some difficulty experienced in getting a secure foundation for the bases of these pillars, the ground being soft alluvial soil; but he was glad to report that this difficulty had been overcome, and, so far as the erection of the pillars, the work would be completed in a few days. But much more remained to be done; the mason work of the southern hanch of the tower required to be made good, and it was to be hoped that those of the people of Kilkenny, who had not yet subscribed, would contribute towards this work. The funds in hand would not have sufficed to enable them to go even as far as they had progressed with the work, but for the liberality of Mr. E. Smithwick—already a large subscriber in money—in supplying scaffolding and the aid of men in his employment skilled in operations of the kind. They were also much indebted to Mr. Middleton for personally superintending and directing the work in the most able manner. He hoped that at the January Meeting he might be able to report on the part of the Committee that they had received sufficient means in the interim, and had done all that was necessary for securing the stability of this interesting monument of ancient architectural taste and skill in Kilkenny.

Mr. Graves said he had also to report as to the work doing at Clonmacnoise. A few years since the Society had expended to the amount of £109 in repairs and restorations at the famous Seven Churches there, and what had been done at the time was already on record in their "Journal." However, one necessary work had remained over, for want of means—the securing of the cap of the lesser Round Tower, which had at some remote period been stricken with lightning, and the action of the weather had been gradually disintegrating the shattered mason work, so that the courses of stone were, from time to time, falling off. Since then subscriptions had come in for the special work of securing the cap of the tower, and a contract for the purpose had been made with a builder of Shannon-Bridge, named Egan, whose tender was the most satisfactory. Scaffolding was the principal expense, as some of the original stones were there, for them to re-set.

It was arranged that any new stones necessary to be supplied should be of a different kind—the old were calcarious sandstone: the new were to be limestone. He had just returned from making an inspection of the work, as it was progressing, at Clonmacnoise, and he was glad to be able to say that it was going on very satisfactorily. All the old stones that remained were already re-set in their former position, and what should necessarily be new was being done in a proper way. When this should have been carried out, he might safely say that everything had been done to put the ruins of Clonmacnoise in a safe state for centuries to come. The following were the subscriptions received towards securing the cap of the tower:—

The late Sir Arthur Magenis, G. C. B.,	£10	0	0
E. Wilmot Williams, Esq.,	10	0	0
John Malone, Esq., J. P.,	10	0	0
Lord Castlemaine,	5	0	0
The Earl of Dunraven,	2	0	0
The Bishop of Meath,	2	0	0
The Bishop of Limerick,	2	0	0
The Dean of Ossory,	2	0	0
The Dean of Westminster,	2	0	0
R. E. Moony, Esq., The Doon,	2	0	0
Rev. Dr. Jebb, Peterstow, Hereford,	1	1	0
Rev. C. A. Vignoles,	1	0	0
Mrs. J. Vignoles,	1	0	0
Charles H. Foot, Esq.,	1	0	0
John D. Lauder, Esq.,	1	0	0
Rev. M. O'Farrell, P. P.,	1	0	0
Mrs. Moony, The Doon,	1	0	0
Rev. K. Egan, P. P.,	1	0	0
Mr. Kieran Egan,	1	0	0
Miss Moony, The Doon,	0	10	0
Rev. Sir E. Armstrong, Bart.,	0	10	0
Thomas Mulock, Esq.,	0	10	0
W. Delany, Esq.,	0	10	0
Henry Daly, Esq.,	0	10	0
George Daly, Esq.,	0	10	0
Captain Tarleton,	0	10	0
Colonel Bushe, and Friends,	0	10	0
J. H. Bracken, Esq.,	0	10	0
Edward Maunsell, Esq.,	0	5	0
Edward Gray, Esq.,	0	5	0

The Rev. J. W. Hardman, of Ballycastle, county of Antrim, and Brockley Court, Bristol, in sending a subscription towards the works at St. Francis' Abbey, through the Rev. J. Graves, suggested that the Association ought

to "start a national petition to Parliament for an annual grant of money, to be laid out under a Committee of Antiquaries, in the preservation of the ruins of ancient Irish buildings." Mr. Hardman said, he was sure men of all parties and religious views would unite on such a common ground as this ; and the necessity of State interference was very obvious. He had recently seen an ancient abbey in his neighbourhood crumbling to ruin, the expenditure of £5 upon which would preserve it for centuries to come. He would willingly expend that sum upon it from his own purse, but his offering to do so would be esteemed a "meddlesome" thing of a private individual.

The proposal received the fullest concurrence of the meeting.

Mr. Prim said, before they passed from Mr. Hardman's suggestion, he might properly refer to a subject of a similar character. Two of the Poor Law Boards of Unions in the county of Kilkenny—Urlingford and Callan—having determined to become "Burial Boards," under the Act of Parliament permitting them to do so, had arranged for the enclosing of a number of ancient churchyards in their respective Unions, to prevent cattle trespassing therein, and protect the graves of the dead from desecration. An old and zealous member of the Society, the Rev. Philip Moore, P. P., Johnstown, county of Kilkenny, suggested to the Honorary Secretaries of this Association the possibility of a greater desecration resulting than that sought to be guarded against, if the contractors used the stones of the ruined churches as building materials in constructing the new cemetery walls. They had immediately, thereupon, communicated on the subject with members of this Association connected with the two Boards of Guardians in question ; and Major St. George, Vice-Chairman of the Urlingford, and Mr. Cody, Deputy Vice-Chairman of the Callan Board, both Members of the Association, had, accordingly, brought the subject under the notice of the Boards with which they were respectively connected, by whose influence it was arranged that the contractors should be bound, under a serious penalty, not to interfere or make use of any portion of the ruins of the old churches, or any monument or sculptured stone found in the burying-

grounds, in the erection of the enclosing walls. So far, they had taken care of the immediate district in which the Association was centered ; but as theirs was a national and not merely a local society, they were bound to look beyond Kilkenny, and take care of the archæological interests of the country at large. He begged leave to suggest that if the meeting adopted a resolution authorising the Secretaries to apply to the Poor Law Commissioners to aid them in this matter, it might have a very important effect. If the Commissioners could be induced to embody in one of their general circulars to the various Boards of Guardians throughout Ireland a suggestion that, whenever any of them resolved to become a "Burial Board," it would be desirable, in order to preserve existing national monuments, that they would include a stringent clause in the bonds of contractors against the injuring, or using as building materials, any of the ruins of old churches or ancient tombs or sculptured stones, no doubt such a circular would, in a large degree, secure the same general result as had attended the applications to the Urlingford and Callan Boards.

The proposition was, on the motion of the Rev. C. A. Vignoles, seconded by Dr. Barry Delany, fully adopted by the meeting, and the Honorary Secretaries were requested to communicate on the subject with the Poor Law Commissioners.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Archæologia," Vol. XLI., Part 2 : presented by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

"Sussex Archæological Collections," Vol. XX. : presented by the Sussex Archæological Society.

"The Archæological Journal," published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 96 : presented by the Institute.

"Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society," Vol. III., Part 9 : presented by the Society.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," September 30, 1868 : presented by the Association.

"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Vol. X., Part 2: presented by the Academy.

"Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society," Part 5: presented by the Society.

"Journal of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland," Parts 24, 25: presented by the Society.

"Aarbrøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," udgivet af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab, 1867, fjerde heft, 1868, første heft, and "Tillæg til Aarbrøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," Aargang, 1867, udgivet af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab: presented by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

"The Builder," Nos. 1255-1341, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 197-212, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Reliquary," Nos. 33, 34: presented by the Editor, Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq.

"On Subaëreal Denudation, and on Cliffs and Escarpments of the Chalk and the Lower Tertiary Beds." By William Whitaker, B. A. (London), F. G. S.; Hertford, 1867: presented by the Author.

"Daim Liacc (Duleek), its Origin and Meaning." By J. O'Beirne Crowe, Dublin, 1867: presented by the Author.

"St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland in the Third Century." By R. Steele Nicholson: presented by the Author.

"The Irish Reformation, or the Alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops at the Accession of Elizabeth," &c. By W. Maziere Brady, D. D., fifth edition, London, 1867: presented by the Author.

"Forty-eighth Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society:" presented by the Society.

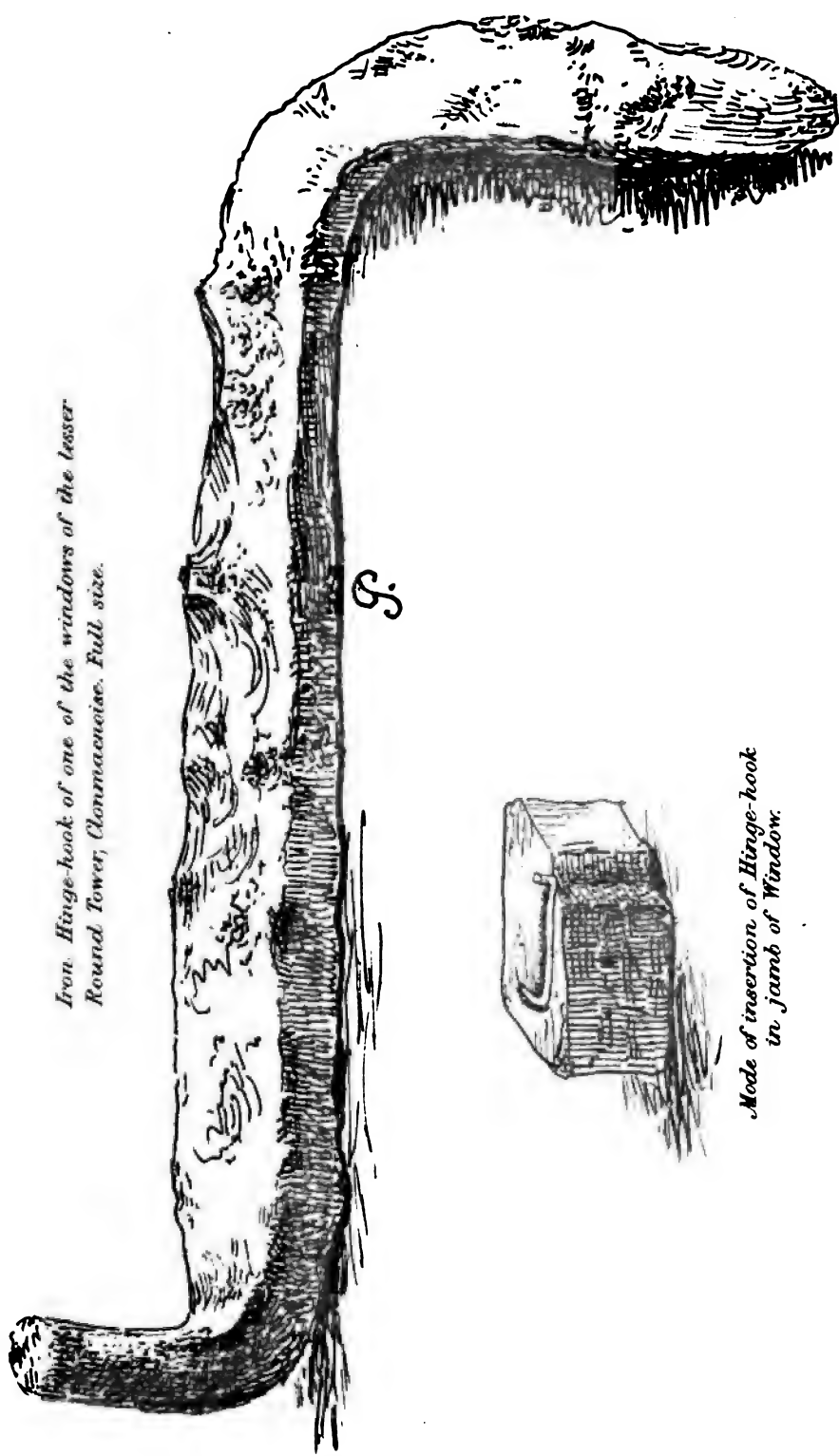
An iron hinge-hook from one of the windows of the lesser Round Tower of Clonmacnoise: presented by the Rev. C. A. Vignoles.

In connexion with this last presentation, Mr. Graves stated that the square headed stone window frames of the upper stories of the tower were worked externally with sunken reveals for the reception of shutters. The iron hooks on which the hinges swung had always been visible from the ground, but viewed in that way, of course it might be supposed possible that they had been inserted at a compara-

tively modern period. However, having the advantage of the scaffolding put up at present for repairing the cap, he was enabled to examine these hooks, and he found that their ends were turned back as in that now before them, and represented in the plate which faces this page, and that they had been regularly let into the stone work at the building of the tower, grooves having been made in the beds of the stones to receive them, into which they were leaded, except in one instance, where he found the hook sufficiently loose to be drawn out with the hand—the mortar having been weathered out of the wide joint. He had advised Mr. Vignoles to deposit this hinge-hook in the museum, as there were so many others *in situ*. The existence of these irons, and in a perfect state of preservation, in a Round Tower, with which they were obviously coeval, seemed to him as serving, even without the additional evidence of other kinds which might be adduced, to show that these structures could not be of the fabulous antiquity which some insisted on as-signing to them.

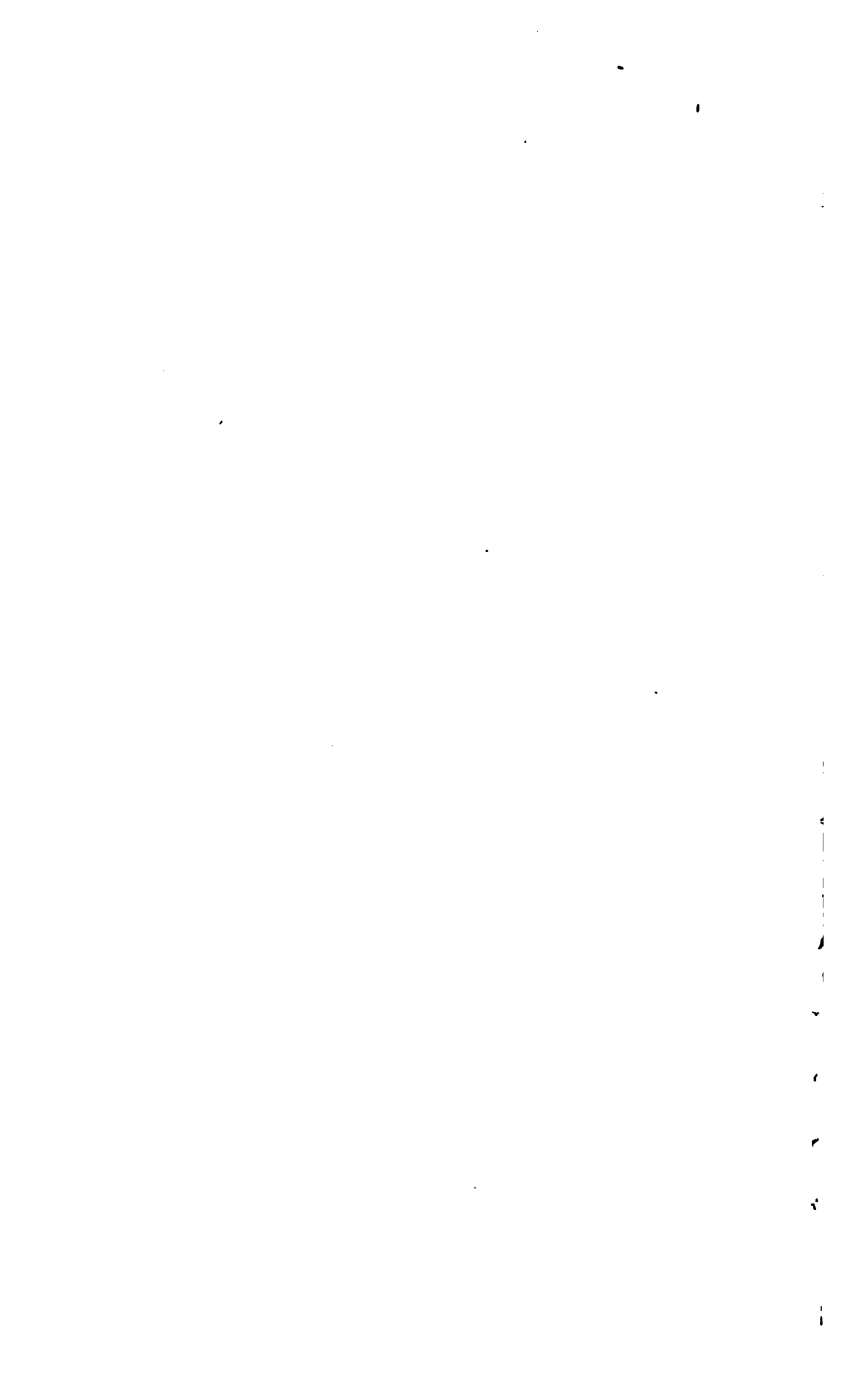
Mr. Prim, whilst agreeing with Mr. Graves in objecting to the almost pre-historic theory of the origin of our Round Towers, said it should be admitted that the lesser tower at Clonmacnoise was obviously, if not the latest, one of the latest in date existing in Ireland.

Mr. Graves said, that was so ; and the use of hinged window shutters might be taken as an advance in ideas of comfort in making use of the tower. The tower was built in connexion with the wall of a twelfth century church, of which it formed a coeval part. This fact, however, did not seem to have much weight with some of the advocates of the Pagan origin of our Round Towers. He chanced to meet at Clonmacnoise a few years since the author of the latest book on the Irish Round Towers, Mr. Marcus Keane—a gentleman who ascribed the building of these structures to the “Cuthites.” Having heard Mr. Keane express his opinion of the immense age of the Round Towers, he (Mr. Graves) drew his attention to the lesser tower of Clonmacnoise, and suggested that there could be no doubt of the church to which it was attached being as old as the tower. Mr. Keane at once assented, and then declared his belief that the church, with all its late Romanesque details, *was a Pagan temple !* Of course there was no use in carry-



*Iron Hinge-hook of one of the windows of the lesser Round Tower, Clonmacnoise. Full size.*

*Mode of insertion of Hinge-hook in jamb of Window.*





ing the discussion any further. The excavations at the base of this tower, for putting up scaffolding poles, had proved that, like the Kilkenny Round Tower, its lower courses had been laid on the churchyard earth, and amidst previously formed graves of the dead. The only foundation was a course of large undressed stones about two feet in depth, projecting several inches beyond the external wall-face. He (Mr. Graves) had communicated the existence of these iron hinge-hooks to the Rev. Dr. Todd and to the Bishop of Limerick. The former, in reply, wrote:—"I am delighted to hear that you are still at the old work: your discovery of the iron hook in the window of the tower is most important and curious. I always thought that tower to belong to the twelfth century."

The Right Rev. Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, also wrote in connexion with the same subject:—

"I think the iron hinge-hook ought to be kept *out* of the tower, and deposited in a museum, along with such a drawing and description as would clearly indicate its history. The finding of it was very interesting; but I cannot hope that any fresh evidence or argument, no matter how conclusive, will produce an effect upon the minds of those who advocate the Pagan origin of these structures."

A collection of flint flakes from the neighbourhood of Belfast: presented by Robert Day, Jun., Esq., F.S.A. Mr. Day made the following communication:—

"I have much pleasure in presenting to the Museum some flint flakes from the neighbourhood of Belfast. Attention was first drawn to them by Mr. William Gray, who is a member of this Association, and Secretary of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. He found them in a raised beach adjoining the shore of Belfast Lough, at Kilroot, a station of the Carrickfergus and Larne Railway.

"They were first noticed by him in some ballasting that was used in repairing the railway; and, on his asking where it was obtained, he was directed to the gravel bank, some twenty feet high, where he found several specimens of chipped and worked flints imbedded. Since then he has found them in various places around Belfast, on the sea shore, in the tilled fields, and in greatest number along the chalk outcrop. Some of these specimens I found myself, in company with Mr. Gray, last summer, in a field adjoining the Ormeau Bridge, Belfast.<sup>1</sup> They comprise some well-

<sup>1</sup> They have been found in the gravel at *both sides* of Belfast Lough. They are in *any quantity* at Larne, and are common over Island Magee and the slopes below the chalk along the coast to Ballintoy. At the latter place chipped flints were

found with them, at the south side of Belfast Lough; they are very abundant at Holywood, and they occur over the shore and islands of Strangford Lough; they have also been found at Greencastle, on the south coast of Down.

formed knives and lance-heads, flint cores or nuclei, from which the lance-heads, &c., were struck, thumb flints, resembling those found in the Yorkshire Wold barrows, and rude scrapers. In the same field, lying on the surface, was found a fine celt of altered lia,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and 3 inches wide, now in my collection; and Mr. Gray obtained another of similar material, and a portion of a polished flint adze.

"These primitive worked flints have a distinct character: the under side shows a smooth surface, with a bulb, known as the bulb of percussion; the upper surface exhibiting a counter depression, and various chippings, which give them the peculiar form so well known to collectors; some are leaf-shaped, with a high mid-rib, while others are chipped away at the base for the reception of a handle or shaft. They are similar in form to those from Lough Neagh, a few of which are already in your Museum, but they differ in colour; the latter are invariably a dark brown flint, while the former are either a pure white or a rich cream colour, and are coated with a fine glaze resembling those from Danish Kjökenmøddings."

Impressions of the corporate and provost's seals of Tralee, county of Kerry: presented by William Hilliard, Esq., Calisrlee, Tralee. The larger, or corporate seal, was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and bore in the field an embattled tower, over it the imperial crown, and the letters I. R.; below the tower, TRALY; with this legend round the verge—VIS UNITA FORTIOR. The provost's seal, which was much worn, was simply a castle, triple towered, and under it the word TRALLEE; both seemed to be of the age of James I., by whom the town was incorporated. Mr. Hilliard remarked that it was remarkable that the name of the town was spelled differently on both the seals, and also differently from the modern form TRALEE; having had many opportunities of examining old documents connected with the town, he had never seen the name spelled as on the small seal, whilst the spelling on the large one is that usual till about 1740. These seals had been forgotten since the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act, and only turned up a short time ago.

A specimen of the "money of necessity" coined by Charles I., found in the neighbourhood of Fethard: presented by T. K. Lynn, Esq., Inyard, Fethard, county of Wexford.

A New Ross token, in good preservation, having the legend, "The diligent hand maketh rich, Ross," and the date, 1673: presented by Mr. J. Connell, Kilkenny.

The original parchment lease of the lands of Mount Arran (now known as Mount Woolsey), *alias* Crosclough, Reglas, Oragh, and Ballymangart, containing 799 acres, 2

roods, plantation measure ; also 14 acres of the lands of Tullowphelim, all lying in the barony of Rathvilly, and county of Carlow ; made by the second Duke of Ormonde to Thomas Greene, of Rahera, county of Carlow, at a pepper-corn rent. The document was dated the 23rd of March, in the second year of Queen Anne's reign, and the Duke's seal and signature were in good preservation : presented by the Rev. James Hughes, Maynooth.

Three interesting photographs, representing the more remarkable of the ancient crosses at Kilkieran, county of Kilkenny, and the Round Tower, and sculptures on gable of the old church, of Ardmore, county of Waterford : presented by F. E. Currey, Esq., Lismore.

A photograph of the magnificent cromleac at Brown's Hill, county of Carlow : presented by R. Clayton Browne, Esq.

Mr. Graves laid before the meeting a silver half-crown piece of King William III., which had been found in the course of the works for constructing the new iron bridge at New Ross. It was brought by the finder to Mr. Sweetman, of Castle Annaghs, who had forwarded it to the Society.

It was resolved by the meeting that a small gratuity should be given to the finder.

Mr. Graves said that he had called on Mr. Jones, the acting engineer under the contractor for the erection of the iron bridge at New Ross, and had seen in his possession a curious brass screw padlock, which had been taken up in sinking one of the great hollow cylinders which are to form the piers of the bridge ; also, a red deer's antler, in good preservation, found by the diver in the mud of the river bottom. Mr. Jones informed him that one or two fragments of sword-blades, but nothing else of any interest, had been found.

Mr. J. P. Prendergast sent copies of two petitions transcribed by him from the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Parliament of England, being indignant at the lavish grants of Irish confiscated lands made by King William the Third to his favourites, passed an Act of Resumption in the tenth and eleventh year of his reign, and soon afterwards vested the forfeited estates in trustees, who were directed to sell them by public sale at Chichester House, in College-green, Dublin.

The cruelest results followed, as his grantees had leased, mortgaged, and sold their grants, all of which were by the Act swept away from the innocent purchasers. They accordingly presented petitions praying provisos in a new Bill, or some other mode of saving them from ruin, and these petitions were referred by the House of Commons to the Trustees for Sale of Forfeitures, for their report of the state of facts in each petition.

The variety of circumstances mentioned in the petitions is considerable, and the family and personal details very curious and illustrative of the state of the times. The petitions and reports amount to over a hundred. They are to be found in a volume in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian Library—Dr. Rawlinson having been a Nonjuring bishop who practised as a physician at Oxford in the end of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century; and besides making collections of papers of public and historical interest, visited (like an Old Mortality) all the grave-yards and churches within his reach, and copied the epitaphs and inscriptions. The two following petitions offered incidentally some interesting particulars concerning the siege of Londonderry:—

*"To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Kn<sup>t</sup>, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.*

*"The humble Petition of Capt. James Roch,*

*"Sheweth,—That he is the person who, in the late siege of Londonderry, did swim from the English squadron into the city w<sup>th</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Kirk's orders and advice, for w<sup>th</sup> service he was to have had the recompence of £3450.*

*"In considera<sup>cion</sup> whereof his Ma<sup>ty</sup> was pleased to grant him some lands and ten<sup>ts</sup> in Ireland, w<sup>ch</sup> Grant bears date the 13<sup>th</sup> day of Feb<sup>r</sup>, in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s Reigne; but by reason of severall Deeds and Settlem<sup>ts</sup> sett up against your Pet<sup>ty</sup> title, he was unavoidably involved in sev<sup>al</sup> chargable suites of Law by which the said Grant was of no advantage to him.*

*"That your Pet<sup>r</sup>, in Feb<sup>r</sup> 1698, came for England, and by Petition to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> sett forth his case, w<sup>ch</sup> was more miserable than before the said Grant, hubly praying his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to take the same into his tender considera<sup>cion</sup>.*

*"That his Ma<sup>ty</sup> was thereupon pleased to referr the said petition to the Lords Justices of Ireland, to examine into the truth of your Pet<sup>ty</sup> allega<sup>cion</sup>s, and report the same to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>.*

*"That the Lords Justices did cause a very exact inspec<sup>cion</sup> to be made therein, and did report to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, dated at the Castle of Dublin, on the*

5<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1699, that they found the Pet<sup>r</sup> allegacōns to be true, and as well to be in a worse condicōn than before he had issued the said Grant.

"That hereby it appearing to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> that your Pet<sup>r</sup> had rec<sup>d</sup> no consideraōn for his said £3450, his Ma<sup>ty</sup> was graciously pleased by his Warrant, bearing date at Kensington, Nov<sup>r</sup>, 1699, to grant your Pet<sup>r</sup> the estate of Andrew Moor, in the county of Cork, and the estate of Walter and George Nangle, in the county of Meath, and accordingly your Pet<sup>r</sup> proceeded to pass the Grant under the great Seal; but before it could pass a Bill was brought into Parliam<sup>t</sup> for resuming all his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Grants in that kingdom, w<sup>th</sup> your Pet<sup>r</sup> no sooner heard but he came for England and laid his case before this Hon<sup>ble</sup> House, who were pleased, in consideraōn of that great and eminent service don by him at Londonderry, to grant him a saving clause for the said Grant or Grants made to him as aforesaid.

"But so it is may it please yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>rs</sup>,

"That the said Grant not passing the Great Seale till the 19<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill, w<sup>th</sup> was after the Act of Resumption past, the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Trustees for Sale of Forfeited Estates in Ireland are of opinion that it still wants the confirmaōn of this Hon<sup>ble</sup> House, & w<sup>th</sup> out w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> poor pet<sup>r</sup>. & his family will be utterly ruined; for that the charg in passing & securing the said Grants y<sup>r</sup> whole not being above £250, that the debt due thereon by Mortgages & Ellegitts are now swelled to £2175, for w<sup>th</sup> Sumes yo<sup>r</sup> Pet<sup>r</sup> now pays £174 <sup>per</sup> ann. Interest Money; as yo<sup>r</sup> Pet<sup>r</sup>. is ready to make appear to this Hon<sup>ble</sup> House, so that if not relieved, must perish in a Goale, & his poor ffamily be exposed to the greatest miseries, your pet<sup>r</sup> owing at this time £700, more than the first Grant is worth.

"Your Pet<sup>r</sup>. therefore, hopes that in regard of the great & Emin<sup>t</sup> services don by him in swimming to Londonderry at the time of the Siege, & the deplorable condicōn he now Groans under by regard of a most dangerous Fistula past all cure, & occasioned by wounds and colds received in that service by being two nights in the water, may deserve the compassion of this Hon<sup>ble</sup> House by giving yo<sup>r</sup>. Pet<sup>r</sup>. a clause to confirm said Grant or such other releefe as yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>rs</sup>. in your great Wisdom shall think most fitt, otherwise, he and his poor Family must perish, &c., &c.

"JAMES ROCH."

#### "REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES.

"To the, &c.,

"In obedience to yo<sup>r</sup> Order of Reference on the annexed Pet<sup>a</sup> to us we have examined the contents thereof, & conceive the facts contained in the s<sup>d</sup> Pet<sup>a</sup> are true.

"All w<sup>th</sup>, &c."

Rawl. MS., A 253, p. 86.

#### THE STATE OF COLONEL ADAM MURRAY'S CASE.

"To the Honourable the House of Commons in Parliament Assembled.

"In the beginning of the Revolution in Ireland, 1688, I raised a Troop of Horse for His Majesty King William and the late Queen Mary, and the Protestant Interest.

"And when the Army was broke about 12 miles from *Derry*, where

he was engaged, the next day after, of the broken troops, there joined him 400, which continued with me near *King James's Army* when our foot fled into *Londonderry*.

"And in some few days after *King James* with his Army surrounded all that part of *Derry* which lay open from the Sea. The Protestants within, before his Army was fully marched up, sent a letter to him, that if he did not march speedily into the Town and join them, that Colonel *Lundee* was Articling, and would deliver up the Town to *King James*.

"Upon which he began to March, though Intercepted by the Enemies Dragoons, which he charged through, with the loss of Eleven of his Number.

"And coming to the Gate he was soon received in, our Cannon and Musqueteers firing upon *King James's Army*, who drew off.

"Soon after he went with a strong Guard of Soldiers and officers to Colonel *Lundee*, who told him they had Signed to surrender upon honourable Terms, and showed him the Instrument they had Signed, upon which he discharged him, and those officers with him, from any such Treaty or Parly.

"Afterwards we Marched to the Main Guard and secured the Keys of all the Gates and Stores which the said Colonel *Murray* kept for two Days, Colonel *Baker* then Joining with him, to whom he delivered the Keys and whom we chose for our Governor. He had the Command of all the Horses; and there were Seven Regiments of Foot.

"He was in all the Sallies, which was frequent and successful, till, about Eight days before the *Irish Army* fled from before *Derry*, he was unfortunately shot through the Body as we pursued the Enemy within their Trenches, whom we beat.

"After he recovered of his Wound, continued a Reformed Officer according to the King's Letters to the Duke *Schomberg*, till that the *Derry* Officers should be continued in full pay till provided for in equal or better Posts. The Copey of which Letters are in readiness to be produced.

"In 1691, General *Deginkell* sent him from the Camp to the Lords Justices in *Dublin*, where he was intrusted with a Commission to Command the Militia of the Province of *Ulster*. The words of which Commission was:—'*To all Officers and Soldiers of the Militia within the Province of Ulster, and to all Officers and Soldiers of H. M. Army who shall be posted in any part of the said Province with the Militia, that they be obedient to your order.*' Which Commission is in readiness to be produced.

"Also Letters of Thanks from General *Deginkell* for the Forces under his Command, with Directions and Orders, which he also hath.

"He never had any reward for all his Services and Sufferings but a small Thing from His Majesty which is called *Bounty Money*, and £20 from my Lord *Cunningsby*, and upon the above said Commission served three years and seven Months in my Lord *Charlemount's* Regiment till the Regiment was Broke upon the aforesaid Commission.

"I Commanded the first Regiment of Horse that served their Majestys in *Ireland*, and the first that we hear of that eat their Horses and fought with the rest of the Foot Army against the Enemy during the Siege.

"There was six Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse which Colonel *Micklebourn* makes no mention of (as he understands), in his Petition, which may Merit Consideration of this Honourable House.

"And he having no Estate is brought into considerable Debts, and his

Family brought to Ruin and Misery unless relieved by the Justice of this Honourable House.

*"All which is humbly referred to the considerations of the Honourable the HOUSE OF COMMONS OF ENGLAND, in PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED."*

[1701].

Rawl. MS., A. 253, p. 390.

Dr. Barry Delany exhibited two views, in Indian ink, of Kilkenny towards the close of the last century, which, he observed, were possessed of not a little interest, not merely from their artistic merits, but from the fact of their being the sketches of O'Keeffe, the celebrated dramatist, actor, and artist. He had recently lighted on these pictures offered for sale in a broker's shop in Dublin. The name of the delineator was partially defaced on one of the pictures, being half cut away, but it was preserved on the other, and was clearly "J. O'Keeffe, del." The views were taken, one from Windgap-hill, the other from the north showing the old tower of St. Mary's Church, and other ancient features of the city since removed. It would be at once seen that the two drawings fully corresponded with the notice of them given by O'Keeffe himself, in his "Recollections," published in 1826, when he was a very old man. The passage of the work referring to Kilkenny contained also some curious and interesting gossiping matter, irrespective of the reference to the pictures, and was worth being read at large. It was as follows :—

"On entering Kilkenny, from Dublin, you come to Windgap-hill, and look down upon the city. From this spot I took one of my views: close by, on the left hand, I had the Mall, and Ormonde castle rising over it and the river, which is here very narrow; and on the right hand the meadows, garden, and college where Congreve had his education: the hill indeed, is a wind-gap, for I had a great deal of trouble in arranging my table and papers, I took my other view of Kilkenny from the far end of the city, over a bridge. In this, the cathedral to my right, was my nearest grand object, and Ormonde castle was at a distance. Some years after, passing through Kilkenny, I dined with Fynn, the printer and publisher of the Newspaper there, a very friendly young man; and in the room were hung my two identical views framed and glazed. I was also acquainted at Kilkenny with a very worthy character, Mr. Francis Lodge, who had been mayor, and was a great friend to the drama. I also took a drawing of the two great round lodges at the entrance of Ormonde castle. 'Young Beau,' my comically *modest* acquaintance, whom I mentioned when at Derry, was also with me at Kilkenny. Here he fixed a quarrel upon a delicate well-mannered young man, who thought it advisable, for

the safety of his own person, to complain him to the mayor, a remarkably rigid magistrate, who granted a warrant, and 'Young Beau' was apprehended in the street. The officers of justice in Kilkenny were, though proper in their several duties, of an alarming appearance, being large men, with broad silver-laced scarlet waistcoats, three-cocked silver-laced hats, and long painted staves. The mayor was in the street, and the constables brought 'Young Beau' before him, when the accuser repeated his fears. The magistrate gave the delinquent a well-merited rebuke, but told him to get bail for his future good behaviour, and he would not commit him. 'Well, sir,' said the culprit, with a kind of arch whimsical face and manner, 'to oblige *you*, I will get bail,' and was walking off. 'What's that?' said the mayor, 'to oblige *me*! you get bail, to oblige *me*, you young scoundrel!—lay hold on him.' The formidable constables instantly took him by the collar. I was present, and the plaintiff joined with me in interceding with the mayor: we promised his worship that the prisoner should be bailed, and begged him to let him amuse the Kilkenny audience that night, in his character 'of Peachum,' for which his name was in the play-bills. The magistrate, understanding by this who he was, relaxed into good humour; and 'Young Beau,' with more lenity than he deserved, was released, and appeared that night in the 'Beggar's Opera,' to a full and fashionable audience, among whom was Mrs. Butler, of the Castle, mother to the late and present Lord Ormond, and the Honourable Charles Butler; Mr. St. George, High Sheriff of the county, and many others were present."

Mr. Prim said, the reference to the shrievalty of "Mr. St. George" served exactly to fix the period of O'Keefe's making the drawings at 1770; for Thomas St. George, Esq., of Kiltrush, was sworn High Sheriff of the county of Kilkenny, on the 17th of February, in that year.

The Right Hon. General Dunne, of Brittas, in allusion to a paragraph of a rather wonderful nature then going the round of the newspapers, wrote thus to Mr. Graves, as Honorary Secretary:—

"You will probably see in the Papers a story cognate to that which affected to describe the discovery of the 'Clonmacnoise' gold articles now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Lest that now put forward should for a moment be believed, I may as well state the truth of the case. Between the King's and Queen's Counties is a lake called Lough Annagh, about a mile, or somewhat more, long, and about half a mile broad. In it are two Cranoges. We have at Brittas several querns, bones, and four or five ancient boats,<sup>1</sup> hollowed from logs of timber, found in the lake, similar to those still used by the Greeks, and called by them, *μενοβολον*. Lately some boys picked up in the lake near one of the Cranoges, as is said, an iron cuirass, a sword, and other arms. I have a musket barrel

<sup>1</sup> One of the four canoes found in the lake is by gift from General Dunne, in the possession of Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., Par-

sonstown, and was described by him in the "Journal" of the Association, vol. ii., first series, p. 71.



and an axe found at the same time, and I suppose that these latter, as also the cuirass (which was sold to a man named Atkins in Tullamore), are comparatively modern. I thus account for them: In the wars of William and James (1691), a Major Wood, with 900 foot and 50 horse, surprised a portion of the Irish Army encamped on a hill above the lough, and killed 150 on the spot, took Major Fitzpatrick, who commanded them, prisoner, and put the rest to flight. I suppose the owner of the cuirass was brought (dead or alive) into the Cranoge, and his armour thrown into the lake; you will find the account of the action in 'Story,' part 2, page 73. Near the place is a curious bog pass made like an American corduroy road, and which no doubt is 'the tougher of Malahone,' mentioned by Story."

Mr. Graves added, that on his way home from Clonmacnoise, the previous Monday, he had stopped some hours at Tullamore to examine the articles found in the lake, which had been purchased from the finders by Mr. Atkins, jeweller, of that town. He found in the possession of Mr. Atkins the following articles:—

- 1 Cuirass or "breast" of iron, well made, ornamented by sunk lines, with projecting pigeon-breast medial line. There was a hole in the cuirass, but it seemed to have arisen from the natural decay of the metal. This piece of armour was undoubtedly of the 17th century, and was furnished with a hook and staple, to fasten the strap or tongue which secured the "back" to the "breast."
- 1 Match lock barrel, 36 inches long.
- 1 Gun barrel of small calibre, 50 inches long.
- 3 Pistol barrels.
- 3 Antique iron keys—may be ancient.
- 1 fragment of the brass ornament of a book cover.
- 2 Spurs, iron—may be ancient.
- 1 Iron halbert, a fine 16th century specimen.
- 1 spade, very rude, iron.
- 1 Trowel, iron.
- 1 Chisel, do.
- 1 Axe, do.
- 1 Door-bolt, do.
- 1 Skean, or dagger-knife, 13 inches long, no haft, do.
- 1 Small iron dagger with wooden haft, blade of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches long.
- 1 Small knife, iron.
- 1 Sword-blade, 26 inches long, do.

- 1 Fragment of sword-blade, 26 inches long, iron.
- 1 Spindle-whorl, stone.
- 1 Nondescript iron antique, like a smoothing iron.
- 1 Bronze ladle.
- 1 Bronze spear-head.
- 1 Brick rudely formed and well baked, much larger and flatter than the modern make ; many such at bottom of lake near Cranoge.

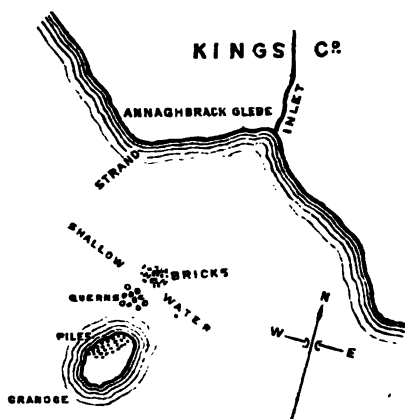
The swords and gun barrels were found sticking up out of the mud of the lake bottom.

Whilst in Tullamore, he (Mr. Graves) called on a very intelligent resident in that town, Mr. Thomas Stanley, from whom he had since received the following notice of the Cranoge in Lough Annagh :—

“The home of my boyhood is about two miles from Lough Annagh, where I often heard the tradition of the swallowed up town. But I paid no attention to the tradition until a friend gave me an account of Mr. Cooke's paper in your ‘Journal’ relative to canoes found in the lough. I had procured a copy of Sir John Lubbock's work ‘Prehistoric Times,’ the pile islands of which incited me to look out for a pile island. At my first visit, I observed two island-like patches rising a little above the water. At my second visit, I procured a boat, and found one of them to be a pile island. The summer following the year of my voyages, I went to examine the shore which runs beside the island, if perchance I might pick up stone, or bone, or bronze. To compensate for disappointment in antiquities, I had a healthy mountain breeze to enjoy ; some pretty bits of landscape to look at ; a pair of piscatory herons to reconnoitre ; and a herd of fine cattle to fraternise with ; they were ruminating upon the little cape where I sate to munch my crust and quaff lake water. They paid earnest attention to me while I gave them to understand that their lot had fallen upon better days than the ‘good ould times’ of the islanders ; that if they were ‘there beyant’ they would be making roast beef of them in fifteen minutes.

“When I learned that the articles which were shown to you at Mr. Atkins' had been found about the island, I chid me for my sluggishness, and marched off at once to see all that might be seen without disturbing the repose of any part of its materials. As it was on one of the hottest days of the year, the temperature of the water was unusually high, and I continued walking through it in the shallows about the island for some hours. Of piles which were visible, I reckoned more than one hundred and twenty. They were arranged in lines, with spaces of about two feet between their lines. Their diameters were about five inches. The island sloped gradually into the water in every direction, and the piles, which appeared only on one side, accommodated themselves to the slope, being generally about one height—a few inches higher than the surface. Two ‘Waltonian’ boys came over to try what I might be, and one of them, in something like wanton curiosity, pulled up four piles. This gave me an

opportunity to observe that they were pointed with a sharp instrument—possibly with the small well-tempered iron hatchets, one or two of which had been found there a few days previously.



Part of Annaghmore Lough enlarged from the Ordnance Survey 6-inch Map, showing Cranoge.

"Between the island and the shore there is a submerged tract of about thirty feet in diameter, which is strewn over with lumps of stones and broken querns; a few piles appearing amongst the *debris*. There is a lesser tract attached to this, or partly isolated, where some well-burnt bricks, whole or broken, are mixed with the stones.

"One side of the lake is banked by a deep bog, and it is to the growth or removal of this bog that the variations in the level of the lake are due. The lake is now gradually subsiding, for the Clonaslee people and others are digging up the bank for fuel.

"I never heard the tradition taken by Mr. Cooke from 'Lewis' Topographical Dictionary' of the house on the cranoge, and its being occupied by insurgents in 1641. Of course, the piles were always visible on a clear day beneath the water. I was ignorant of the so-called tradition until I met with it in the 'Journals' you sent me."

Dr. Ledlie Riggs of Armagh sent the following notice<sup>1</sup> of "The Vicar's Carn" near that city:—

"Four miles south-east of Armagh, on an elevated ridge of country, stands 'The Vicar's Carn,' named in Irish, Carn-na-vanachan, probably so called from its site having belonged to the old Friary of Armagh." The

<sup>1</sup> The notes are by Dr. Reeves.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> So Dr. Stuart says ("Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," p. 609), but it is a mistake. The Friary, or house of Franciscans of Armagh, had no property in this neighbourhood. Carnavanachan, which is a townland in the parish of Kil-

clooney, barony of Lower Fews, formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul's, in Armagh, and, after the dissolution of religious houses, was granted to Sir Toby Caulfield, ancestor of the present Earl of Charlemont, of whose estate it is a portion.

carn stands upon high and elevated ground, which is approached from the city by a continued and unbroken ascent. It consists of a mass of stones forty-four yards in diameter, not of large size, and all arranged in somewhat regular order. In 1799 it was visited by Dr. Browne, Fellow of Trinity College, and Rev. John Young, of Mullabrack, who read a paper before the Royal Irish Academy, descriptive of the carn, and accompanied by an engraving representing the structure.<sup>1</sup> At that time the tumulus was surrounded by a circle of upright stones placed in the earth about five or six feet in length, and enclosing the entire structure. On one of the stones were found certain characters which Dr. Browne thought were Ogham letters, but which have never been satisfactorily determined.

"In 1815, the late John Bell, a man of antiquarian research and information, made an examination of the carn, and the result is given in Stuart's 'History of Armagh.' Mr. Bell, with infinite labour, removed an enormous mass of stones, and opened a wide passage directly through its centre. He found only a *sewer*, which had been formed along the bottom of the tumulus, but no cromleac or sepulchral monument. Mr. Bell had previously opened above sixty carns, and in each had discovered a cromleac. In many of them he had found urns of baked clay, containing burned bones, charred and adipose matter. In some carns he discovered glass bottles, which proves the great antiquity of the art of glass-making.

"The present condition of the carn is somewhat similar to what Bell left it. The circle of upright stones is entirely removed, and only one of them exists, leaning against a small unoccupied house that has been erected in the neighbourhood of the carn. On this stone, which is about five feet in height, and which is of sandstone, are found some markings, but whether the effects of water, or Ogham characters, it is difficult to determine.

"A noble view rewards the traveller who has toiled up the ascent, and reached the elevated ground on which the carn stands. Seven counties<sup>2</sup> are visible to the eye as he looks over the wide expanse of district that opens up to his wondering gaze. Away in the far north are seen the mountains of Derry, while in the extreme south Sliabh Cuillinn and Killeavey soar up to the firmament above. What thoughts and meditations arise in the mind as we ponder on the time, and recall to memory the events of days long past and gone. Was the carn at any time a burial ground of the monks of Armagh?<sup>3</sup> or was it an erection of a period long preceding, to commemorate the burial place of one of Ireland's old Celtic chiefs? Here is a wide field for boundless speculation. It is a strange circumstance, that there is no governmental department to take charge of similar remains, and shed whatever light can be now afforded on such works, and instruct and guide the public. If we had an official who would take charge of, and be responsible for our public remains, a great good would be accomplished, and a vast impulse given towards their preservation, and

<sup>1</sup> The title of the paper is "Some Account of The Vicar's Carn in the County of Armagh, communicated to the Committee of Antiquities, in two letters—one from Dr. Browne, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; the other from the Rev. John Young, Curate of Mullabrack."—"Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. viii., Antiquities, pp. 3-9.

<sup>2</sup> As above cited.

<sup>3</sup> "Transactions, Royal Irish Academy," vol. viii., Antiquities, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Never. It is, as Dr. Riggs subsequently conjectures, a structure of Pagan date, and probably marks the place of interment of some chief who fell in battle.

to public enlightenment. Much time and labour must be expended before that greatly desired epoch arrives, and relieves the casual observer of such random reflections as the present; care must be taken in the selection of an individual competent and efficient to discharge the important duties of the office, and all risk of jobbing be carefully avoided.

"We may remark, before quitting the subject, that many of the carns of Ireland were rifled by the Danes in the eighth century, and it may have happened that the Vicar's carn has been despoiled of its treasures by the Northern rovers. They laid their plundering hands on New Grange, near Drogheda, and who can say whether or no they devastated and laid waste 'The Vicar's Carn' of Armagh?"

The Rev. James Graves communicated the following document from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, discovered by J. P. Prendergast, Esq., which had an interest as bearing on the coinage of Ireland:—

"Ormonde,

"Wee doe hereby authorize you, our welbeloved Thomas Reade, to erect his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. Mint in the Citty of Kilkenny or elsewhere, as you shall see or find convenient for the Coyning of gould & silver according to the way, maner, & forme formerly vsed in England; and we desire the Major & Aldermen of the sd Citty of Kilkenny, or the Major and Aldermen of any other Citty or place where you shall come, to furnish and affoord you a place convenient to erect his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. Mint in, and all other their assistants w<sup>th</sup> fitting & necessary accomodacons. Dated at Kilkenny, 8<sup>o</sup> Aug., 1649." Carte Papers, vol. clxii., p. 12.

He had communicated the above order of the Marquis of Ormonde's to Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D., and had received from him the following communication in reference to it:—

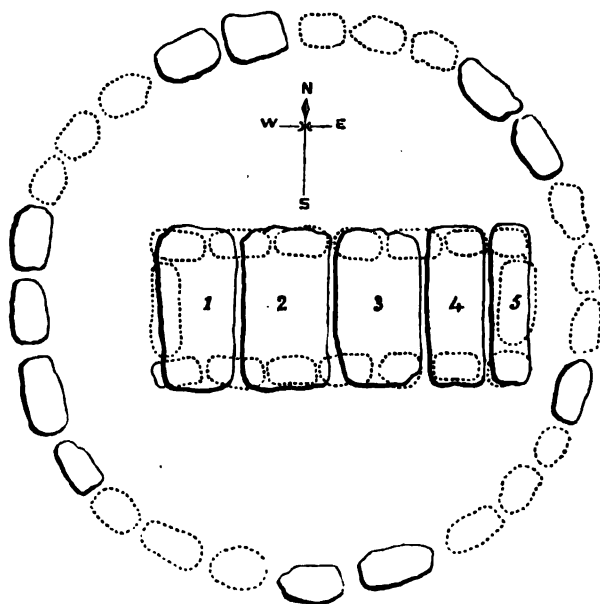
"I am much obliged to you for the transcript of the Carte Paper, which I return. The date of the authority given to Thomas Reade to coin 'gould and silver according to the way, manner, and forme, formerly used in England,' is more than seven years subsequent to the order of Council in 1642, calling on the citizens of Dublin to send in their plate to be coined into money.

"I do not know of any coin in gold or silver of the 'forme, formerly used in England' likely to have been coined by Reade. I think the best course to adopt is to print the document, and future inquiry may throw some light on it."

Mr. Graves said that, as Cromwell took Kilkenny in March, 1650, it is probable the contemplated mint was never set up.

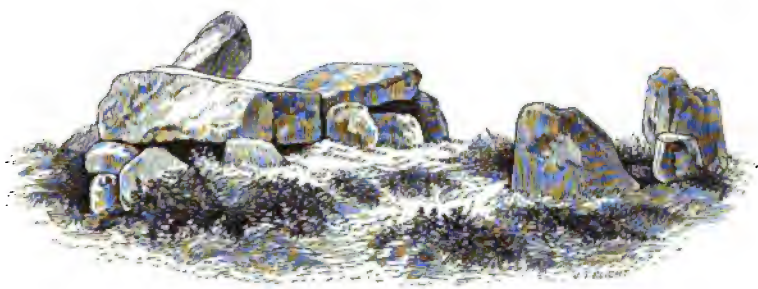
The Rev. George H. Reade sent the following notice of an ancient Pagan sepulchre, surrounded by a circle of stones, situated in the neighbourhood of Dunmore East, county Waterford:—

"Carrick-a-Dhirra is a rocky hill, a short distance inland from Credan Head, about two miles north of Dunmore East, in the county of Waterford. On the summit of this hill, commanding a fine view of Tramore Bay on the west, and the Waterford Estuary on the east, is an ancient Pagan sepulchre, originally surrounded by a perfect circle of stones, of which some idea may be formed from the ground plan here given.



"I have drawn this plan to a scale of one-eighth of an inch to a foot. The dotted lines in circle denote the stones now wanting or displaced. The covering stones of the cist are represented as restored to their proper places, and the position of the supporting side and end stones of same are shown by dotted lines; all are of the old red sandstone breccia, and are very coarse and rough. The flags on one side of the grave (seven in number) are still *in situ*, and about two feet high; and two of the covering stones (Nos. 4 and 5) remain in their original position. A good many years ago, as I have been informed, the grave was rifled by treasure seekers; flags Nos. 1, 2, and 3 were displaced, and the middle one left standing up against the southern side of the cist (see plate facing this page).<sup>1</sup> No record remains as to who were the riflers, or what was found; the cist seems to have been very imperfectly searched about the middle and towards the western end, but the earth is wholly undisturbed at the eastern end under the two unmoved covering stones. As far as I could prove, it consisted of small stones and a very black and friable earth, and were it scientifically searched I have no doubt some interesting remains would be found. The top of the hill consists of rock, almost solid rock, so that it is not likely

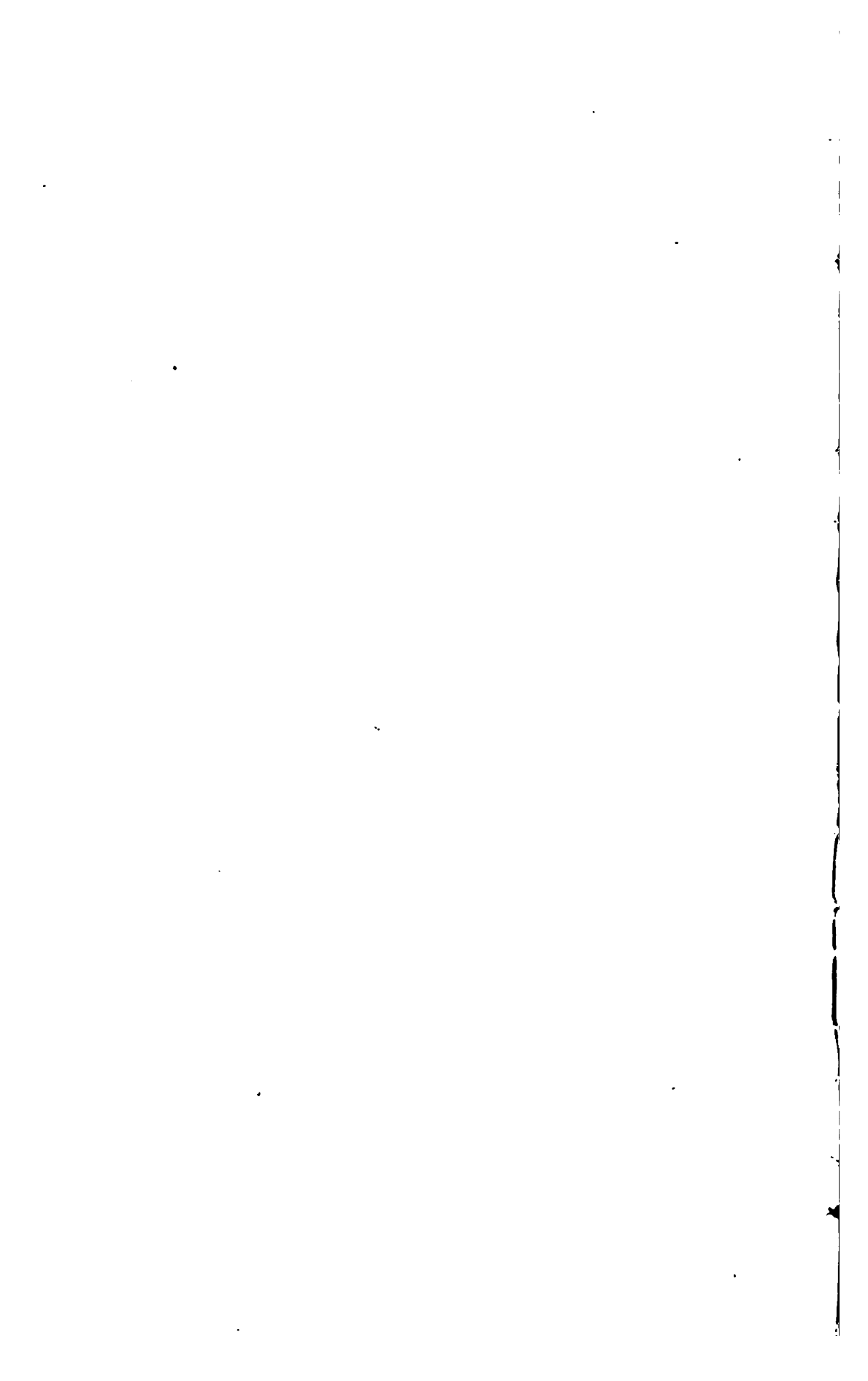
<sup>1</sup> Engraved from a photograph taken by Ernest H. Gould, Esq., C. E.



SEFULCHRAL CIRCLE AND CIST, CARRICK-A-DHIRRA, NEAR DUNMORE EAST,  
CO. WATERFORD.



CIRCLE OF STONES ROUND SAME, SKETCHED WITHOUT THE CENTRAL CIST.





that the grave is deep. The sepulchre is very little known, except to the people around, who call it a 'giant's grave.' Its position is E. and W. magnetic; the sepulchre measures 19 feet 2 inches, by 7 feet 6 inches. Eleven of the upright stones of the outer circle still stand in their places; broken and buried portions of many of the others are also to be seen, and the large stone filling up the western end of the grave remains as originally placed; that at the eastern has been partially thrust out. The present height of the largest of the standing stones of the outer circle is 3 feet 8 inches, and its breadth 3 feet, with a thickness of 17 inches.

"No. 1 covering flag is 5 ft. long by 4 ft. broad, and 20 in. thick at the greatest part; No. 2 is 6 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft. 7 in., and a thickness of only 11 in., being the nearest to a flag of any; No. 3 is 6 ft. 9 in. by 4 ft., by 1 ft. 2 in.; No. 4 is 6 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 8 in., by 1 ft. 5 in.; No. 5 is 5 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 4 in., by 1 ft. 9 in.; the largest of the side flags of the grave is 2 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in., by 1 ft. Eighteen stones, and portions of stones of the outer circle may still be counted: it measures 30 ft. in diameter.

"No trace or record of the chieftain who once rested here can be obtained; but these remains are very interesting on account of the external circle of standing stones. There is a grave such as this at Ballymacscanlon, in the county of Louth, and another at Lobbinlee, in the county of Donegal, near Ballyshannon, but neither of them have the outer circle; there is another similar grave, also retaining the outer circle, on the north-east side of Sliabh Cuillinn, county Armagh. The ruins of Kilmacomb, a very small church of about the twelfth century, lie beneath the hill, where may still be seen a fine 'bullán,' or rude primitive font.

"The cist is not central, nearly touching the outer circle at the eastern side, and we may suppose that it was originally intended that the encircling stones, as in many known instances, should form the boundary of a cairn or mound of stones completely covering the tomb. Whether this design was ever carried out, or if completed, by whom or when the cairn was removed, is now a problem shrouded in the impenetrable mists of prehistoric time."

The Rev. James Graves said that the ancient place of interment, described by Mr. Reade, was exceedingly interesting, not only on account of its encircling ring of stones, but because of the name. The cist bore a striking resemblance to one described by Mr. Du Noyer in our 'Journal' (Vol. V., p. 498, 2nd series), as being situated at the northern end of the parish of Monasterboice, county of Louth, which was called by the peasantry "Calliach Dirra's House," a name which we now find turning up again in this Waterford locality. "Carrick a Dirra" means "Dirra's rock;" and this "Calliach," or witch, is no other than the witch so well known in Irish lore as Calliach Vēřā, who gave her name also to the Lough Crew Hills (Slieve Calliach), the site of the most wonderful megalithic sepulchral remains in Ireland, the discovery of which we owe to our fellow-mem-

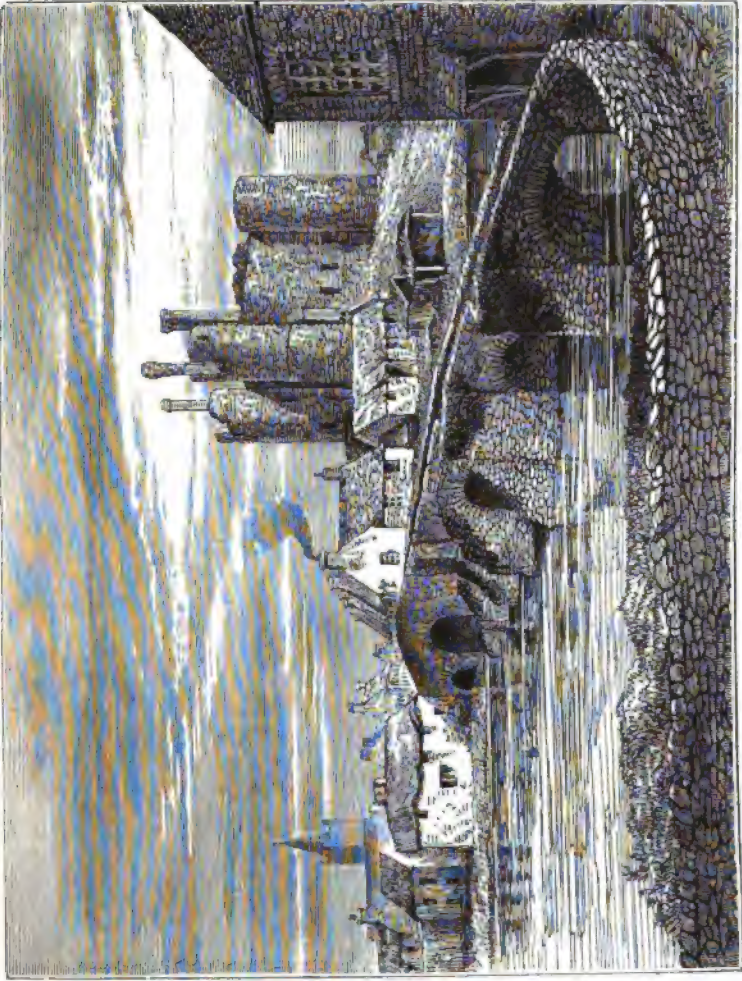
ber, Mr. Eugene A. Conwell, as recorded in the "Proceedings" of the Royal Irish Academy.

Mr. Robert Malcomson, Local Secretary for Carlow, who had contributed half the cost of the accompanying engraving, communicated the following notice of the old bridge of Carlow :—

"The accompanying wood-engraving from the burin of one of our most eminent Irish xylographists, Mr. G. A. Hanlon, for whom it was drawn upon the block by the late lamented G. V. Du Noyer, Esq., is undoubtedly the only pictorial representation of the ancient bridge of 'Catherlough,' ever presented to the public. 'Grose's Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland' (Vol. I., page 75) contains an engraving of the castle of Carlow, 'representing the south-west aspect, drawn by Lieutenant Daniel Grose, Anno 1792,' which, however, does not embrace the bridge, then, as now, a remarkable feature in the scene, and this it could hardly do in the position from which the drawing was taken. In the following year the 'Anthologia Hibernica,' in its number for December, 1793, presented its readers with an engraving of the castle, taken from a south-western position on the Queen's County side of the river below the town, and although the aspect from this point necessarily introduces the bridge, it forms a mere outline in the picture, and affords no idea of the then existing structure.

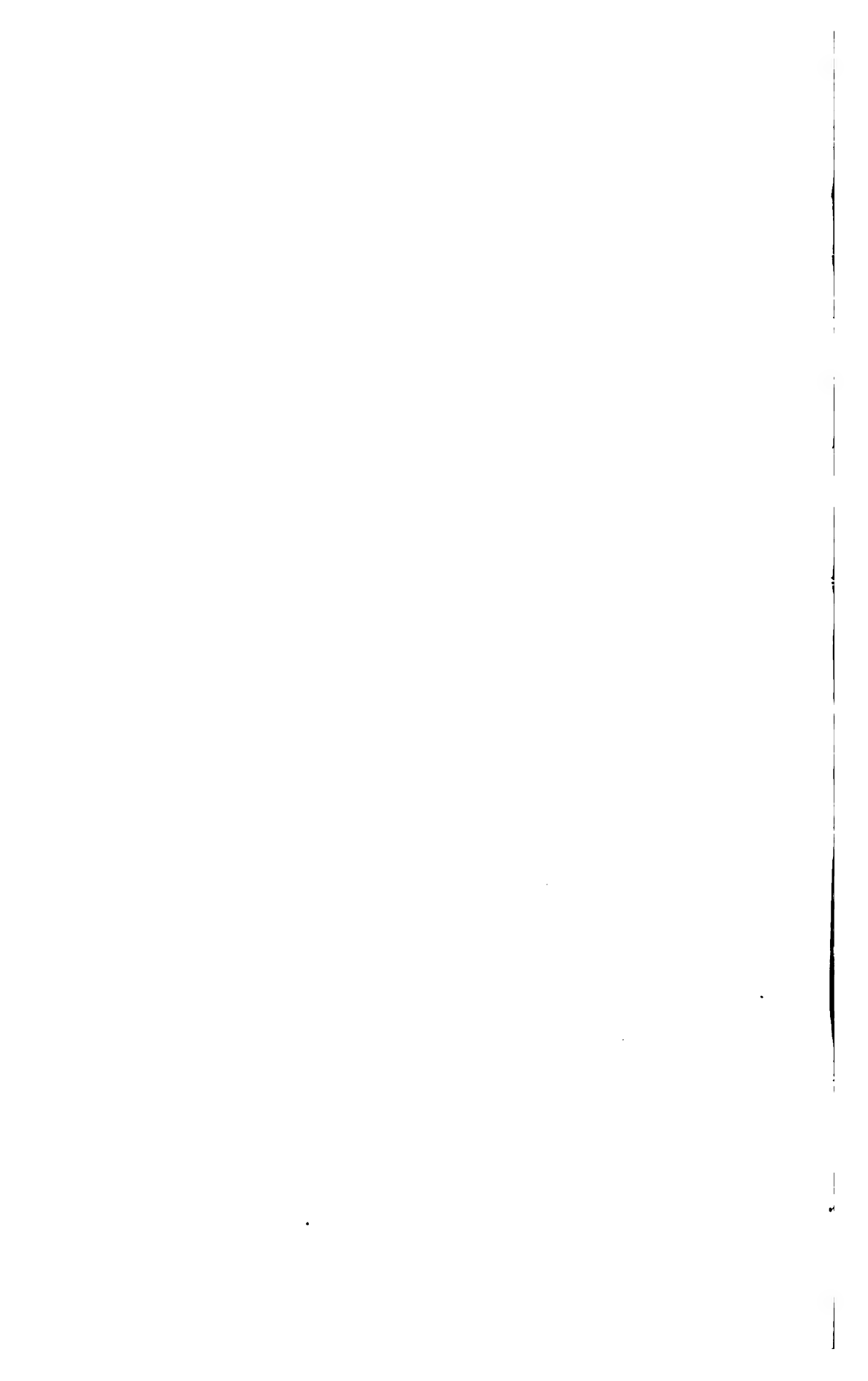
"Both the works we have quoted speak in glowing terms of the beauty of the scenery on the river spanned by this bridge. Grose, in his brief account of the neighbouring town of Leighlin-bridge, tells us, what our eyes at the present day assure us, 'that the River Barrow, running through some of the most fertile counties in Ireland, supplies some of the most delightful views anywhere to be seen; those on the banks of the Shannon may excel them in wildness and grandeur, but the softer features of the other will never want admirers;' while the 'Anthologia' concludes its notice of the castle and town of Carlow by observing, that 'it must not be omitted that some of the most picturesque and beautiful views in Ireland are in the county of Carlow, on the Barrow.'

"The drawing, in Indian ink, from which the engraving now presented to the Society was taken, is in the hands of the Honorary Curator of the Museum of this Association, J. G. Robertson, Esq., who informs us that it was found in one of a set of sketchbooks which formerly belonged to that eminent architect, the late Mr. William Robertson, of Kilkenny. The deceased gentleman, about the years 1810-11-12, had two artists (named Gibbs and Miller) employed in making sketches of the scenery and antiquities of the county of Kilkenny, and possibly one or other of these extended his researches to Carlow, and so this isolated view may have found its way to the portfolio of Mr. Robertson. However, it is pretty certain that the drawing was made about the period indicated; unquestionably it was taken prior to 1814, as it shows the castle in its perfect quadrilateral form, and we know that the building lost its two eastern towers, and the connecting wall, on the 13th of February in that year. The view represents the south-eastern aspect, and was probably taken from or near the spot on Maryborough-street, Carlow Graigue, where the house of Mr. Michael Wilson now stands. The house appearing on the right hand side



THE OLD BRIDGE AND CASTLE OF CARLOW.

(ANCIENT BRIDGES OF IRELAND, No. 2.)



of the picture has been re-edified, and is now occupied by Mr. Edward Clarke, and its site, which forms a peninsula in the river from the southern battlement of the bridge, is denominated in ancient title-deeds and leases as the White Castle, of which, however, no traces now exist; it probably constituted an outpost to guard the bridge on the Queen's County side of the River Barrow.

"Of the era of the erection of the bridge we have no historical record, nor is the name of its builder known. Its origin was probably coeval with the castle, which had its foundation in 1179, under Hugh De Lacy; nor have we been able to trace any distinctive references to the bridge in the various and eventful annals of the province. Forming, as this structure did, an important adjunct and appurtenance of the castle, being within the domain of that fortress, its vicissitudes must be considered with the general history of the castle and the town.

"Somewhat more than half a century has elapsed since the last vestige of the ancient bridge, shown in our engraving, disappeared, and was replaced by the present structure. A limestone tablet in the centre of one of the sides of the bridge bears inscribed on a shield the words 'WELLINGTON BRIDGE, 1815,' and, on a label underneath the shield, 'QUEEN'S—COUNTY—CARLOW;' the intermediate word COUNTRY indicating the imaginary line in the river forming the boundary of the two counties. On a corresponding tablet, on the opposite side of the bridge, a bust in profile of the 'Iron Duke' is cut in relief, with the classic, though not very euphonious, inscription underneath, 'PATRIA INVICTO WELLINGTON GRATA.' To compare great things with small, it is remarkable that one of London's grandest structures of this kind had its origin and appellation at the same epoch, Waterloo-bridge being so called in honour of the invincible Duke, and inaugurated at the same period.

"The Castle of Carlow, which holds a prominent place in the landscape, as it has done for ages in the history of the country, deserves a separate notice, which we hope one day to bring before the Society. The 'dumpy' tower and spire, shown on the left of the picture, were those of the 'high church and low steeple' alluded to, or said to have been alluded to by Swift. This steeple of the old parish church of Carlow gave way, in 1833, to the present lofty and elegant spire erected in that year from the designs of Mr. Cobden.

The Rev. James Graves remarked that, although there could be little doubt of the early date of the old bridge of Carlow, he should not be inclined to refer it to the 12th century. As represented in the drawing, it bore a resemblance to the old bridge of Kilcullen, erected in the 14th century by that noted bridge-builder, Canon Maurice Jakis, of Kildare Cathedral.

The following Papers were submitted to the Meeting:—

## ON THE CONTENTS OF A SEPULCHRE OF THE BRONZE PERIOD.

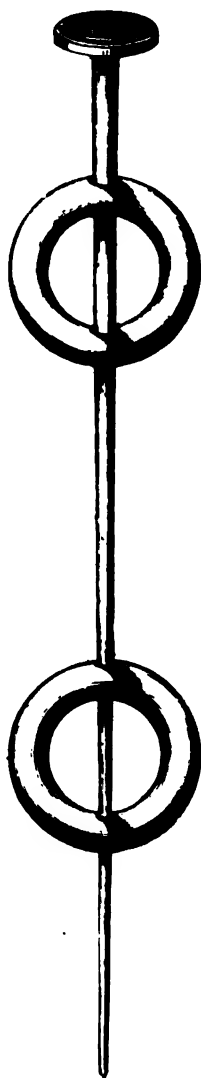
BY THOMAS O'GORMAN, ESQ.

SOME few months ago a man, while digging in a field on the side of a mountain in the county Tyrone, came upon what he called a trench, the sides and top of which were formed of large stones, and which was evidently one of those ancient sepulchres so frequently discovered throughout this country. There were no bones in it, nor any remains of animal or vegetable life that could be recognized, but on the "floor" the man found a quantity of dark coloured dust, and lying amongst it the following articles:—

I. A bronze pin with two thick bronze rings on it. The annexed engraving,<sup>1</sup> drawn one-half size of original, represents them in the position in which they were found. The pin is 11 inches long,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an inch thick at top, tapering to a blunt point. It has a round head 1 inch in diameter (ornamented with three incised circles) fixed horizontally on it. The rings are 2 inches in diameter,  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch in thickness, and are perforated so as to allow the pin to be passed through them.

II. Two large rings of bronze,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and about  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch in thickness. One of these rings was broken, but was very ingeniously mended by a bronze strap closing over the broken part, care having been taken to reduce the edges of the fracture, so that the thickness of the strap should not be apparent.

Their size, and being a match, would lead to the supposition that they were used either as bracelets or armlets, most probably the former.



<sup>1</sup> The three cuts illustrating this paper have been presented to the "Journal"

by Mr. O'Gorman—a second instance of his liberality to this Association.—Ed.

III. Four bronze rings of same size and thickness as those attached to the pin No. I., but without the apertures.

IV. A very fine bronze celt,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, with one loop; and

V. A four-sided article of cast bronze,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, by  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch broad, and about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in depth. Of this an engraving is also here given, drawn one-half the size of the original. It has very much the appearance of a small square celt deprived of its cutting edge, and was possibly the ferule of the handle of the celt found with it.<sup>1</sup> If a sword or dagger had been found in the grave, this article might be regarded as the termination of its scabbard, but such was not the case, and a ferule or termination to the handle of the celt is the only apparent use to which it could have been applied.



Though rings appear to have been very much in use amongst the early inhabitants of our island still the number found in this grave (eight out of eleven articles) is remarkable, and necessarily raises the question as to what use or uses they could have been applied. If we exclude the two fixed on the pin, and the two assumed to be bracelets, what the other four could be wanted for appears a mystery, as they are too small for armlets or anklets, too weighty for ear rings, and too large for finger or thumb rings.

I think the combination of the large pin and two rings is deserving of attention, as they must have been originally so placed for some particular purpose either of use or decoration.

The Museum of the Royal Irish Academy contains three specimens of pins identical in shape with that under notice, and which Sir William Wilde, in the Academy's Catalogue,<sup>2</sup> informs us were "probably used in the hair." They might

<sup>1</sup> It appears open to doubt that the fabricators of these weapons (who there is reason to believe belonged to this country) were unable to fix them on any handle more artistic than that exhibited in the Museum of Mr. Murray of Eden-

derry, and engraved in the Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy; an example in which the extremes of barbarism and civilization appear to meet.

<sup>2</sup> "Cat. of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," *Metallic Materials*, p. 667.

have been so if used without the rings, but with these latter they would be two weighty for the hair.

Rings with lateral apertures have been already noticed by writers on antiquarian subjects. Vallancey in his "Collectanea" (No. 13, Plate xiv.) has engraved one or two of them, and also one with the apertures trumpet-mouthed (Fig. 3). He calls them "Chain rings of the Druids, chains of knowledge, or chains of divination ;" but his views are not now treated with much respect.

Sir William Wilde, in his "Catalogue of Antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy," has also engraved and described some of these rings. He calls them "armour rings," grounding this name on the fact that rings of a similar character have been found in connexion with bronze castings, which he considers to be portions of chain mail.

The rings he alludes to may be divided into two classes, one having loops round the outer edge with lateral apertures, the other with apertures, but without the loops. To the former it is quite possible that chains might have been attached for the purpose of forming a defensive armour, though the loops might have been also used for attaching the ring to a garment ; but there appears to be a difficulty in connecting with armour the class without loops, inasmuch as the tendency of the chains, when not permanently fixed to the rings, would be to run into ropes rather than to spread themselves out so as to form a defence, while, if it be said that the chains were sewed on the garment they covered, then the rings would not be required, and consequently would not be used.

I would particularly remark, that, if the rings under notice (and they are in every respect identical with those described at page 594-5, "Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy," where they are assumed to be for "armour decorations"), had been connected with chain mail or armour, some remains of the latter would surely have been found in the grave along with them, but nothing of the kind was found, and I therefore think these perforated rings must have had some other uses than pertained to chain mail or armour of any kind.

Having regard to the relative positions of the rings and the pin, I would suggest their use to have been to act as a



fastener for the cloak, or some other part of the dress of the deceased, as if the perforated rings were sewn one on each of the opposite edges of a garment intended to close, say over the chest, and cut so as to allow the position of one ring to be a little higher than that of the other, the pin, when passed through the apertures of the two rings, would hold it closed on the person of the wearer, and would also form something of an ornament for his personal decoration. The garment used was, most probably, of skin or leather, as, if it had been of any woven substance, the blunt pin point would have passed through it with ease, and acted as a fastener by itself, which could not be the case with leather, and which consequently necessitated the use of the perforated rings. The pin, when inserted in the apertures, is very firm, and requires some force to detach it; its position, I imagine, was slanting, rather than horizontal, as shown in the annexed diagram, and if holes were cut out of the garment to allow for the play of the arms (a not improbable supposition), all strain would be taken off the fastener, and any danger of opening prevented.



This may certainly be said to be a very roundabout way of fastening a cloak or tunic, but it is scarcely more so than is in use at the present day in Mogador and other parts of Barbary, where two small fibulæ, connected by a silver chain, "are placed one on each side of the cloak or garment, in front, the chain hanging down in a curve, and the pins turned across the circles, with their points uppermost."<sup>1</sup>

If my idea is correct, it is very possible that this description of fastener was the origin of our ring brooches, for, as leather gave place to garments of a softer texture, the pin became the fastener by being passed through it, thereby rendering the rings useless for such a purpose, but as it was seen that the upper one was ornamental, it was retained, and though formed at first of a piece of plain wire, in imitation of the ring, it culminated in after years into such

<sup>1</sup> Ulster Journal, 1857, p. 248.

magnificent examples as the Kilkenny Brooch, now in the Academy's Museum, and the Royal Tara Brooch, lately in the possession of the Messrs. Waterhouse of Dublin.

In conclusion, I may remark that the objects forming the contents of this ancient grave belong to Mr. William Crawford, of Trillic, county of Tyrone, a gentleman who does good service to archæology by preserving any relics of antiquity found in his neighbourhood, and who is forming, by degrees, an interesting collection, to one or two other objects in which I hope to be able to call attention on a future occasion.

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OGHAM READINGS.—No. I.

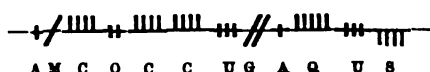
BY RICHARD R. BRASH, ESQ., M. R. I. A.

THE very important subject of our Ogham inscriptions is again being revived, recent discoveries adding fresh interest to the question and throwing new light upon its obscurities. The deductions to be drawn from the facts which have been accumulating for the last dozen years are, in my opinion, quite sufficient to invalidate the opinions adopted by a section of our antiquaries, namely, that Ogham inscriptions were "tricks of the middle ages," and the invention of medieval monks. The most important, and almost unaccountable feature in connexion with these monuments is, that although some 170 Ogham monuments have been discovered, so little has been done to elucidate them, or ascertain what is really engraven on them.

The late Mr. John Windle of Cork, though an indefatigable hunter-up of Oghams, always evidenced considerable hesitancy in committing himself to translations. The late Rev. M. Horgan, and Rev. T. Casey, though excellent Irish scholars, do not appear to have been successful in the few renderings they have left on record. Applications have been made on many occasions to such men as Drs. O'Donovan and O'Curry, but those lamented Gaedhelic scholars always fought shy of the subject, and could never

be prevailed upon to enter on the study of those inscriptions.

With regard to the first named gentlemen we must remember the subject was in its infancy in their day, and the number of correctly copied inscriptions were few ; several of those of which they gave renderings were unfaithfully transcribed, and consequently their translations were of no value ; as, for instance, a monument originally found at Glounagloch, county of Cork, and now in the Royal Cork Institution, was always given as follows :—



In this form it was rendered by the late Rev. Mathew Horgan, P. P. of Blarney—

“ Amco cug aqus.”

Mr. William Williams, of Dungarvan, using, I presume, the same copy, renders it, “ Amac oc cúgachus,” i. e. “ Amac in narrowness,” or “ confinement.” (“ Journal,” vol. v., second series, p. 336). To make out the proper name, Mr. Williams introduces an A between the second and third letters.

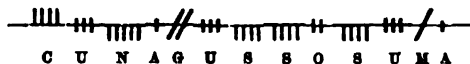
The Rev. T. Browne, of Oundle, from the same copy reads :—

“ Cumh gus sosh.”

“ The time of the death cessation.”

These renderings, however, are all founded upon a defective copy of the inscription. The stone is a slab of undressed clay slate of hard compact texture ; it is 5 feet 11 inches in length, 12 inches wide at one end, and 9 inches at the other. The inscription, which is well preserved, is on an angle, and is on the *broadier end* of the stone, commencing at 4 feet from the smaller end. This was what misled Mr. Windele, who, without reference to the inscription itself, adopted the idea that the broader end was the bottom of the stone, and he accordingly copied it in that way, that is, from the top downward ; in addition, one letter was

overlooked, and that was an u, which is the third last letter of the inscription, as follows :—



“Cunaguss os uma,” i. e.,

“Cunaguss on (this) grave.”

“Cunaguss” a proper name, “os,” *prep.* over, above, upon. “Uma,” “umha,” *s.* a cave, den, grave (O'Reilly's “Dictionary”). This is the simple and obvious rendering of the inscription.

That these are monumental inscriptions there can be no doubt, therefore, they will always present to us a proper name with some suitable sentence, or exclamation of grief, or the patronymic of the deceased. In this instance the name is Cu-Naguss, a form of name very usual in Irish history, particularly as regards the prefix “cu,” which literally signifies a hound or dog of the chase; and is also used to signify “a champion, a hero, a warrior” (O'Reilly's “Dictionary”); thus, we have such names as Cu-chullin, Cu-duilig, Cu-santin, Cu-sinna, Cu-ana, Cu-gen-Mathair, and numbers of others of the same character. What renders the proper name in this inscription beyond all doubt is the fact, that the same name is found upon a lintel stone in a Rath cave at Aghaliskey, between Bandon and Clonakilty, in the county of Cork.

I have introduced this as an example of one reason why many of the attempts made to translate these inscriptions have been failures. With respect to our professed Irish scholars, as O'Donovan, O'Curry, and Connellan, it must be surmised, that other pressing and more important literary obligations, occupying their time and attention, prevented them from entering on new fields of investigation, rather than any inability to cope with a subject which I firmly believe any of these able philologists could easily have mastered. On the 30th November, 1867, a paper of mine on the “Ogham Chamber at Drumloghan,” was read before the Royal Irish Academy; from that paper I would again<sup>1</sup> quote the following passage, as

<sup>1</sup> See a full extract from the same paper in my notice of the “Seakinan Ogham

Inscriptions,” printed in this “Journal,” p. 129, *supra*.

giving reasons for the failure of our Ogham investigators :—

“ Firstly. An ignorance of the nature and intent of the monuments.

“ Secondly. The linguistic difficulties presented by the obsolete Gaelic in which they are inscribed.

“ Thirdly. Ignorance of the contractions used in engraving on a material where brevity was essential.

“ Fourthly. Imperfection of copies, as well as of the inscriptions themselves, from weather wear and other injuries.

“ Fifthly. The pre-conceived ideas or prejudices of the translators, leading them to imagine what the inscription ought to be, and thence torturing, misplacing, and misreading the characters in every possible way, in order to bring out allusions to some local historic fact, or to the name of some famous mythic chief, king, or druid, or of some deity supposed to have been worshipped in pagan times.”

Having seen, from time to time, many incorrect copies of inscriptions published, not only in our “ Journal,” but also in several other archæological media, as well as many incorrect renderings of faithful copies, it appeared to me as very desirable to correct the errors of the past by procuring accurate representations of the original inscriptions, and by giving such renderings of them as the characters clearly indicate, without any additions, subtractions, or substitutions whatever, for I hold to that sound canon propounded by my late esteemed friend, Mr. John Windele :—

“ I confess I dislike arbitrary dealings with the letters where we find a group of scores well defined, and so unconnected with any others at either side, so isolated as to warrant a conviction that it has been carefully and well expressed; or where its direction, whether vertical or oblique, is expressed with similar care, I am disposed to be very jealous of any intermeddling with it, and am disposed to protest against any arbitrary forcing or dislocation.”—(“ Proceedings,” Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., p. 105).

**COPYING INSCRIPTIONS.**—Ogham monuments are found in various states of preservation. Those which have stood in the open air, exposed to passing violence and the potent influences of damp and frost, are, as a rule, the worst preserved; nevertheless, I have seen such in fine condition, and the characters well preserved, as for instance, that remarkably fine monument at Trabeg, or the “ Little Strand,” near Dingle, in Kerry, the scores upon which, being broadly and deeply cut, are in perfect preservation, the material being a hard and close-grained stone. Such also are the monuments at Dunmore Head, Cahernagat, Lugnagappul,

and several of those from Ballinrannig, and Ballintaggart. On the other hand, as a rule, the best preserved inscriptions are those found in Rath caves ; the wholesale use of these inscribed stones by the constructors of those ancient earth-works, in forming those curious, and inexplicable souterrains which they excavated and built within them, though originally an act of desecration, has conferred an important benefit on the student of this class of our antiquities, by faithfully preserving for ages from weather-wear and violence a large number of valuable inscriptions in perfect condition, and also by stamping their pre-historic character as being anterior to the constructions of these Rathes, erewhile looked upon as the most ancient monuments in our island. And here I would remark, that though rude cross emblems have been found on a small number of those monuments, particularly such as have been used as gravestones in Christian cemeteries, not one of those found in the Rath caves bears any such symbol ; *a very significant fact.*

The condition of an inscription also depends much on the nature of the material upon which it is incised, the majority of those in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Waterford, are cut on that hard compact clay slate whose colour varies from buff to brown, and which is plentifully found in the above named districts. Much of this material is of a friable nature, but such was never used by the engravers of Ogham inscriptions, who usually selected hard close-grained stones.<sup>1</sup> Many are also wrought on the old red sandstone, but as a rule, such are not in good condition, as that stone is apt to disintegrate from the weather. I have not yet seen an inscription on limestone ; I am informed that one exists at Inchiquin, about four miles S. W. of Youghal.<sup>2</sup>

In copying, the student must first look out for the lower end of the stone, as the inscription invariably reads from the bottom upwards, or from left to right. On all monuments in their original state, the bottom is marked by a clear space of from one to three or more feet, according to

<sup>1</sup> It is a curious fact that the *striae* of glaciation are best preserved on pure clay-slate. It weathers least of any stone ex-

cept compact quartz.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> I have since examined this stone, and found that its scorings are not Ogham.

the height of the stone, and the length of the inscription ; this invariable fact stamps the monumental character of the Ogham.

In some cases it will be found that the stone has been removed from its original site and use, and has been turned bottom upward ; this is usually the case with those upon which crosses are incised, such being usually placed on the broader end, which, when used as a Christian memorial, is turned upwards, the original top or inscribed end of the stone being fixed in the earth. This is the case with respect to the Ogham monument at Mount Music, near Macroom ; and a stone from Aglish, Kerry, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, marked No. 1, has been treated in the same manner, and the mode of its appropriation has been continued in its present position in the Academy, the cross-inscribed end being turned upwards, and the inscribed end downwards, in which position I copied it. Such examples prove, that so far from the finding of a Christian symbol on an occasional monument being an argument in favour of their Christian origin, they indicate the very reverse.

In such cases, and where stones are found prostrate, or in the position of upright pillars or lintels, in Rath caves, or built into churches, the broader end and that having the longer space uninscribed, may be generally presumed to have been the end originally fixed in the earth, and consequently the end from which the inscription must be read.

But the safest guide, where it occurs, is to look for the key word "maqi," or "maqqi," which, in some or other of its forms, is found on the great majority of these monuments. The finding of this word dictates at once the direction in which the inscription has been incised. This word is also found in the forms "mage," "maqu," "mag," "magi," "mage," but in only isolated cases ; the more general forms being the two first named. For the identification of this word, we are indebted to the Right Rev. Dr. Graves ; it is a most important discovery, and simplifies in a great degree the rendering of the majority of these inscriptions.

Great care is requisite in copying those which are worn, or partially defaced. A thorough knowledge of the alphabet, as found on the monuments, is requisite, and also of the usual formula of the inscriptions ; such knowledge

will often enable the student to identify and determine characters when some, or all, of the scores composing it may be faint, or dubious.

A strong sunlight I have found unfavourable for copying, a clear grey light is the most satisfactory; rubbings I have found of little use, except the inscription is very strongly defined; photographs are equally useless, useless under the same conditions; they are, however, valuable as giving the exact form and proportions of the monuments.

I have always found it better to determine the characters one by one on the spot, and transfer them to my note book, going over them two, three, or more times, until perfectly satisfied as to the value of each character.

I have found a magnifying glass useful, as by its aid I have distinctly identified letters not visible to the eye; when blank spaces of unusual width are found between distinct groups of scores, the glass should be always used. If by these means a letter cannot be fairly and honestly ascertained beyond all manner of doubt, it is much better to omit, or mark it doubtful.

When an inscription is distinct, and correctly copied, it seldom presents much difficulties in translation. I very generally find that those hopelessly unintelligible copies which we sometimes see, and which have so often disheartened the student, are unfaithful representations; in many such cases where I have examined the originals, I have been delighted to find them perfectly intelligible; bad copies have brought much discredit on the study of Oghams.

Having premised thus much, I may be permitted to repeat here what I have already advanced in the paper above alluded to respecting these monuments :—

“Firstly. That the monuments are almost exclusively sepulchral or monumental.

“Secondly. That in such cases they seldom record more than the name and tribe name of the deceased; with occasionally his profession as a warrior, a poet, a judge, and sometimes an exclamation of grief, as ‘alas,’ ‘woe is me,’ &c.

“Thirdly. That they are inscribed in the simplest and briefest manner, connecting words scarcely ever used, and words frequently expressed by initials.

“Fourthly. That the words ‘Maqui,’ the genitive of son, occurs in the majority of the monuments in some or other of its forms; and that where





"Ne, tacar ise tacag i."

Literally rendered—

"Ne, battle he (had) prosperity in."

Freely rendered—

"Ne, victorious in battle."

"Ne," a proper name ; such short names are found in our early history ; thus we have Ir, the son of Miledh ; Un, the son of Vighe ; Nia, or Niadh, which is the same as that here before us. The same name is also found on one of the Drumloghan stones—

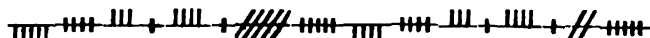
"The son of Ne."

"Tacar," same as "tachar, s. m. a battle, a skirmish."  
 "Ise, pron. *he, himself*." "Tacag," an obsolete form of "tacadh, s. *prosperity*." "I, prep. *in*."

In the above rendering there is no interference with the integrity of the inscription, which naturally divides itself into the above words ; it is also a probable, and a consistent one, simple and expressive, as being placed over the remains of a warrior proverbially successful in battle and foray.

This is one of the few monuments which does not bear the word "maqi" or the patronymic. It is also to be remarked that it is found near the sea shore, as most of the Kerry, Cork, and Waterford ones are.

Mr. William Williams, of Dungarvan, has given a reading of this inscription in our "Journal" for 1856-7, p. 330 ; he reads it in the same sequence that I do, but takes some remarkable liberties with the letters in order to work out his translation, as follows :—

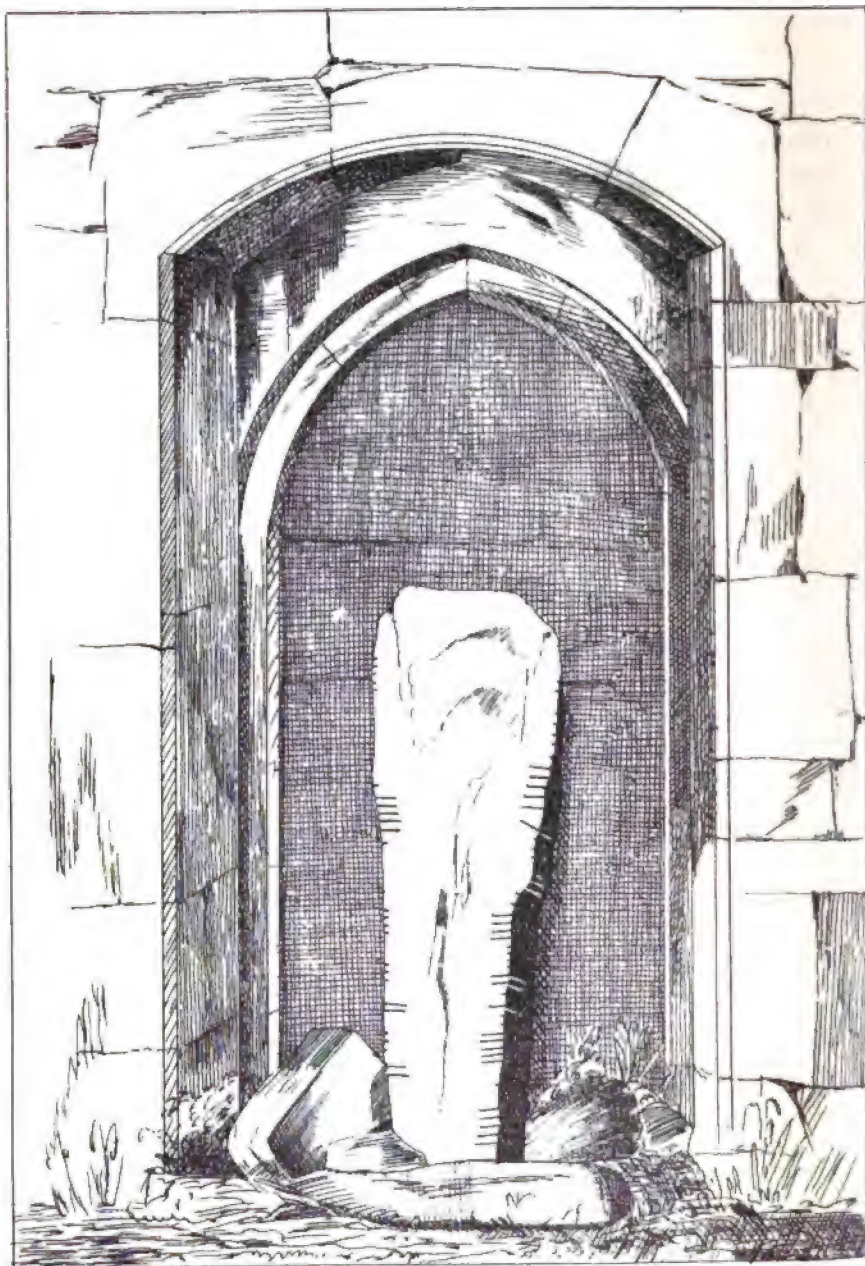
  
 N UA DE A TH A R OMO S E T A C A OG I

Which he reads,—

"Nuadhath ar omóse taca ógi," i. e. "Nuadhath for honouring the prop of his youth."

The second character E, he divides into U and A ; the third a T, he divides into D and H ; the fifth letter C, into T and H ; and thus he makes out the proper name. "Nuadhath." The word "omóse" he makes out by dividing the eighth letter, I, into OMO ; and the second last letter, G, by





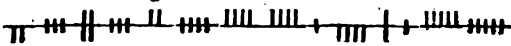
G. M. ATKINSON.

OGHAM INSCRIPTION, ARDMORE CATHEDRAL.

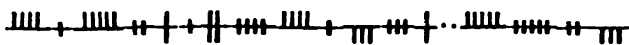
some peculiar process he makes into og. I need not say that by the adoption of such a licence in dealing with any ancient inscription we could make it read anything we pleased.

ARDMORE.—Three stones bearing inscriptions in the Ogham character have been found at Ardmore, county of Waterford, and in intimate connexion with the ecclesiastical remains still existing there. The most important is that which was discovered by Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, our Local Secretary for Youghal, an account of which he communicated to the Association, and which was published in our "Journal," vol. iii., first series, p. 223. It was found by that gentleman, built into the eastern gable of the Leabha Deglan, the bed, cell, or oratory of Saint Declan, the most ancient building at Ardmore, and probably the most ancient Christian edifice in Ireland. The archaic features of this curious oratory, its traditional connexion with the name of Declan, the patron saint of the Decies, and one of the alleged precursors of St. Patrick; the superstitious reverence attached to the very earth contained within its walls, which is scooped out and carried away as a curative agent, identify it with the actual historic Declan who flourished in the fifth century. The oratory is carefully described by Mr. Fitzgerald in the interesting paper already alluded to, also the circumstances attending the discovery of the Ogham and its removal from its position in the gable to the position it now occupies in a niche, or rather a built-up doorway in the chancel of the Romanesque church adjoining the oratory, as represented in the accompanying plate. I made a careful copy of the inscription on this stone in the autumn of 1867, being accompanied by one of our members, Mr. George M. Atkinson. It is a rough, irregular, foursided pillar, four feet six inches in length, and averaging ten inches by nine inches; the inscription, which is in fair preservation, is cut on three angles, as follows:—

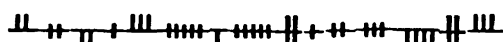
On the left hand angle, front face, commencing at one foot nine inches from the bottom, we have the following, which finishes close to top:—

No. 1.   
L U G U D E C C A S M A Q I

On the right hand angle, commencing at one foot one inch from base, and finishing at top :—

No. 2.   
C A Q O M A G R E C A F U M A Q I O F

The third line of inscription is on a back angle of the stone, and on the same side with No. 1. It commences at one foot eight inches from the bottom, and runs close to top :—

No. 3.   
D O L A T I B I G A O U S G T

The above inscription I copied with great care, assisted by Mr. Atkinson, who verified each score and character with me. It differs materially from the copy given by Mr. Fitzgerald in our "Journal," vol. iii., first series, p. 227, but slightly from the corrected copy published by that gentleman in our "Journal," vol. i., second series, p. 45. He omits the last letter *i* in my first line; this I do not wonder at, as the letter is on the top of the stone in a place where it is much injured, and close scrutiny is requisite to detect it, but there is no doubt of its existence. He also omits a partially defaced *m*, being the thirteenth letter on my second line; the angle under this part of the inscription is very irregular, and shifts three times from the direction in which it commences: great care is requisite in copying to follow the fleasg or stem line; the letters are, however, well defined and legible, except a portion of the letter alluded to, which is faint, as shown by the dotted portion of the line. The *A* is wanting to complete the word "maqi;" the space is for it between the *m* and *q*, and being but one small dot, it may have worn away; this and the presence of the other letters of the word "maqi" warrant me in restoring it to its place.

In the third line also there is what appears to be a slight difference in the copies, but what is in reality an important one as regards the rendering of the inscription. I allude to the vowel marks which follow the ninth letter *g*. Mr. Fitzgerald's copy gives two combinations of three vowel strokes, that is the letter *u* twice repeated; my copy

shows the same number of scores, but divided into three letters A, O, U; the first score is most certainly divided from the two following, and stands alone as the vowel A.

That in copying this inscription I was not influenced by any preconceived ideas about it, or what it might read, I must here premise, as at the time I had not the slightest idea of what it would yield, having no wish or predilection one way or the other, my sole anxiety being to procure an accurate copy ; neither did I attempt a translation of it for many months after. Mr. Fitzgerald submitted several copies of this Ogham to well known Irish scholars ; none, however, responded, except an " Anonymous," who makes a creditable attempt at rendering, as follows :—

**“Dolati bigu usgoh.”**


**"Contracted in sickness, in water."**


"Lugud ecc as maarcaar o mage cafuar."


**"Lugud died (he) was a horseman of the field of battle."**

The translator here commences with what I believe to be the third line of the inscription; his rendering of it differs but slightly from mine, as we shall presently see.

With the second line, which comprises my second and third, I find serious fault, as that the 11th, 12th, and 13th letters of the first line, and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of the second line are combined into the word "maarcaar;" this is done by adding two As that are not in the inscription; and by changing two Qs into Rs, a proceeding which cannot for a moment be admitted. Again, the word "Cafuar" is produced by the same process of changing the Q into an R. The letters F, I, O, the "Anonymous" writes, "may form a termination for the last word, or may be a distinguishing term for the locality." (Ibid., p. 46). Another reading of this inscription has been given by Mr. William Williams, of Dungarvan, in our "Journal," Vol. I., 2nd series, p. 331.

  
 L U G U D E C C A S M A R

  
 D O L A T I B I O G I A S G O M

  
 T O I L F U D R A S U A G A M O N A S

ER., VOL. I. 2 C

Which he reads as follows :—

Lugud                ecc as        mar  
 Lughudh [who] died in [the] sea  
 Do    lati        bi og iasgom  
 Of [a] day [he] was at fishing  
 Toilfudh as uag-amonas  
 Encaved in grave-sacredness

In the above rendering Mr. Williams has committed the same error as the previous translator, making an R of the Q in the last line, as shown by the dots, for which there is not the slightest authority or shadow of evidence on the stone. In the second line the word OG is produced by making the ninth letter G into OG, though in the first line he makes the same character read what it really is, a G in Lugud; and subsequently also in the third line in the word Uag. Again, the word "iasgom" he forms by making the six vowel marks between G and S stand for I A, whereas in Mr. Fitzgerald's copy they are U U, and in mine A O U. And by making the last letter, which is T, that is three scores above the line, into the vowel O, two dots on the line and a long score across: this is of course a complete substitution at the arbitrary will of the translator.

The rendering of the third line is produced by reading it from the top downwards, instead of upwards from the base; but even admitting that this was the sequence of the inscription, Mr. Williams, to make out his reading, is compelled again to adopt the same course of proceeding as in the former cases; thus the fourth character, five scores below the line, and which is but one letter (no matter in what direction it is taken), he divides into two letters L and F. Again, the sixth character, also a single letter, he divides into two, D and H.

Mr. Williams has, in my opinion, committed an error in reading the inscriptions in the order he has adopted. It is a rule which I do not remember having yet seen violated but in one instance, that where there are two lines of characters on the same face of a monument (on the angles), the inscription commences on the left hand angle, at the base, reading upwards; and if a continuous one is taken up at the opposite angle, again from the base reading upwards; this rule of course is not observed where the inscription is



continued from the left angle round the head and down the opposite one, in which case the reading must follow. In the present instance it is not continuous round the head. Mr. Williams takes the inscription in the following order: he commences correctly with the left hand angle of what I call the front face; but instead of then taking it up at the bottom of the right-hand angle, he goes to the third angle on the back of the stone, which he reads correctly from the base upwards; he then comes back to the right angle of the first face, and reads that from the top downwards. Such an arbitrary mode of dealing with inscriptions, both as regards the order of reading and the integrity of the characters, is obviously inadmissible, and calculated to defeat the object of all such investigations, namely, the arriving at an actual knowledge of what the characters represent as they appear on these monuments. In the following rendering I have taken the inscription in the order in which the invariable example of all existing ones exhibits to us, and I commence with the left hand angle of the front face, reading upwards:—

Left angle—"Lugud ecc as maqi"

Right angle—"Caquo mage Cafu maqi Of"

Back angle—"Dola ti bi gao usg t"

In the first line we have the keyword "maqi," therefore a proper name goes before and after it, that before is "Lugud," the proper name after is "Caquo;" the second line contains the pedigree of Lugud to the fourth generation; and the third line an expression of sorrow, and a statement of the manner of his death, literally reading thus:—

"Lugud died and [he was] the son of  
Caquo the son of Cafu the son of Of  
[my] Grief he was wounded in water."

This is the longest Ogham inscription I have seen upon any monument; it is a monumental stone raised to commemorate Lugud, one of our most ancient historic as well as mythic names commencing with Lughaid Lamhfhada, or the long-handed, the second of the Tuath de Danan monarchs of Ireland, A. M. 3331. We have also Lughaid, son of Ith, who accompanied his father on an exploring expedition to Erin previous to the invasion of the Clanna

Miledh, A. M. 3500. Lughaidh, son of Olioll Olum, King of Munster, A. D. 195 ; Lughaid, son of Mac Niadh, monarch of Erin, A. D. 196 ; The celebrated Lughaidh Lagha, A. D. 226, and Lughaidh, son of Laeghaire, monarch of Erin, A. D. 478-9. ("Annals of the Four Masters"). In truth, the name is so frequent in our historic annals and mythic tales that the idea of connecting this monument with any particular Lughadh is perfectly hopeless, inasmuch as the name may have been as common at the remote date of this stone, as John and Patrick are at present. The second proper name, Caco or Cacu, may appear strange to us, but not more so than numbers to be found in our ancient MSS. with which it may class as follows :—Caicher, A. M. 3500, and A. D. 742 ; Cailcen, A. D. 650 ; Caechscuill, A. D. 720 ; Caelti, A. D. 283, &c. ("Annals of the Four Masters"). In the second line we have the form "mage" instead of the usual genitive form "maqi ;" it is also found thus on an Ogham monument from a Rath cave, townland of Tinnahally, county of Kerry ; while the forms "mag," and "mig," are frequently found in ancient MSS. We have then the proper name "Cafu," again the usual form "maqi," and terminating the line the proper name "Of." This may also strike the uninitiated as an unlikely one, yet nevertheless such short names are very usual in our early annals, as, for instance we have Ir, the son of Miledh ; En, and Un, two of the sons of Heber ; also Un Mac Vighe (Keating's "History"). In the "Annals of the Four Masters" we have such names as Nia, Noe, Ith, Cas, Cir, &c. Such short names are also frequent in these inscriptions : I have already shown Ne on two ; I have found No on one at St. Olan's well, county of Cork ; Ott and He on one from Tullig, county of Cork.

The third line commences with the word "dola," the same as "dolas," s. m. *grief, mourning, desolation* (O'Reilly's Dictionary) : "dol," "dola," "dolas," enters into the composition of many words expressive of grief, bereavement, &c. ; "ti," pron. *he* ; "bi," v. *was* ; "gao," an Oghamic form of "gaodad," s. *a wounding* ; "usg," *water*.

In the above rendering I have taken the inscriptions in the invariable order in which they are read ; I have not altered, or divided, or substituted a single character, not

even a single score ; the letters are arranged into words which express the meanings I have given them, as any person may ascertain for himself by consulting an Irish Dictionary.

In my rendering there is nothing far-fetched or visionary ; it is quite in keeping with the inscriptions found on similar monuments elsewhere, expressing the name of the deceased and his patronymic ; but it goes further, in giving his pedigree to the fourth generation. This is the only instance of the kind I am aware of: the names of the father and grandfather are found on one or two stones, but this example stands alone. The third line distinctly states he lost his life on the water, or was wounded on the water, perhaps in a sea fight on the coast, and was interred on shore ; this is quite consistent with the finding of this memorial within a few perches of the sea : indeed it is a remarkable fact that the great majority of our Ogham inscriptions have been found not only in close proximity to the sea, but very many actually on the strands and sea cliffs. I have formed an opinion which I have expressed in the paper already quoted from, that the Ogham was brought into Ireland by maritime invaders and colonizers, who landed on the south-west coasts, and who spread themselves along the south, and south-eastern districts, and who ultimately became dominant in our island : when this phase of the question is more systematically investigated, I have every reason to believe that it will throw new light on an obscure era of our history. It is gratifying to record in this instance, that in the rendering of one line of this inscription all the translators substantially agree.

That the individual commemorated was of some note in his day is evident from the care with which his pedigree is stated, and the cause of his death set forth, a course unusual with respect to these memorials. That this is a pre-Christian pillar-stone there can be no manner of doubt. The finding of it built as common material into a fifth century church ; the name Lugud, one of the oldest in our mythic history ; no cross or other Christian symbol ; no word of Christian hope or resignation, as "oroit," "bendacht," &c., so usual on our early Christian gravestones, are all convincing proofs that the stone taken out of the "Leabha Deglan" was a memorial of pagan times.

Two other inscribed stones have been found at Ardmore ; one of these, a fragment of some interest, is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy ; it was discovered by the late Mr. John Windele, built into a low wall in the interior of the nave of the large church adjoining the Round Tower, in 1841. This church consists of a nave and chancel, and has some curious and interesting features about it, such as the series of sculptures on the exterior of the west gable illustrated in Ryland's "History of Waterford," and Crofton Croker's "Researches in the South of Ireland ;" the interior of the west window, the north doorway, the chancel piers with sculptured capitals, and the panelling on the interior of the north wall. The building is mainly of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, but a portion of the chancel is of far more ancient date, as is observable by an examination of the north wall, the principal part of the masonry of which is quite distinct in character and material from the rest of the structure, being built of large blocks of a polygonal form.

Mr. Windele published an account of his discovery, which was received by many with incredulity, among the rest the late Dr. Petrie, who even went so far as to publish the following statement in his well known work on the "Round Towers," &c. "I utterly deny that the lines on the stone at Ardmore are a literary inscription of any kind, and I *challenge* Mr. Windele to support his assertions by proof. So much then for the discoveries at Ardmore." ("Round Towers," &c., p. 84).

Mr. Windele's answer was, to publish an engraving of the stone with its inscription, and as the monument itself was shortly after lodged in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy Mr. Windele's judgment was vindicated, and Dr. Petrie's dogmatism reproved.

This is but a fragment ; it measures two feet six inches in length, nine inches in breadth, and about two inches in thickness ; the fragmentary inscription is on one angle occupying its entire length, and is remarkably well cut and preserved, as follows :—

+ ||||| + ||||| + ||||| / + ||||| + |||||  
A N A C I M A Q I

"Anaci, the son of."

The stone is fractured close to the last letter, which is much to be regretted ; the proper name is of a type not found in our ancient documents, but of an archaic form usual on Ogham monuments. It is probable that the missing portion of this stone still exists in the debris in or around the church at Ardmore ; how desirable would it be if some of our members resident in the neighbourhood would institute a search after it : the recovery of the missing part of this interesting inscription is much to be desired.

A rendering of this Ogham has been published by Mr. William Williams in our Journal, Vol. I., 2nd series, p. 331, as follows :—

+++++ +++++ + / +++++ +++++ +++++ +  
I FL A MA I S A DT A

“ I flamais ad ta”

“ In heaven is.”

In examining the above, it will be at once seen that Mr. Williams has reversed the inscription and read it backward, but inasmuch as under this treatment it would produce no intelligible result, he proceeds to divide the letters thus, the letter q in the original, but in Mr. Williams' version an n, he divides in to f and l, showing a slight difference of distance between the third and fourth scores which does not exist, as all the five scores are equidistant, forming but one letter. The m he marks m a, upon what grounds I am at a loss to discover ; and the letter n in the original, and which is a q in his copy, he divides into d and t, in the manner already described.

For this mode of dealing with this inscription, there is not the shadow of a pretence, as all the letters are well defined, and most distinctly individualized, while the presence of the key-word “ maqi” dictates the proper order in which it should be read.

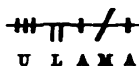
The third Ogham Monument at Ardmore was discovered by the late Mr. Chearnly, of Salter Bridge near Cappoquin, (“ Journal,” Vol. I., 2nd series, p. 152).

It is a coarse unshapely pillar four feet six inches in length, and twelve inches by ten inches in the centre ; the

characters on this stone are few in number, and are on an irregular angle at the middle of the stone.



The above is the form in which the Right Rev. Dr. Graves reads this inscription, stating that a Bishop named Amadeus lived in the sixth century ; but as the word or words occupy the centre of the stone, giving no indication from what end they should be read, we are equally well authorized in reading it as follows :—



Now this may read a proper name "Ulama," a more Gaedhelic looking one than "Amadu." On a stone in the possession of the late Mr. John Windele, I found the name "Ulcagni," while the name Ullin is a pre-historic one, as that of the grandson of Nuadh of the silver hand, the first of the Tuath de Danan line of kings. Oghamists may find in this a terminus or boundary stone, and may read the legend "Ula ma," the field or plain of Ula. I am, however, more inclined to look upon the characters as forming a proper name. Many of these pillar-stones exhibit proper names only ; as one at Ardovenagh, Kerry, which bears the name "Coftet ;" another at Bealamhire, near Cork, "Ar-tagni;" two in the possession of the late Mr. John Windele which bear the names "Ulcagni," and "Acatti."

I have thus endeavoured to place before the members of our Society my readings of these inscriptions, based upon an obvious and consistent mode of interpretation. I regret being obliged to differ in opinion from many whose opinions I respect, and whose services in the cause of Archæology I duly appreciate, but I do so in the interest of truth, to which all other considerations must yield.

NOTICE OF A BOOK ENTITLED "BEWARE THE CAT."

BY ROBERT MALCOMSON, ESQ.

WITH NOTES BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

THE late Mr. Herbert F. Hore, in the Proceedings of the Society for March, 1859 (*vide* "Journal," Vol. II., 2nd s., page 310), called attention to "a singularly curious and interesting volume under this quaint title," which about twenty-four years previously had been advertised for sale in Thorpe's Catalogue, in the hope that some of his readers would take up the chase which that eminent archæologist had unsuccessfully pursued in search of a copy of the work. The volume noticed by Mr. Hore (and the recovery of which he was so anxious to procure) had formerly belonged to the Heber collection, and the owner had written in it the remark—"No other copy known, I believe."

In the month of December, 1866, a copy of the work turned up for sale at the auction-rooms of Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, Leicester-square, London, in a collection of rare and curious books, in the Catalogue of which its authorship is attributed to William Baldwin, and the volume itself described as "a pleasant absurdity, in prose and verse; but the verse is sometimes printed as prose. Dedicated to the Right Worshipful John Yung, who was maker of interludes, comedies and plays to Henry VIII. Of this extremely rare little book we have not been able to trace any perfect copy. The present (as usual) wants the title."

This copy was procured at the sale by the writer. Though wanting the title page, it has the colophon as follows:—"Imprinted at London, at the Long Shop adjoyn-  
ing unto St. Mildred's Church, in the Pultrie, by Edward Alde, 1584." It is a small (duodecimo size), black letter tract, unpagged, but may be thus collated:—"T. K. to the Reader" (an address in verse), one leaf; the Dedication, "To the Right Worshipful Esquire John Yung;" signed "G. B." [Gulielmus Baldwin], one leaf; "The Argument," three pages; the text or body of the work (which is divided into three "partes"), seventy-four pages; "An

Exhortation," two pages ; "The Himne," one page ; and "Colophon," one page.

William Baldwin (or Baldwyn) was the author of "A Treatise of Morall Philosophie, contayning the Sayinges of the Wyse," the first edition of which appears to have been "imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the Sunne, over againste the Conduyte, by Edward Whit-churche, the xx daye of Januarie, in the year of our Lorde 1547," and of which there were several subsequent editions (see Hazlitt's "Handbook of Popular Literature," just published, page 22).

It would appear from expressions in the "Address to the Reader," that the little book, "Beware the Cat," now under notice, had been previously published in some shape or other. An earlier edition is quoted in Ritson's "Bibl. Poet." as having been printed in 1561; and Mr. Corser had a fragment of four leaves (no more known) of "A Marvelous Hystory, intitulede, 'Beware the Cat,' conteyning diverse wunderful and incredible matters, very pleasant and mery to read. Imprinted at London, in Fleete-street, at the sign of the Faulcon, by William Griffith, and are to be sold at his shop, in St. Dunston's Churchyarde, anno, 1570."

In the "Argument" the writer proceeds to tell us how "at Christmas, he was at Court with Master Ferrers (then Master of the King's Majesty's pastimes), about setting forth of certain interludes, which, for the King's recreation, they had devised, and were in learning ; in which time, among many other exercises among themselves, they used nightly at their lodging to talke of sundry things for the furtherance of such offices wherein eche man as then served, for which purpose it pleased Master Ferrers to make the writer his bedfellow ; and upon a pallet cast upon the rushes in his owne chamber to lodge Master Willot and Master Streamer, the one his astronomer, the other his divine ;" and how upon a certain occasion there fel a controversie between "Master Streamer and the writer as to whether birds and beasts had reason, Master Streamer affirming that they had, and that as much as men, yea, and in some points more ;" and "the divine" winds up by saying, "If that I thought you would be content to hear me, and, with-



out any interruption til I have done, to mark what I say, I would tel you such a story of one peece of myne own experimenting as should both make you wunder, and put you out of dout concerning this matter." When the company had promised attention, "he turned himself so in his bed as they might best hear," and he delivered the "yarn" which is the subject matter of the tract.

In the course of his narrative (or oration as the writer terms it), Master Streamer introduces a variety of speakers, and amongst others one "which had been in Ireland," who tells the tale which excited Mr. Hore's curiosity as follows :—

"While I was in *Ireland*, in the time that *Macmorro*<sup>1</sup> & all the rest of the wilde Lords were the King's enemies, what time also mortall warre was betweene the *Fitzharrises*<sup>2</sup> & the Prior and Cōvent of the Abbay of *Tintern*, who counted them the King's friends and subjects, whose neighbour was *Cayr Macart*, a wilde Irish man, then the King's enemy, and one which dayly made inrodes into the countie of *Vvashford*, and burned such Townes and caried away all such Cattel as he might cō by, by means whereof all the Cuntrie from *Climine*<sup>3</sup> to *Rosse* became a wast wildernes, and is scarce renovated until this day. In this time, I say, as I was on a night at *Coshery*<sup>4</sup> w<sup>th</sup> one of *Fūzhēris*'s Churles, we fel in talke as we have don now of straūge adventures and of Cats, and these among other things the Churle (for so they call all farmers and husbandmen), told me as you shall heare. There was not seven yeres past a *Kern* of John Butlers<sup>5</sup> dwelling in the *Fassock* of *Bantry*,<sup>6</sup> called *Patrik Apore*,<sup>7</sup> who minding to make a pray in the night upon *Cayer Makart*

<sup>1</sup> *Macmorro*. The Mac Murrroughs, or Kavanaghs, still unconquered, held the strong mountain fastnesses lying between the counties of Carlow and Wexford, and extending down the left bank of the Barrow to near New Ross. Cahir Mac Art was head of one sept of the Kavanaghs at this period: he was created Baron of Ballyanne by Queen Mary, and from his son, "Brian of Borris," is descended Arthur Mac Murrrough Kavanagh, Esq., M. P., of Borris.

<sup>2</sup> *Fitzharris*. The Fitzharrises were Anglo-Norman settlers in Wexford. The prior and convent of Tintern sided with the Kavanaghs.

<sup>3</sup> *Climine*, now Clonmines, the site of an extinct town on the western shore of Bannow Bay. The ruins of a conventual church, and some military remains, together with a very interesting castellated

dwelling for the rector, close to the parish church, mark the site of the town.

<sup>4</sup> *Coshery*, i. e. *cloj na ruiġ* — the chief's tribute—an exaction of provisions and lodging for himself and followers. In the present day, a person who quarters himself on his friends, is called in Ireland a coaherer.

<sup>5</sup> *John Butler*. Fourth son of Richard first Viscount Mountgarret, who had grants of land in Wexford between New Ross and the Kavanaghs' country.

<sup>6</sup> *Fassock of Bantry*, i. e. the *pápaó* or desert tract, weald or wild, of Bantry, then a sort of march land lying between the Kavanaghs and the English settlers in Wexford.

<sup>7</sup> *Patrick Apore*. Probably one of the Hores, an ancient Anglo-Norman Wexford family.

his master's enemy, got him with his boy (for so they call their horse-keepers be they never so olde knaves) into his Cuntrie,

This was an Irish town. and in the night time entered into a town of two howses,<sup>1</sup> and brake in and slue the people, and then

took such cattel as they foud, which was a cow and a sheep, and departed therewith homeward, but douting they should be

Irish curs bark sore.

The wilde Irish men were better then we in reverencing their religion.

The olde Irish diet was to dine at night.

and made a fire in

A malapert gest that cometh unbidden.

A cat did eat a sheep.

therewith, asked stil for more, wherfore they supposed it were the Devil, and therefore thinking it wisdom to please him, killed the Cow which they had stolen, and when they had flaid it, gave the Cat a quarter, which she immediatly devoured; thē they gave her two other quarters, and in

The wood Kerns cookry.

a peece of the Cow for themselves, and with the rest of the hide they made eche of them laps to were about their feet like broges,<sup>6</sup> bothe to keep theirs

Kerns for lack of meat eat their shoos rosted.

gave her that which was a seething, and douting lest when she had eaten

<sup>1</sup> A town of two howses, i. e. a "bally" or township, containing two farm-houses. What a picture of the then state of Ireland is here presented—the pitiless alaying of "the people"—the carrying away of their miserable cow and sheep!—and all this told as a matter of course, or, rather, as a praiseworthy action.

<sup>2</sup> Taught them the contrary. A very creditable lesson. "The wild Irish men" appear here to much better advantage than their opponents.

<sup>3</sup> A cat. Stories about "uncannie" cats

are still rife in Ireland; but this story of the bivouac in the desecrated church, and the fate of the kern and his boy, is the most weird one I have ever met with.

<sup>4</sup> *Shane fool*. *peoil* is "flesh," but the previous word is not recognisable.

<sup>5</sup> *Pricked it upon four stakes*. This is very interesting, as explaining clearly the old Irish practical mode of boiling beef in the skin of the cow.

<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants of the Aran Islands, off the coast of Galway, wear shoes of this kind still. See Wilde's "Catalogue," p. 281.

that she would eat thē to, because they had no more for her, they got thē out of the Church, and the *Kern* tooke his horse, and away he rode as fast as he could hie. When he was a mile or two from the Church, the moone

A Kern killed  
Grimalkin.

flang it, and stroke

Cats did kill and  
eat a man.

The Kernes Ar-  
mour.

A kitling killeth  
the Kern that slew  
Grim.

him. This the Churle tolde me now about [xxxiii] winters past, and it was doon as he and divers other credible men infoarmed me not seven yeares before."

We have quoted the entire of the "Churle's Tale." The discourse subsequently turned upon witches, and their doings, which brought out our friend ("he that had been in Ireland") with some more of his experience, as follows:—

"I cannot tel by what means witches do change their one likenes and the shapes of other things. But I have heard of so many and seen so much myself that I am sure they do it, for in Ireland (as they have

Witches are reve-  
renced for fear.

An Act forbid-  
ding to buy red  
swine.

Sorcerers make  
swine of hay and  
other baggage.

<sup>1</sup> *Harnes*. I do not know of a more graphic description of the armour worn by the Irish kerns in Henry VIII.'s time than we have here given. The steel "akull" or bascinet, covered with gilded leather, and crested with otterakin, and

the shirt of mail, or hauberk, constitute a species of defensive armour or "harness," which had ceased to be the fashion in England for more than three centuries. The date at the end of the passage fixes the period at about A. D. 1521.

other cattel as they gave in exchange for thē. There  
 Men turned into is also in Ireland one nation<sup>1</sup> whereof sōe one man and  
 wolves. woman are at every seven yeares end turned into  
 Wulves and so continew in the woods the space of  
 seven years, and if they hap to live out y' time, they return to their own  
 forme again; and other twaine are turned for the like time into the same  
 shape, which is a penance (as they say) enjoyned that stock by Saint  
 Patrick for some wickedness of their ancestors, and  
 A man proved y' this is true witnessed, a man whom I left alive in  
 himself to have been Ireland who had performed this seven yeares penance  
 a wulf seven years. whose wife was alaine while she was a Wulf in her  
 last year. This man told to many men whose cattel he had woried and  
 whose bodyes he had assailed while he was a wulf, so plain and evident  
 tok's y' showed such scares of wounds which other men had given him  
 bothe in his mannes shape before he was a wulf and in his wulf shape since,  
 which al appered upon his skin, that it was evident to all men, yea and  
 to y<sup>e</sup> Bishop to (upon whose grant it was recorded and regestered), that  
 the matter was undoubtedly past peradventure."

The volume contains nothing farther relating to Ire-  
 land. We have searched in vain through the Statute Book  
 for the "Act against red swine" to which our Hibernian  
 Munchausen alludes. A legislative enactment of the Irish  
 Parliament (11 Elizabeth, chap. 4), "for the preservation  
 of Salmon frie and Ele frie," prevented any person allow-  
 ing swine "to be fedd or pastured upon any strand of any  
 river between the 5th March and last day of September in  
 every year, upon payne of forfeiture of the same swine," &c. ;  
 and in the same Queen's reign, "An Act against Witch-  
 craft and Sorcery" (28 Elizabeth, chap. 2.) was passed in  
 general terms, without any particular instances of enchant-  
 ment, charm, or sorcery.

Since the notice was communicated to the Society, the  
 first portion of the library of the Rev. Thomas Corser,  
 M. A., F. S. A., was dispersed by auction under the ham-  
 mer of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, in London  
 (on July 28, 1868), and the copy of the work, "Beware  
 the Cat," which had formerly belonged to Mr. Heber, sold  
 for £12 5s.

<sup>1</sup> *One nation.* This story is a very old  
 one. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his "Topo-  
 graphia Hibernica," Dist. ii., cap. xix.,

places this tribe in Ossory, and tells the  
 story much as it is given here. Giraldus  
 only repeats the older Irish legends.

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**THE JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
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**OF IRELAND,**  
**FOR THE YEAR 1869.**

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AT the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 13th (by adjournment from the 6th), 1869,

THE REV. PHILIP MOORE, P. P., in the Chair :

The Report of the Committee for the year 1868 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

“The Report of your Committee for the year 1868 marks an important era in the career of this Association. Twenty years have elapsed since it struggled into existence in the guise of a mere local society, whilst now it can proudly point to its ample roll of Members gathered from every county in Ireland, and claim to be national in its operations as well as its aspirations. Twenty years have since then passed away—a third part of the ordinary life of man—but not without some fruit being garnered for posterity. On the shelves of many a public and private library in the British Islands, on the Continent, in the United States of America, and even in distant Australasia, may be seen a goodly rank of volumes with the name of the Association blazoned on them; whilst that they do not represent a mere congeries of useless print and paper is testified by the equally gratifying fact, that their money value steadily advances, a perfect set fetching readily in the book-market a sum far above the cost price paid, as subscriptions, by each original Member.

“Twenty years try the constitution of most bodies, and, of course, the lapse of time has not been without its effect on the roll of our Members. The original list extended but to 156, and there still remains to us a fair

proportion of those true friends who stood by the cradle of the society, and helped it into vigorous existence. Now that the Association has become national, it may be well to place on record the names of its surviving

## ORIGINAL MEMBERS.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Bandon.	Rev. John L. Irwin.
The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin.	John James, Esq., M. D.
Lord James Wandesforde Butler.	Lewis Kinchela, Esq., M. D.
Sir John Power, Bart.	Joseph Lalor, Esq., M. D.
Colonel the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe.	John Lindsay, Esq.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory.	Rev. Joseph Moore, P. P.
Rev. Michael Birch, P. P.	Rev. Philip Moore, P. P.
Thomas Bradley, Esq., M. D.	T. E. Murphy, Esq.
Michael Cahill, Esq., J. P.	Matthew O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C.
Peter Connellan, Esq., D. L.	J. G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.
T. L. Cooke, Esq.	James G. Robertson, Esq.
Henry Flood, Esq.	Rev. James Ryan, R. C. C.
Rev. Luke Fowler.	Edmund Smithwick, Esq., J. P.
Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec.	Myles Sterling, Esq., M. D.
John Newport Greene, Esq., J. P.	James B. St. John, Esq., LL. D.
Joseph Greene, Esq.	Peter Strange, Esq., J. P.
William Hanford-Flood, Esq., D. L.	Charles Tarrant, Esq., C. E.
Rev. S. C. Harpur.	James M. Tidmarsh, Esq., J. P.
	Rev. C. A. Vignoles.
	John Walsh, Esq., J. P.

" Besides these thirty-eight original Members thus still remaining, there are many others yet spared to us who have been supporters of the Association very nearly, although not altogether, from the period of its formation.

" Your Committee report with pleasure a considerable addition of names to the roll during the past year. Eighty-six Members of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland have been elected since January last; many of them paying 20s., none less than 10s. per annum. Against this increase must be set a list of twenty-three Members lost by death or resignation, and four names temporarily removed for neglecting the payment of subscriptions within the period limited, as follows:—

		£	s.	d.	
Lindsay Purcell, Esq.,	for 1866-8	.	0	18	0
E. Maxwell Dillon, Esq.	„ 1866-8	.	0	18	0
Rev. P. Meany,	„ 1866-8	.	0	18	0
Rev. S. Halloran,	„ 1866-8	.	0	18	0

" The number of Members now on the roll of the Association is 663, showing a clear gain of fifty-seven during the past year; and a still further increase is to be looked for, as the objects and acts of the Association become better known.

" Your Committee congratulate the Members on their being enabled to hold their present meeting in new and more commodious apartments, and they trust that ere long the Museum of the Association will be, through the exertions of the Hon. Curator, more generally known, now that it can be better displayed than was possible in the rooms it hitherto occupied.

"The sixth volume, second series, of the 'Journal,' for 1867, is far advanced towards completion; and the three first numbers for 1868, being the commencement of Vol. I., third series, are in the hands of the Members. The fourth number is at press, and will shortly be issued. Your Committee are glad to point to an improvement in the paper and typography of the series now commenced, and trust that the matter will not be found less interesting than formerly. It is proposed, if funds are supplied by the Members, to illustrate the 'Journal' yet more fully in future.

"The new organization of the Association has been completed, Honorary Secretaries having been elected for each Province, and your Committee rejoice to be able to point to the increase of the Members during the past year, as a proof of the wisdom of the change recommended in the last Report, and carried out by the unanimous voice of the Annual General Meeting of January, 1868.

"Hitherto it has been the pleasant task of your Committee to speak of the prosperity of the Association, and to point with good hope to its future prospects. All seemed bright and promising up to the close of the old year; but an event has happened so close to the termination of the period for which they are bound to give an account, that they feel compelled to notice it. Your Committee need hardly say that they allude to the sudden death of George Victor Du Noyer, Esq., Senior Geologist of the Irish Geological Survey, a Member of the Committee, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster, and one of the most accomplished of our Irish Archæologists. The loss which your Association has suffered by the demise of Mr. Du Noyer cannot be estimated. Trained as an observer and archæologist under Portlock and Larcom in that admirable school, the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, he was one of the noble band, headed by Petrie, Todd, Reeves, O'Donovan, and O'Curry, who have made Irish Archæology a science worthy the study of earnest men, and rescued it from the domain of empiricism and conceited ignorance: a pupil of the accomplished artist, Petrie, he equalled his master in truth of touch and the minute accuracy with which he could render the details of a subject, no matter how difficult; whilst the true 'feeling' of the artist pervaded every production of his pencil. His peculiar qualifications early attracted the notice of the Directors of the Geological Survey of Ireland. The labours of Mr. Du Noyer in that department of science remain a lasting monument to his fame. He was engaged in the revision of the Survey in the North of Ireland, having risen to the highest post save one in his department, when prematurely removed, on the 3rd of this month, in the full enjoyment of his powers both bodily and mental, and in the midst of his labours. Of him it may be truly said that he died in harness. Our Journal contains many valuable papers from his accomplished pen, and his ready pencil was ever at command, not only to illustrate his own valuable papers, but also those of his brother archæologists. His noble and unselfish nature ever sought opportunities to place at the service of others the rich stores of his note-book and portfolio; and in this respect, above all, to the Editor of your 'Journal,' his death is as the loss of a right hand.

"Your Committee have also to deplore the death, during the past year, of two old and liberal supporters—the venerable Lord Farnham, lost in the fearful Abergele catastrophe, and Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart., both of whom had for many years shown a warm interest in the progress of the Association.

"The thanks of the Members are due to the Most Hon. the Marquis of Kildare for further aid towards the publication of the Kildare Rental; and to the Right Hon. Lord Clermont, the Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley, Mr. Richard Rolt Brash, and Mr. Robert Day, Jun., for illustrations presented to the 'Journal' of the Association."

It was unanimously resolved that the Report of the Committee should be adopted and printed.

The Treasurer's accounts for the year 1867, having been submitted to the Meeting, were referred to the Auditors, Messrs. James G. Robertson, and Patrick A. Aylward, who were requested to audit them before the next General Meeting of the Association.

The following new Members were elected :—

Lord Francis Conyngham, The Hall, Mount Charles, Co. Donegal : proposed by J. A. Tredennick, Esq.

The Hon. Mrs. Caulfeild, Hockley, Armagh : proposed by H. M'Cormac, Esq., M. D.

The Rev. Thomas Walsh, P. P., Castlemartyr, Co. Cork : proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq.

The Rev. John Lyons, R. C. C., Caheraragh, Skibbereen; and Captain Swanne, 22nd Regiment, Affghan House, Cork : proposed by R. Caulfeild, Esq., LL. D.

David Mahony, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 34, Fitzwilliam-place, Dublin; and Charles H. Todd, Esq., LL. D., Barrister-at-Law, 123, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin : proposed by C. H. Foot., Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Rev. Denis M'Sweeny, P. P., Carrigaline, Co. Cork : proposed by R. Day, Jun., Esq.

John Mackay, Esq., Mount Hermon, Drogheda : proposed by T. R. Lane, Esq.

R. Young, Esq., C. E., Antrim-road, Belfast : proposed by J. Ward, Esq.

Henry Staunton, Esq., J. P., Seskin; and Dr. Yelverton Bosquet, F. O. S. L., &c., Stapleford, Notts : proposed by Mr. Prim.

Sheppard F. M'Cormack, Esq., Airmount, New Ross; and Mr. James Bain, Bookseller, 1, Haymarket, London : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John Moore, Esq., Midleton, county of Cork : proposed by W. Williams, Esq.

The Committee and Officers of the Association for the year 1869 were elected as follows :—

*President.*—The Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, D. D., Dean of Ossory.

*Treasurer.*—Rev. James Graves, A. B., M. R. I. A.

*Honorary Secretaries.*—Rev. James Graves, A. B. ; John G. Augustus Prim.

*Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library.*—James George Robertson, Esq., Architect.

*Committee.*—James S. Blake, Esq., J. P., Barrister-at-Law ; Richard Rolt Brash, Esq., Architect ; Barry Delany, Esq., M. D. ; Peter Burtchael, Esq., C. E. ; Rev. Luke Fowler, A. M. ; John James, Esq., L. R. C. S. I. ; Robert Malcomson, Esq. ; Rev. Philip Moore, P. P. ; Matthew O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C. ; Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C. ; C. Delacherois Purdon, Esq., M. D. ; J. G. Robertson, Esq., Architect.

Mr. Graves reported that the work of propping the tower of St. Francis' Abbey by metal pillars, according to the plan already reported as having been fixed on by the Committee, had been carried out ; but the making good of the haunch of the arch yet remained to be done when the weather would be more suitable for such an operation, provided funds sufficient could be procured. The expenditure already incurred was about £32, and the balance remaining in hands of the subscriptions hitherto received towards meeting that work (which would involve an expense of some £35 more) was but between £5 and £6. It was to be hoped that funds might still be obtained sufficient for the purpose. Mr. Hayes, the proprietor, had offered to allow the Committee to open out the blocked windows and sedilia of the choir, and most gladly would they accept the offer if the means for carrying out the operations were afforded. They had to thank Mr. Smithwick for much valuable aid, in addition to his subscription of £10, to the work already done ; and they were indebted in the highest degree to Mr. Middleton, for acting most efficiently as engineer and director of the works. As they hoped to avail themselves further of Mr. Middleton's services in that way in the works yet remaining to be done, and as he had no doubt the Association would then suitably express its acknowledgments to him, he (Mr. Graves) would say no

more on that subject at present. He had much pleasure in also reporting that the reparation of the conical cap of the lesser Round Tower of Clonmacnoise had been completed in the most satisfactory manner, the special subscription raised in that case having sufficed to meet the expenditure.

Mr. Prim reported that the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Association, authorizing a communication to be made to the Poor Law Commissioners, urging them to use their influence with all Boards of Guardians acting as "Burial Boards", for the prevention of injury to ancient monuments in the enclosing old churchyards, had been carried out by the Hon. Secretaries, and that a satisfactory reply had been received from the Commissioners. He was glad to be able to make this Report at a Meeting presided over by the Rev. Gentleman (Mr. Moore) who had been the originator of the suggestion as to the necessity of some precaution being taken in this matter. The following was the correspondence on the subject :—

" MUSEUM, KILKENNY,  
November, 1868.

" GENTLEMEN,—We respectfully beg leave to bring under your notice a Resolution passed at the last General Meeting of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. We are quite aware that your official functions have more immediate connexion with the present and the future, but we believe that any movement for the preservation of what remains of the ancient monuments of Ireland will have the sympathy of men of educated minds and refined tastes; and as what the Association asks is in no way opposed to the interests which it is your duty to guard, whilst the object is calculated to commend itself to the feelings of the public at large, of all creeds and classes, we trust that the matter will receive your favourable consideration. All we venture to do is to suggest that your influence should be used with the several Boards of Guardians for the purpose below indicated, and we entertain no doubt that the hint will be most gladly acted upon everywhere, whilst otherwise, in many places, merely from want of thought as to the danger involved, serious injury may be done to valuable monuments and architectural remains.

" The following is the resolution referred to :—

" Moved by the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles;

" Seconded by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

" RESOLVED,—That several Boards of Guardians throughout Ireland having determined to become 'Burial Boards,' under the Act of Parliament permitting that arrangement, in order to the enclosure of various ancient churchyards for the prevention of cattle trespassing therein, and for preserving the graves of the dead from desecration, we, apprehending that, in carrying out this commendable design, a danger of still greater desecration may yet incidentally arise if not timeously guarded against, do



hereby request the Honorary Secretaries of the Association to communicate with the Poor Law Commissioners, and respectfully ask that they may be good enough to embody in one of their ordinary circulars to the various Boards of Guardians a suggestion that, for the better protection of our remaining national monuments, whenever 'Burial Boards' may be in future formed, care should be taken to introduce into all contracts for the enclosing of burying grounds a stringent clause against the using in the erection of the new enclosing walls any portions of the ruins of the ancient churches, or any monument or sculptured stone found within those cemeteries.

"We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,  
 "Your obedient Servants,  
 "JAMES GRAVES,  
 "JOHN G. A. PRIM, } *Honorary Secretaries.*

"To the Poor Law Commissioners, &c."

The following was the answer received from the Commissioners:—

"No. 29,353—1868. Miscellaneous.

"POOR LAW COMMISSION OFFICE, DUBLIN,  
 "28th November, 1868.

"GENTLEMEN,—The Commissioners for administering the Laws for the Relief of the Poor in Ireland acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, communicating a Resolution passed at the last General Meeting of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, in which the Commissioners are requested to suggest to the several Boards of Guardians that, when contracts are made for enclosing old Burial Grounds, care should be taken to introduce a stringent clause against using in the erection of the new enclosing walls any portions of the ruins of the ancient churches or any monuments or sculptured stones found within those cemeteries.

"In reply, the Commissioners desire to state that the request of the Association shall receive attention as occasion may arise, from time to time.

"By order of the Commissioners,  
 "B. BANKS, *Chief Clerk.*"

The Chairman said he was glad, on his part, to be in a position to report that the work of enclosing the old churchyards in the Urlingford Union, under the direction of the Guardians as a "Burial Board," had been carried out without any injury being done to the ruins or monuments.

The following presentations were received:—

"Consumption, as engendered by Breathed Air and consequent Arrest of the unconsumed Carbonaceous Waste, its Prevention and possible Cure." By Henry Mac Cormac, M. D. ; London, 1865 : presented by the Author.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 56: presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. VI., Part 2: presented by the Society.

"The Reliquary," edited by Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., F. S. A., No. 35: presented by the Editor.

"State Papers concerning the Irish Church in the Time of Queen Elizabeth," edited by the Rev. W. Maziere Brady, D. D.; London, 1868: presented by the Editor.

"Forty-eighth Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society:" presented by the Society.

"Description des Médailles Greques, Romaines, &c., Des Pierres Gravées, des Ivoires, Bronzes, Antiquités, Sceaux, Terres Cuites, Emaux, &c. Composant le Cabinet de feu M. Badaigts de Laborde:" par Henri Cohen. (Sale Catalogue.)

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," December, 1868: presented by the Association.

"The Archæological Journal published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," No. 97: presented by the Institute.

"The Builder," Nos. 1342-1355, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 213-222, inclusive: presented by the Editor.

A silver groat of Edward IV., Waterford mint: presented by the Chairman.

A "St. Patrick's Halfpenny," entirely of copper—the crown not being stamped as usual on a piece of inserted brass: presented by W. H. Cooper, Esq., J. P.

A silver penny of Edward III., London mint: presented by Mr. Martin Grady. It was found near Danesfort, county of Kilkenny.

A silver penny of Edward III.: presented by Mr. Maurice F. Kelly, of Graigue; another specimen: presented by Mr. Matthew Doyle, New Ross; another specimen: presented by Mr. Mac Namara, Kilkenny.

With reference to these presentations, Mr. Maurice F. Kelly informed the Meeting of a discovery of ancient silver coins at a place called Tyroe, or Lacken, about a mile from

Graigue, towards Mount Loftus, in the first week of last November. He had communicated with Mr. Prim at once on learning what had occurred, and at his suggestion had made all inquiries as to the circumstances under which the discovery had been made. It appeared that some men were engaged in making drains in a field near an old rath; and when commencing the work, an old man residing in the neighbourhood told them they would be sure to find money there, from which circumstance it might be supposed there was some tradition in the locality of its being a place in which treasure had been hidden. Be this as it might, in the course of making one of the trenches, under a flat, heavy stone, what by some was called a crock, by others a box, and again, by others a leather bag of silver coins, was lighted upon and broken by the spade. He had interrogated one of the finders, who described the covering of the coins as being of an oval form, as if it had been a thick skin of leather in which the money had been wrapped. He had procured a small portion of the material from the man, which, as the Meeting would see, resembled a thin piece of wood, but possibly might have been a thick skin of leather much changed in its appearance by long lying in the clay. As to this, he would leave the decision of the question to others. The greater number of the coins were said to be very small, not larger than the present silver fourpenny; but it was said some were of the size of a florin, but much thinner. Altogether, it was stated there were about fifty coins, but there might have been much more, as it was difficult to get any definite information on that subject. It was stated that the proprietor of the farm had obtained all the coins from the workmen, except a few which had been disposed of on the immediate occurrence of the discovery. Mr. Graves said that the fragment of the envelope of the coins was leather.

The Chairman said he had for some time amused himself by forming a collection of engraved portraits of remarkable Irishmen, or men historically connected more or less with Ireland. Mr. Graves had suggested that he should exhibit some specimens from his portrait portfolios to the Members of the Association, and he had responded to that suggestion, by bringing in a portion of

his collection on the present occasion. The Rev. gentleman then proceeded to lay the portraits before the Meeting. Amongst some of the oldest worthies, he had the famous "old Countess of Desmond;" Sir Walter Raleigh; Boyle, first Earl of Cork; Sir John Perrot; the Earl of Strafford, and Owen Roe O'Neil. Of the stormy Cromwellian period, "Old Noll" himself was a speaking picture. His son Henry, and son-in-law, Ireton, were there. "Praise-God-Barebones," Mr. Moore observed, could not be considered as much connected with Ireland, but Speaker Lenthall was at least more so, as to him Oliver's despatches from this country were addressed. Fleetwood was another. The Great Duke of Ormonde, Murrough Earl of Inchiquin, and Ulic, Lord Clanricarde, and several other Irishmen who played various parts in the struggle, were present; but the collection was incomplete without Mountgarrett, the chief of the Kilkenny Confederation, and he had been unable yet to discover if any such portrait was in existence. Advancing onward in the stream of time, he showed portraits of several of those who were at the Boyne and Aughrim, and, as he observed, of the men who "fought on either side of the water"—Sarsfield, and de Ginkel, the Duke of Berwick and Duke Scomberg, and Rene de Froullay, Count de Tesse, second in command under St. Ruth (he was sorry that the result of his inquiries tended to show that no portrait of St. Ruth himself was known to be in existence) the Comte d' Avaux, ambassador to James II., from Louis XIV., Talmash Earl of Galway, Major-General Thomas Maxwell, Walker and some of the other defenders of Derry, Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel, the second Duke of Ormonde, and many more of that interesting period. Distinguished men of Irish descent in foreign military service were also represented in the collection by Jean Sigismund, Comte de Maguire, the Count Maurice de Laci, and others; and amongst numerous other portraits, too many to particularize, was a very striking one of the notorious desperado, Colonel Blood.

The Members present expressed their warmest acknowledgments to the Chairman for the large amount of pleasure communicated to them by being enabled to examine

so many specimens of his valuable historical portrait collection.

Mr. Robert Day, Jun., F. S. A., Cork, gratified the Meeting by the exhibition of a magnificent collection of ancient gold and other ornaments, forming portion of his own private collection, which he had brought with him on this occasion for that special purpose. The first object which he laid before the Members was a fine gold fibula, of penannular formation, with cup-shaped expansions at the ends. Respecting this, he observed :—

“ This gold fibula came into my possession on the 9th instant ; it was turned up by the plough, in a field at Ballymacotter, near Cloyne, county of Cork, a place in which many other gold ornaments have been got. The finder supposed it to have been brass, and, bringing it home, broke it in the centre, and attempted to form a thread on one end, in order to screw it into the door as a peg on which to hang his hat. Before accomplishing this, however, it was seen by Mr. D. Cronin, who procured it for an ounce of tobacco. He brought it into Cork, where it was purchased by a jeweller, from whom I obtained it. I have since corresponded with Mr. Cronin, who corroborated this story, and who most honourably gave the astonished finder £4 per ounce, viz. £6 for it. It has been so well repaired that its original form has not been altered, and somewhat resembles fig. 586, p. 53, in Sir W. Wilde's ‘ Catalogue ’ of the gold articles in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy ; differing from the generality of these ornaments in the stem not being cylindrical, but of somewhat quadrangular form. The hoop is very slender, swelling slightly in the centre, and the two terminal cups are of wine-glass form, measuring 1 inch across the rims. It is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches across the cups, and weighs 1 oz. 9 dwts. 5 grs.”

Mr. Day then exhibited, as illustrating the ornament in question, an antique Irish bronze fibula, and an Indian silver one, as also a specimen of the African bronze ring-money, all of which resemble it very much in form. It was remarked that the Indian silver brooch or armlet, whichever it was, was ornamented with a pattern bearing a striking resemblance to our *opus Hibernicum*. Mr. Day also exhibited a number of bronze spear-heads, brooches, and glass ornaments ; a more particular account of some of which, with engravings of the rarer varieties, will appear in a future number of this “ Journal.”

The Rev. W. Kilbride, of Aran, Galway, forwarded the following criticism on the etymology of the word “ crannóg,” furnished by Mr. Edward Benn at p. 20, *supra* :—

"Your 'Journal' for January contains an interesting account by Mr. Edward Benn, of various curious antiques found in his locality. Towards the close of his paper, however, he indulges in some fanciful speculations respecting the etymology of a few Irish words. These I wish to notice, in hopes that hereafter some greater care may be paid to such matters; for if zeal masters discretion, and fancy is allowed to run riot, then antiquarian lore, which, if properly pursued, may lead to some useful result, will inevitably become the scoff of the unthinking and uncandid.

"Mr. Benn, too, I hope, will kindly forgive these remarks, as they are not intended for him in any way personally, but are simply directed against a system, long prevalent, of playing fast and loose with the poor old Irish tongue.

"Mr. Benn thus writes: 'On the subject of the meaning of the word "crannog" I will make some observations. The first syllable, *cran*, signifies a dead tree—a tree lying on end, as opposed to *críve*, a living or standing tree; it signifies a log, a trunk of a tree, a stake. The second syllable is our word "egg," first applied to the shell of an egg used as a drinking vessel,' &c.

"We are thus informed, without the least show of authority, that 'crannóg' is a compound word, whose first syllable, *cran*, signifies a log, stake or dead tree, in opposition to *críve*, a living one. Now, with the greatest deference, I beg leave to deny that either of these statements, or definitions, whichever they may be called, is in any way correct.

"Irish is a very figurative language—more so, perhaps, than any of our learned men have as yet even guessed. The original and primary meanings of the words have been partially, and are still, being gradually lost. In printed works and dictionaries, Irish words are translated by their supposed English equivalents; but the Irish student knows, by sad experience, how different this is to the fact. Two common words will easily explain this—*doipur*, generally translated 'door,' and *coigil*. What is the meaning of this last word? Why, when an English speaker says 'rake the fire,' an Irishman, to express the same or a similar idea, says, *coigil an ceiffe*; but not more diverse the words themselves than the sense conveyed by them. Now, *coigil* is the word employed in the Litany of the Irish version of the Prayer Book to translate the sentence, 'Spare us, Good Lord.' Mere Irish readers have been greatly puzzled with this word, and can by no means either account for its use or explain it; but had its original meaning been explored, they would have found it to convey the idea of 'preservation by covering over.'

"Thus 'crann' (always spelled with a double *n*) is generally applied to a tree with its branches and leaves, as *cran na coille*, trees of the wood. But its primary meaning refers to some massive object of timber, standing straight and erect, just as forest trees do.

"Hence, a vessel's mast is called 'crann,' as *cran-peóil*, from the material of which it is made, its erect position, and also size.

"From all this, it can be easily seen how far-fetched Mr. Benn's definition of this word is. It does not mean a dead tree, or log, or stake, but rather the contrary.

"No doubt 'crann' is often used in composition with other words, such as *raop-cran*, *cran-cóbbail*, but in these instances it most commonly signifies 'wood.' *Saop* means any artisan except a worker of metals. When joined to *cran*, the idea of felling timber, or a tree, is

included with the further one of working it up afterwards; but it would be ridiculous to translate it as a log or stake-artisan.

“‘Crieve,’ Mr. Benn further states, is a living tree as opposed to a dead one. In this also he is very much mistaken. There is no opposition at all in the words. ‘Creeve’ (the common way of spelling it in English) is in Irish *cpuob*, and simply means a small branch with other branchlets attached thereto. It is generally applied to oat branches, as *cpuob coipce*, but seldom or never to the branches of a tree, which are called *deuð*.

“The last syllable in ‘crannóg,’ Mr. Benn further states, is derived from ‘ugh’ (pronounced like the ‘o’ in *do*). Nothing but etymology run mad could arrive at such a conclusion.

“*Uð*, an egg, there can be little doubt, is cognate with the English word egg; but Mr. Benn errs greatly when he tells us, ‘this term was first applied to the shell of an egg,’ &c. It has no reference, as far as I know, to either shell or shape. *blaopð* is the Irish term for the former, and *uð* refers to the material, or substance contained in this *blaesg* or shell. *Oð* is the terminal form of hundreds of Irish words. Sometimes it carries the force of a ‘diminutive,’ but more frequently not. *Crannóg* is no doubt formed in the same manner as *cuapð*, the name usually applied to a wild bee’s nest, and derived from the noun *cuap*—any conical hollow,—with the diminutive ending, *oð*, attached thereto.

“In some country places the old kind of pulpits or forms was called *crannóg*, and in others, *crannghail*, or *crannghaoil*, a word of a somewhat similar meaning. This latter word, too, was the Irish term for a hurdle, and was commonly used for those wicker chimneys, so common formerly in country cottages. Mr. Benn, I hope, will thus see that his etymology for the word ‘crannóg’ will not stand the test of criticism.

“In another paper in the same ‘Journal,’ Mr. Atkinson, of London, supposes the word ‘rath’ means ‘a place of assembly.’ If he can give any proof, even a pregnant hint to that effect, it will be thankfully received.”

Mr. J. O’Beirne Crowe sent the following communication on the same subject:—

“I think it a great pity that men who really can do something, nay, a great deal, in certain walks of learning, will yet persist in attempting other walks, a single correct bearing of which they have never taken the trouble to ascertain. Mr. Benn seems to me to be one of these. That philology is not his *forte* is no disparagement to him as a scholar, but that he should indulge in philology without the necessary preparation is, in my mind, a piece of great folly. Nothing could be so childish as his dead *cpann* and live *cpaeb*. Even in ancient Irish *cpann* is a living tree = Lat. *arbor*. *Ip machip a focho peipin cachn oen-chpann*: (Every single tree is mother of its proper offspring); gl. *mater proprii foetus unaquæque arbor*. (Zeuß, *Gram. Celt.* p. 999.) In the Irish word *cpann*, as well as in its form in the sister dialects—Welsh, *pren*; Armorican, *prenn*—the idea of a growing tree is sometimes entirely lost in the general term *timber*. This is specially the case in Armorican, in which language *prenn* never means a *living* tree. Thus Villemarque, in his Breton dictionary: ‘*prenn* (s. m.) du bois in general et particulièrement celui qui est mis in

oeuvre: c'est equivalent du Latin *lignum*.' The Breton word for *arbor* is *gwezen*, *gwen* = Ir. *pib*; Welsh and Cornish, *guidon*. It is probable Mr. Benn has been looking into Villemarque, and looking over our native Cor-mac. As for *cpaeb*, it has no reference to life or death. Even an instrument used as a hand-bell in the courts of our ancient kings was called *cpaeb*, from its branching pendants.

"Cpannoc, later cpannog. The termination *-aca* in Gaulish becomes *-ach* in Irish; and *-auc*, or *-ac* in old Welsh; in modern Welsh *-awg*. This is a well-known rule. We find, however, certain Welsh words ending in *-awg*, which end in Irish, not in the normal *-ach*, but in *-oc*: thus the Irish *cunneoc*, a churn, is in Welsh, *cunnawg*. But as the W. *cunnaucy*, if equal to a Gaulish *cunnaca*, would in Ir. be *cunnach*; and as this form does not exist in Ir., we must presume that *cunneoc* is an original *cun-nanca*—the termination *-anca* being normal in Gaulish, and that the Welsh was borrowed from the Irish, or formed on a false analogy, since *n* before *c* is retained in Welsh, but rejected in Irish. The Ir. *reboc*, a hawk, and the W. *hebaug* (id.) is another example. Now, *cpannoc* I conceive to be one of this class of words, and to be equal to a Gaulish *crannanca*. So much for the form; as to the meaning, I think the following remarks will help us to it:—

"The Latinized *crannocus* occurs in two passages in Rymer's Foedera, &c.: 'quinque villas cum duobus millibus *crannocis* bladi tribus molen-dinis combusserunt' (An. 1275): in another passage occur the words 'centum crannocis frumenti.' Here we find *cpannoc* meaning a *measure*, that is to say, a *small vessel*. This is confirmed by a gloss in the Senchus Mor, lately published for the Master of the Rolls, p. 152: .i. *cpanboga* beca nabit anallot im an abpar (little rods [*recte* holders] they used to have formerly about the materials). There is a passage in the 'Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin' (H. 2. 16, T. C. D.), where *cpannán* is applied to the *curach*: ar bpiuó bonpuc Ofa ocup pogab Ofa ar cpannán pemoinn:—'It is straight God has led us, and God has taken our *little tree* (*cpannán*) before us.' The portion of the tale in which this passage occurs is wanting in Lebor na hUidre, and it is probable that the original term was *cpannoc*, which the modern and bad scribe of H. 2. 16, altered into *cpannán*, supposing the termination to be diminutive. My view, however, is in no way affected by regarding *cpannoc* as diminutive.

"Now, the transition from the meaning *small vessel* to *ship*, or to *large residence*, is in perfect analogy to the transition of the meaning of the word *long*, which originally meant a *small vessel* for washing, &c., and which afterwards came to mean specially a *ship*, and generally any large *house* or *receptacle*. In the Book of Armagh, the Lat. *vas* (acc.) is glossed by the acc. *loing*: in the 'Brudin Daderga' a certain lady is described as washing in a beautiful *long*: in ancient Tara we had two large houses each called a *long*: while in the 'Vision of Adamnan,' Lebor na hUidre, the celestial city itself is called the *long* of the nine orders of heaven. With regard to the origin of the word *long*, I may say that it has nothing whatever to do with the Lat. '*longa navis*,' all our philologists notwithstanding, but of this I shall have occasion to speak in another place.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I may subjoin, however, that *long* is only one of the large number of pretended

loan-words from Latin. Up to the publication of my "Daim Liacc" (Dublin,



I see that Mr. Atkinson, in referring to *rath*, supposes a connexion with the Teutonic *rath*, as in *reicherath*, and that the word means a 'place of assembly.' On the former of these two points I shall say nothing just now, but I may say that the Ir. *pach* is never used to mean a 'place of assembly.' A good deal has been written on the words *pach*, *lep*, and *dún*, their distinction and respective meaning, but the following passages will show that they have not yet been properly treated. They will also show that all three are required to constitute a royal residence, while the *pach*, one or more, and *lep*, which must be always combined, constitute a non-royal residence. *Ní ba dúnab gan rígu*: it shall not be a *dún* without kingship. (Leb. Ollam. Book of Ballymote.) Here we see that a residence not belonging to a sovereign is not a *dún*.

"About the sixth century, Mongan ruled the district around his palace of *Rath Mor Maige Lini* in the county of Antrim. The celebrated poet Forgoll and his company were staying with him:—*Óiam boí ban Porgoll pili la Mongan pecten an, luid Mongan ar dún trát ói leo pecten an. Pópic inn écpine oc múnú a aicúcta*:—'Now, as poet Forgoll was with Mongan on a time, Mongan goes upon *dún*, a period of day on a time. He finds the poetlet at learning of his lesson.' (Leb. na hUidre). Here we have the *dún* the dwelling of poet Forgoll and his company.

"The whole place was surrounded with three concentric ridges or circles (*raths*). A certain personage is making his way towards the palace:—*boling púrr a cpand rín cap na ceópa pacha combóí pop lár lár; ói púriu combóí pop lár ríu-éarge*:—'he leaped with that shaft over the three *raths* until he was on floor of *les*; from that until he was on floor of *king-house*.' Here the *les* and the *king-house* were within the *raths*, circles or ridges, and so also was the *dún*. From this we see that the whole place consisted of three *raths* (enclosing circles or ridges)—a *les*, a *dún*, and a *king-house*, or *palace*. Now, it is evident that, so far as the name is concerned, a royal residence might be called a *pach*, as it was here, or a *lep*, or a *dún*. No special inference, then, can be drawn from either of these names being applied to any residence, save this: that if *dún* is the name, it must be a royal residence: if *rath* or *les*, it need not. I may observe, that *pach*, which means a *circle*, a *wheel*, is properly applied to the enclosing ridge, and then transferred to the whole place, just as the English *court*, which means a *circle*, has been transferred in the same way. *Rath* = *pot*, Lat. *rota*. The form, *pot*, wheel, is the more usual; *pac* is also frequent: *cappac ba pach*, 'a chariot of two wheels.' (Brocan's Hymn, Lib. Hymnorum.) But of these three words, as well as *rich*, which was also applied to an ancient Irish residence, I shall speak elsewhere."

1867), the very venerable patriarchal word *mumtce*, *family*, used to designate the inhabitants of a chieftain's territory (Comp. Caesar's *familia*, "Gallic War," *passim*), and in Christian times applied also to a religious Superior's society, was set down as a loan-word from the Lat. *monasterium*. Thus Dr. Whitley Stokes ("Goidilica," p. 31) says that *mumtce* is unquestionably, as Siegfried thought, a

loanword, like N. H. G. *münster*, from the Lat. *monasterium*. In the same writer's edition of O'Donovan's "Cormac," however, just published, he runs away (sub v. *mumtce*), from the monastery, never alludes to his having been there at all, or to who or what seduced him out of it, and gives exactly my interpretation. *Ibid.* "Daim Liacc," and Stokes's "Cormac."

Mr. Robert Day, Jun., F.S.A., exhibited a small bronze figure from his collection, and sent the following observations regarding it :—

“The bronze figure which is faithfully represented, full size, in the plate which faces this page, was purchased by me, in 1862, from a ‘marine store’ dealer residing at Athlone, who informed me that it was found in the graveyard of Clonmacnoise. It has suffered so little from the effects of time, that a considerable portion of the heavy gilding still remains on its surface, and the various patterns that ornament the kilt and pointed head dress, are yet as sharp as when the figure came from the maker’s hands. Mr. Clibborn, of the Royal Irish Academy, to whom the Rev. James Graves sent a proof impression of the woodcut, has suggested that it probably was once attached to the Shrine of St. Manchan, and accounted for its being found at Clonmacnoise by its having been accidentally knocked off the shrine when it was being carried in procession there. This most interesting shrine was exhibited in the Dublin Exhibition of 1853; a cast was then taken from it which is in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and the shrine itself is on the altar of the Roman Catholic chapel of the parish of Lemanahan, King’s County, having been given up to the keeping of the priest of that parish by Robert Mooney, Esq., of The Doone, in that county, with whose family it had been deposited for a long period. On learning from the Rev. James Graves Mr. Clibborn’s suggestion, I took the figure to Dublin, and waited on that gentleman, who, with his unvaried and ready kindness, unlocked the case that contained the electrotype of the shrine, and we were enabled to fix on the exact spot where the figure exactly fitted. It was found to resemble, in respect of style and scale, the ten effigies that still remain on the shrine, and is similar in the heavy features, the long and prominent nose, the ribbed pattern of the sleeves and sides of the body dress, the peculiar cut of the frock or kilt, and the double T pattern on its left hand portion. This peculiar pattern occurs on all the figures, but they differ in the form of the head dress, the effigies on the shrine having round and conical head coverings, while this has the pointed mitre, which probably indicates episcopacy. The arrangement of the hands also differs from those of the ten figures; they all hold something in one or both hands, but this has the hands simply placed on the breast in a state of repose. Mr. Clibborn’s conjecture has, therefore, been fully borne out. In comparing the one with the other, the style of ornament on both is identical, and the school of art that produced the shrine produced the figure also. There can be no doubt that the figure illustrated in our plate is one of those original ornaments of the shrine of St. Manchan, supposed to have been irrecoverably lost.”

Mr. Graves observed that, in his opinion, this most interesting figure was not that of an ecclesiastic. Dr. Petrie, who engraved two similar figures, apparently from the Shrine of St. Manchan, in the first volume of the “Dublin Penny Journal,” p. 97, gives one which resembled Mr. Day’s antique, “as an example . . . of a warrior helmeted, and wearing the *philibeg*, or *kilt*.” The head of Mr. Day’s



BRONZE FIGURE PURCHASED AT A1HLONE, AND SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND AT CLONMACNOISIE.

[Full size.]



figure was, in his (Mr. Graves's) opinion, defended by a conical helmet with cheek pieces, and the character of the dress was very unecclesiastical ; he thought that the ribbed pattern of the sleeves and body covering was meant for a rude representation of chain mail. In the second figure engraved by Petrie the dress was very different, and unmistakably that of an ecclesiastic, the chasuble being clearly denoted. On the whole, he considered Mr. Day's antique to be a most valuable and interesting example of the Irish military costume of the twelfth century.

He could not avoid remarking, that the identification of this fragment of the shrine of St. Manchan gave proof of the great benefit which Associations like theirs conferred on archæology. So long as this antique remained shut up in Mr. Day's museum its true value was not apparent ; but the publicity given to it by exhibition at their meeting served to bring out its connexion with one of the most interesting remains of ancient Irish art, and to fix its date. Mr. Clibborn's reply to his inquiry was as follows :—

"I hasten to reply to yours of yesterday. I find the bronze figure, judging by the engraving you send me, is the same in respect of style and scale with the remaining bronze effigies on the shrine of St. Manchan. It differs from the ten now on the shrine, individually, but may have a special likeness to some of the figures which are extant, but not in this museum, and which certainly belonged to it formerly. The first moment I have of leisure I will see if it has any special likeness to any of those absent figures, which have been published by Petrie and others.

"The single pointed mitre on this figure is not found on any of the effigies alluded to, but there are in this museum two examples of bishops so represented, in bronze and copper (electrotype), and both of them belong to the same, or a somewhat earlier school of art, wearing this peculiar head dress, which clearly indicates episcopacy, in one or other form in which it existed among the ancient Irish religious communities.

"The peculiarly heavy features, long and prominent nose, waved beard, and the waved pattern of the sleeves and sides of the dress, are identical with those of the figures on the shrine. The cut of the frock or dress is also the same, and the lines of ornamental embroidery or pattern are similar, but not exactly the same, with any on the shrine figures, which all differ from each other in these particulars, but the design, on the left hand alip, which we may call a T pattern, or rather others of the same type, occur, on every one of the ten figures, whose dresses are critically of the same fashion with that of this figure.

"The arrangement of the hands of this figure differs from those of the hands of the ten figures, but these all differ from each other. They all hold a something in one or other, or in both hands, but this figure has the hands simply placed on the chest in a state of repose. In this respect it differs

from them all; for, while vitality is clearly indicated by the actions represented, this attitude might have implied death; though it might be argued, that the hands should have been actually crossed if the artist had intended to convey that meaning. But the nail hole on the chest, which was necessary to secure the figure to the timber body of the shrine, seems to have prevented the hands being crossed, and the fingers displayed.

"It is a great pity that the legs have been lost, as the second nail hole, made in the ten figures on the shrine, is through the bits of bronze which connect the feet of all the figures: now, as the distances between every pair of nail holes on the shrine are different, it follows, almost to a certainty, that if the legs of this figure had not been broken off, we might have been able to find its place on this very shrine, or at least prove almost that another shrine had existed like it.

"There is evidence, in the existence of a figure in the same art, that another shrine like it did exist, and we have a fragment of interlaced work which must have been part of a cross similar to those on each side of the shrine of St. Manchán.

"This figure is like one of the ten on the shrine, in the absence of a sort of girdle just above the patterns, which seem to indicate a kilt. The dress may carry the costume back to the Roman period, though it may have been the custom in Ireland and England to wear tight breeches made with the stuff cut bias, after the fashion of a dress in this museum, which was found in a turf bog, and which mode of dress seems to be represented in several of the plates published in Mr. Westwood's great book, on the Saxon and Irish MSS., of which a copy has lately been added to this library.

"The plaster cast of the shrine of St. Manchán in this museum is not sharp enough to enable one to recover all the details of the patterns, which seem to have been much worn in the original when the impressions were made; while the patterns, if represented correctly in your woodcut, seem to be in such good condition, and so very sharp, they indicate but little wear in the original figure. Thus, it looks as if this figure of yours, if a part of the original decoration of St. Manchán's shrine, so called, may have been knocked off it by some accident during a procession in the graveyard at Clonmacnoise, and thus that place may have been the original *locus* of this shrine, which appears to be regal by its patterns of *mammæ crosses*, which are exceptional, as memorials of clerics of any denomination, though used to decorate memorials of laymen of royal rank so late as the Crusades.

"The title of this shrine looks very ambiguous, and its original elegance and enormous cost lead one to infer it was never intended for a 'little monk,' but for a king, or a person deemed to be of royal rank—as the ancestor of a ruling prince."

The Rev. George H. Reade, sent the following paper on Rathwhelan, a seat of O'Faolan, the ancient lord of the Decies, near Dunmore East, Barony of Gualtier; county of Waterford:—

"It sometimes happens that an unexpected discovery rewards the dry details of an antiquarian's researches, and such was my lot last summer when examining the many very interesting relics of antiquity near Dunmore, a locality which will well employ the summer holiday of any mem-

ber of the Driasdust family, as he will find in a short distance round food for his favourite study, from the earliest Pagan times down to the days of Queen Elizabeth's *Pacata Hibernia*. The circle of standing stones surrounding the well-preserved stone grave of some Irish chieftain, on the summit of Carrick a Dhirra, already described in our 'Journal,' will well reward investigation. The remnant of the very old church of Kilmacomb, just beneath, is interesting, not merely for its very great age and simple style of architecture, but also as still retaining within its ruined walls one of those rude unfashioned baptismal fonts known by the Irish by the name *Bullawn*, and now so rarely seen. The preceptory and church of the Knights of St. John, at Crook, of which there are, I believe, but three or four instances in Ireland, will also afford food for solitary musings, as, although their house is almost a ruin, and their church, with its three tall lancets in the east window, is nearly smothered up by modern interments; yet the sparkling water of their perennial well still bubbles up beneath its cut stone arch as pellucid as ever, and gives its fresh supply to the place of the ancient fish pond, now merely a swamp, and thence passes on towards the traces of the gardens. On the ruins of their churches' walls he will find in thick profusion that very rare fern *ceterach officinalis*, so much used as a powerful styptic by the monks of old, and so likely to be of double use to a fraternity who literally represented the Church Militant, which rare plant I have little doubt was specially brought there by the Knights for its most useful medicinal purposes, and which still flourishes as luxuriantly as ever—

' While the Knights are dust,  
Their good swords rust.'

"In the village of Dunmore, overhanging 'the Cove,' will be found an early structure of the Norman conquerors now degraded into a butcher's slaughter house; it is an enormous round tower, similar to that upon the Waterford quay, called Reginald's, and most strongly and ingeniously fortified by an internal porch and double doorway, with a second opening above for pouring down destructive missiles upon those who may have forced the outer door. I know I am venturesome in calling this and the Waterford tower, to which it is so similar, Norman towers, especially as I have read the authoritative inscription upon that at Waterford; but did the Normans borrow this mode of structure from the Danes? These towers are loopholed in the same way, and the apertures of the *cloaca maxima* are identically the same as in the numerous unquestioned specimens of Norman Architecture; the only difference is, these are round, the other square; and I may ask, where is there another specimen of stone work of the Danes, and such proof of their attention to cleanliness, not hitherto considered one of their characteristics? The true Dunmore, called 'Sheanoon,' which is beside Power's Hotel, is fast passing away. The harbour improvements have caused the obliteration of a great portion of it; part of the great ditch defending the land side still exists, with traces of smaller defences, in the green sward, and various inside ramparts, similar in age, I believe, as they are in appearance, to the lines of defence at Bagenbon Head and at Rathwhelan. I found in it one of the ancient flint knives, a mark of very great antiquity. As my stay at Dunmore was lengthened beyond expectation, I had exhausted these relics, when a friend said, 'you have not

seen Rathwhelan old church, which is fully as old as Kilmacomb.' I found, however, that my friend was wholly mistaken in his estimate of the age of that church; it was simply one of those ugly old barn-like structures of the sixteenth century, the plaster still adhering to the walls; and I was afterwards informed by the 'oldest inhabitant' of Dunmore, that 'his father knew those that had attended service in it.' Turning away disappointed, my eye caught traces of those well-known low green aggers, rounded on top, and covered with the thick close velvety verdure of the very ancient fortifications, so often met with along the southern shores of Ireland, and about which very little is generally known. The only reply to all queries as to their builders being: 'the Danes in old times.' Upon further examination, I traced the lines of defence of great part of what seemed to have been a fortified camp or residence; the portion towards the sea side had been used up by the farmer, but from what appeared to have been the central residence, to the ravine at the other side, all was tolerably perfect. The place of defence had been erected over the edge of a ravine, which ran inland from the sea, where it was called Rathwhelan Cove, and skirting the front of the camp, turned sharp to the right, close to Rathwhelan church: at this spot, a small but very perfect oval fort or rath was placed, and behind it a square enclosure. In what I believe to have been the centre, were other square enclosures with passages of communication, and some of them with traces of small outworks for defending the corners. Upon inquiry, I found that the land about was the property of Lord Stuart de Decies, that the fort was called Rathwhelan, and the farm Rathmoylan (the Irish M and W are, I believe, interchangeable); that there only remained about 200 acres, the property of the Lord of Decies in the Barony, which is now called Gall-tir, or land of the stranger. I thus found that I had stumbled upon an ancient residence of the princely family of O'Faolan, Lords of Decies, for so many centuries owners of the country around, and the gallant defenders of Waterford against the Normans, their inheritance then passing away and becoming known as 'the land of the stranger'—Gall-tir. Traces of similar ditches or fences exist close to the entrance of the Cove from the sea, and immediately over that wondrous and beautiful excavation in the soft stratum of the old red sand stone, known as Rathwhelan Cave, and forming one of the many 'Lions' of Dunmore.

"The O'Faolans, Lords of Decies, were amongst the oldest, and not the least celebrated families of Ireland, and can be traced as Lords of Decies from the seventh century, until the Norman Conquest. In 'the Book of Rights,' the annual subsidy of the King of Decies is stated to be 'a ship well rigged, a gold-hilted sword, a horse in rich furniture, also eight ships, eight men slaves, eight women slaves, eight coats of mail, eight shields, eight swords, and eight horses.' The first three are the gifts of the King of Caiseal to him. The tribute of the Lord of Decies to the King of Caiseal is stated thus:—'In time of peace, 2000 chosen hogs, 1000 cows; and in time of war, 1000 oxen, 1000 sheep, 1000 cloaks, and 1000 milch cows.' The second stipend to the King of Decies from the King of Caiseal is described in 'Leabhar-na-Gheart,' p. 73, as—'8 bond men, 8 brown-haired women, 10 ships, 8 shields, 8 swords for wounding, and 8 horses brought across the green sea.' The Prince of Decies also paid to the King of Tara 50 oxen, 50 sows, and 50 young pigs; he received 8 good steeds of high distinction, and 8 green cloaks, besides, with, as we may suppose to fasten them, 8 pins of *androine*, or white bronze. 'Book of Rights,' p. 257.



"Decies, in Irish, Deesi, was an ancient Irish territory comprising the greater part of the county of Waterford; it had its name from the Deisigh, a tribe descended from Fiacha Suide, a son of Feilimídh Reachtmair, who was monarch of Ireland in the second century. Fiacha Suide was brother of the celebrated Con of the Hundred Battles, monarch of Ireland; hence, the Deisians, his descendants, were a branch of the Heremonians; the Deesi possessed, in the first instance, a large territory in Meath, and their name is retained in the Barony of Deece in that county; these were called Deesi of Teamrach or Tara, to distinguish them from the Waterford Deesi. In the third century, Aongus, Prince of Decies of Meath, grandson of Fiacha Suide, resenting the exclusion of his own branch from the monarchy, rebelled against King Cormac, and with a large body of forces broke into the palace of Tara, wounded Cormac, and killed his son Ceallach, A. D. 278. Cormac having quelled this rebellion in seven battles, drove Aongus into Mumha (Munster), where Olioll Ollum, King of Munster, granted them the lands extending from the river Suir southwards to the sea, and from Lismore to Cean Creodain (Creden Head), comprising nearly the whole territory, which was afterwards called Waterford; and they gave to that district the name Deesi, or Na-n-Deesi, called also Deesi Mumhan to distinguish it from Deesi Meath. This name is still retained in the baronies of Decies. This tribe becoming very powerful and numerous, Aongus, King of Munster, in the fifth century, conferred on them additional lands, extending north of the River Suir, as far as Corca Eathrach, comprising the country called Machaire Caiseal, or the plain of Cashel. This territory was distinguished by the name of Tuaisceart Deise, or North Decies; and the old territory was called Deise Deisceart, or South Decies. The principal families were, the O'Faolans, styled Princes of Decies, and the O'Brics, chiefs in Decies, both of the same descent: they were thus designated by O'Heerin:—

'Two mild chiefs, whom I do not conceal,  
Rule over the Desies, which I affirm,  
O'Bric, who enforced all its tributes,  
And also the wise and fair O'Felan.'

The Deesi are very frequently mentioned in the Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the days of St. Patrick, amongst whose ancestors he is named in the poem of Flann of the Monastery (Monaster Boice)—

'Patrick, Abbot of all Ireland, son of Calphrann, son of Fotaide,  
Son of Deisse, not fit to be mispraised, son of Cormac Mor,' &c.

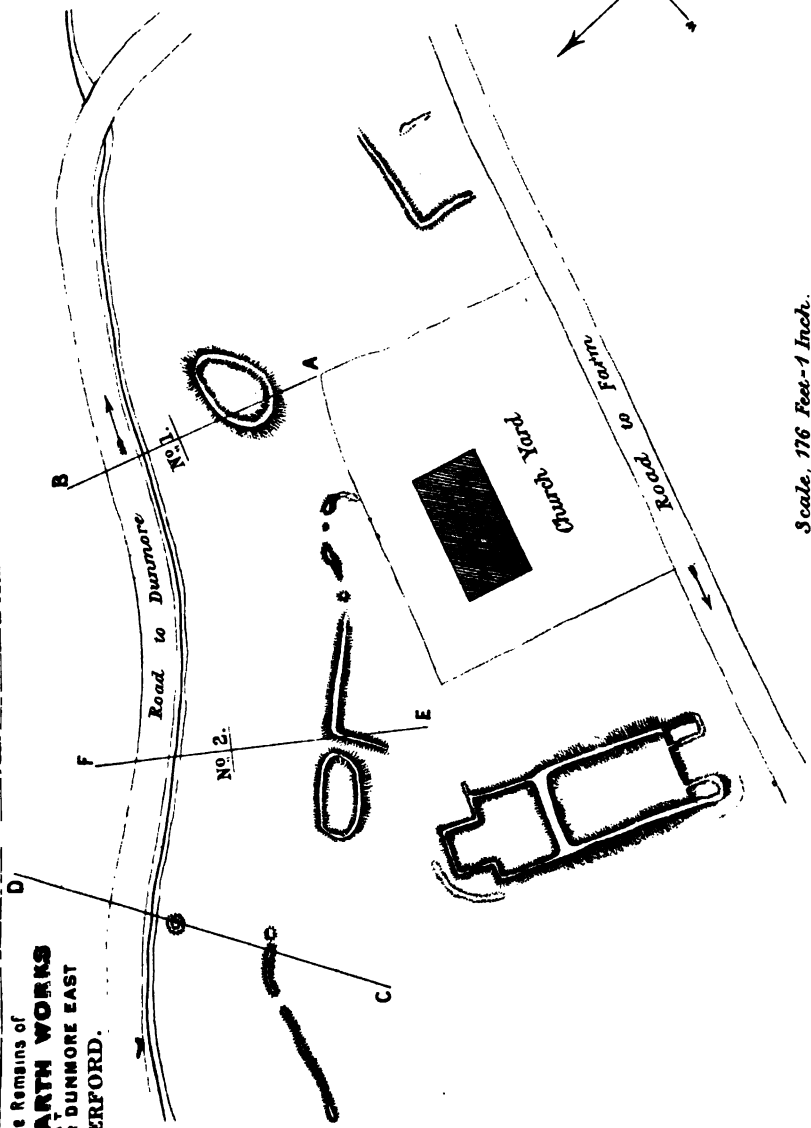
down to the sixteenth century. In A. D. 666, Bran Finn was their chief. A. D. 700, the 'Annals of Ulster' state 'Jugulatio Conaill Mic Suibhne regis Na-n-Deisi;' but it appears to have been A. D. 964; that the O'Faolans inherited the title, and there are very many notices of their battles and quarrels for many generations. A feud between the two families, O'Bric and O'Faolan, took place A. D. 1031, when Murray, the son of Bric, slew Diarmed, son of Donal O'Faolan, at the battle of Sliabh gua, in the county of Waterford: in revenge, the O'Faolan branch burned Murray, son of Bric A. D. 1051; and in 1059, they smothered Maelseachlainn, of the O'Bric family, in a cave, very probably Rathwhelan cave before mentioned; in 1067, the O'Bric blinded O'Faolan, he lived until 1085, when the Four Masters made this entry:—'The blind Ua Faelan, Lord of the Deesi, died.'

So the annals continue, the O'Brics and O'Faolans murdering, and being murdered until the times of Dermot Mac Murrough—the O'Bric of 1151, being killed by a man who bore an odd name 'the short man of the Churn—Gearr na-g Cuenneog.' The annals relate, that Connor O'Brien, and his conspirators in the murder of Murray, were killed immediately after that murder by Ua Faolan, Lord of the Deesi Mumhan, who did this deed for Ruadrhi Ua Conchobhar (Roderick O'Connor). We find the O'Faolan joined with the Danes in the defence of Waterford in 1170, when attacked by the army of Mac Murrough and Fitzstephen, and he seems to have been a faithful ally, as in the attack upon that city by Richard de Clare, Earl Strongbow, with Herry de Monte Maresco, and Raymond le Gros, Malachy, Prince of Decies, fought by their side for three days, and bravely repulsed the enemy several times, but at last the city was taken, and amongst the prisoners were Reginald the Dane, and Malachy O'Faolan: they were at once condemned to death; but Dermot Mac Murrough interceded for the life of O'Faolan, because of his daughter Eva, whom he had brought that day to marry Strongbow; 700 are stated to have been killed. For some time after the head of the family retained their title as lords of Deesi, as the annals mention A. D. 1205, 'Donald O'Faolan, Lord of the Deesi of Munster, died.' The contentious spirit of the race, however, was not so easily quelled, as in A. D. 1208, the O'Faolan killed David the Briton, Bishop of Waterford, who was kinsman to Meyler Fitzhenry, Lord Justice of Ireland; this unfortunate English Bishop had been appointed by his countrymen against the wishes of the Irish, and he entered into a long contest with O'Heda, the Irish Bishop of Lismore, whose rights and possessions he had usurped, and, therefore, O'Faolan killed him.

"After this act he seems to have lost all power, and was probably driven from his stronghold at Rathwhelan, as the family henceforwards drops out of history, and some of them are only occasionally noticed as bards and poets, thus: 'A. D. 1378, John O'Faolan, poet, died;' 'A. D. 1431, Owen O'Faolan, poet, died;' 'A. D. 1451, Gillapatrik Oge O'Faolan, a distinguished poet, died.' The last trace of this great family is noticed under 'A. D. 1510, Farrell O'Faolan, professor of poetry, died.'

"Part of the O'Faolan territory was granted by Henry II. to Robert le Poer, his Marshall, consisting of the whole of Decies and the city of Waterford; the Le Poers were, at various periods, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, created Barons of Curraghmore, Viscounts of Decies, and Earls of Tyrone. The Beresford family, by intermarriage with the Le Poers, took their titles. Perhaps the 200 acres round Rathwhelan, now the property of Lord Stuart de Decies, was left in the possession of the O'Faolans, until the murder of the English Bishop of Waterford, although the great bulk of their property was confiscated after the siege of Waterford, above mentioned: the family bore the title of Lords of Decies until at least A. D. 1208. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a grant was made to Captain Fortescue, of Credan Head, and 2000 acres, a property still enjoyed by his descendants. Thus these lowly mounds and faintly traced lines of defence in the long enduring peat of Rathwhelan, form the only remains of this princely family. The plan and sections facing this page, and which will serve to give an idea of the remaining earth-works of Rathwhelan, were surveyed and executed by Ernest Goold, Esq., C. E., who has accompanied the drawings with the following note:—

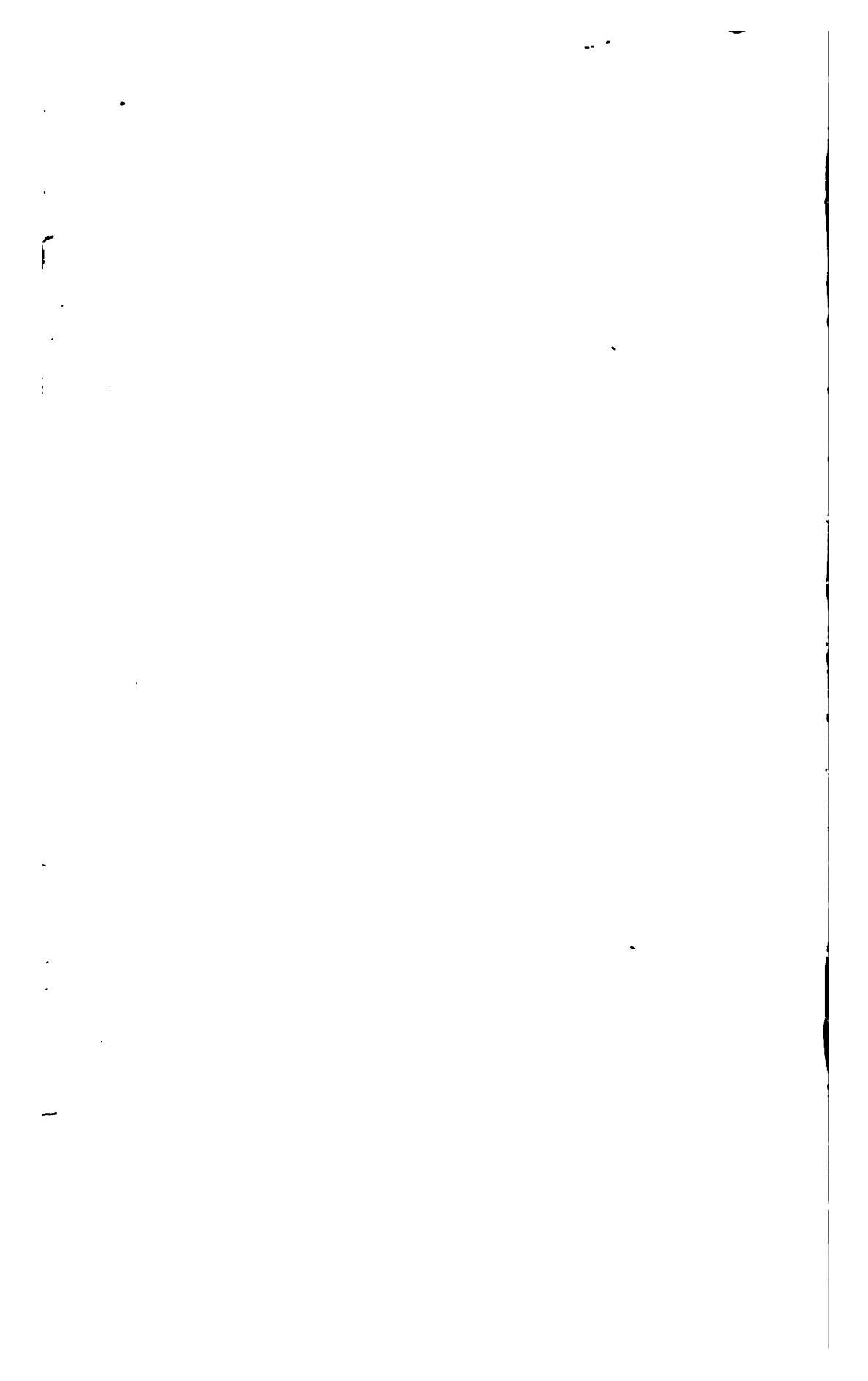
Sketch of the Remains of  
**ANCIENT EARTH WORKS**  
 RATHWELAN NEAR DUNMORE EAST  
 CO WATERFORD.



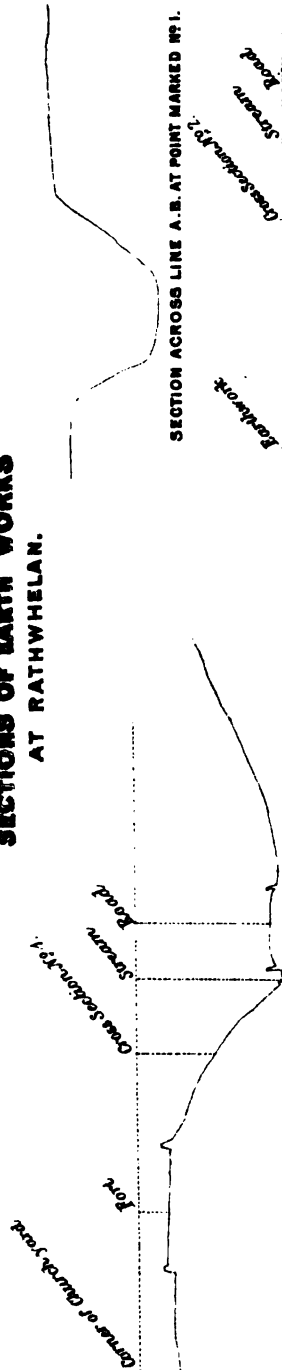
Scale, 176 Feet = 1 Inch.

Ernest H. Gould.

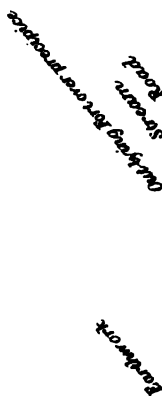
Revised 1914



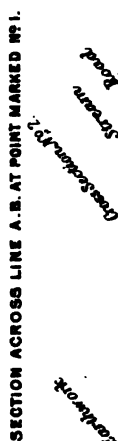
# SECTIONS OF EARTH WORKS AT RATHWHELAN.



SECTION ON LINE A.B.



SECTION ON LINE C.D.



SECTION ON LINE E.F.

SECTION ACROSS LINE E.F. AT POINT MARKED NO 2.

Scale 88 Feet - 1 Inch (Natural)  
Note. These Sections are only approximate.

Ernest H. Gould

Figure 4 (C) Dublin



“‘ I have complied with your request regarding the plans and sections of the ground. I was not, I am sorry to say, able to do them with perfect accuracy. They will, however, I think, enable a person to realise pretty well the position of the encampment.

“‘ You will notice that I have shown two cross sections (the positions of which are marked on the plan), my object being to show the character of the only two possible entrances from the ravine. In all other cases the cliff presents an escarpment resembling that shown in the section on line C D. Along the line A B the slope is about 1 in 4. On E F about 1 to 1·5, or nearly an angle of 45°. Hence, inasmuch as the fort commands the slope on line A B, and that it is far more suitable for egress and ingress than that on E F, and the fact that E F is not defended, would, I think, favour the conclusion to which I have come, viz., that, supposing that there was an entrance from the ravine, it was along the line A B. There is also geological evidence of high water mark having once extended much farther inland than it does at present. The escarpments are all formed of red sandstone.

“‘ I may, perhaps, mention, that about half a mile in a south-east direction there is an oval fort, 60 feet by 40 feet, still defending the ravine which runs in that direction. It has two entrances, the line joining which runs north and south, and the entrances seem to have been thus:—

This rath is held in high veneration by the people around here, for it seems that some time ago they went to look for money there, and had no sooner commenced than sounds were heard like the bellowing of a bull, accompanied by the rattle of chains proceeding from under the ground! Were these ancient mound-makers fulfilling the words of Virgil, ‘*Exoriare aliquis ex nostris et ossibus ultor*,’ at having their sacred rest disturbed?



“‘ Those who were money-hunting at least thought so, for shovels and spades, pickaxes and crowbars, were left to the mysterious visitor, while our friends spoke in hushed voices over their fires, and raked up traditions, all but forgotten.”

Mr. Prim said that, with the kind permission of Major the Hon. L. Agar Ellis, M. P., he was enabled to exhibit some interesting documents from amongst the records preserved at Gowran Castle. It would be remembered that the head of the house of Agar, now represented by the Viscount Clifden, had for a considerable period been the patron of the municipalities of Thomastown and Gowran, and the documents to which he would first draw attention were connected with those now extinct corporations. He would begin with a copy of the charter of Queen Mary, granted in the first year of her reign (A. D. 1553) “to the sovereign and burgesses of Thomastown, formerly called the town of Grenan, or by whatsoever name the said sovereign and burgesses were called or known, and to their successors,” that they and their successors should from thence-

forth for ever be a body corporate, consisting of a sovereign and burgesses, and that they should have a perpetual succession ; and that the then sovereign, and his successors, sovereigns of the said town, should have and receive such and the like jurisdiction, authority and power, in cases judicial, and in the cognizance of pleas in all and singular matters and things arising within the said town or borough, as the sovereigns of Kilkenny had used and exercised within the town of Kilkenny and its franchises. Further, that they and their successors might yearly, and from time to time, elect and appoint such and the like members and officers for regulating and governing the courts and hundreds of the said town, and do all other matters to the same relating, as was used in the said town of Kilkenny ; and also that they and their successors might have for their own use all and singular the fines, forfeitures and amercements arising within the said town and its franchises, or in any court within the same, without any account being rendered for the same, and also that the said sovereign and burgesses, and their successors, might have and hold for ever thereafter within the town and its franchises, a market on every Monday, with all and singular the liberties, privileges, tolls, customs, profits, commodities, and emoluments belonging to the same, in as large, similar, and ample a manner as was used by the burgesses of Kilkenny, or within any other town in the kingdom of Ireland holding a market. And further, that they should have power to hold a fair within the town and its franchises, on the 30th April and fifteen days following in every year, with the like tolls, customs, privileges, and emoluments as were used in the said town of Kilkenny or any other town in Ireland holding fairs ; and that the said sovereign and burgesses and their successors, should for ever have and exercise within the said town and its franchises, all the rights, privileges, customs, authorities, and jurisdictions, which the sovereign and burgesses of Kilkenny claimed, held, and exercised in any way, under any grant from William Mariscall, Earl of Pembroke, or any of the Queen's progenitors, to the burgesses of Kilkenny. The next document was a translation of the Charter granted to Gowran by King James I., on the 15th September, in the sixth year of his reign (1609)



granting to the inhabitants that "the said town or place called Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny, should from henceforth be called 'The Town or Borough of Gowran,' and that there should be a corporation and body politic, made and created of the inhabitants of said town, to consist of one portrive, twelve chief burgesses, and so many as were then free and inhabiting in or of the same town or borough, and of so many freemen as the said portrive and burgesses for the time being amongst themselves should thereafter think fit to choose or admit, according as the multitude of inhabitants should increase from time to time." Nicholas Hackett was named as the first portreve; the title of the corporation to be "The Portrive, Chief Burgesses and Freemen of the Town and Borough of Gowran;" power was given to elect and nominate some sufficient person learned in the law to be recorder and town clerk of the said town during the pleasure of the portrive and burgesses; and to appoint a sergeant of mace and all other inferior officers which they should think convenient and necessary for the service of said town, with a provision enabling persons of one trade to unite themselves into guilds or fraternities. This charter made the office of portreve an annual one, and directed that "the chief burgesses and freemen should for ever have free election in their tollsill, as well of the said portrive, to be chosen yearly out of the number of the said twelve burgesses, as also of all other officers and ministers, freemen and inhabitants of the said town, as occasion may require."

There was also another Gowran document, being a petition from the Corporation to the Duke of Ormonde, as Lord Lieutenant, in 1665, respecting the payment for the services which members of Parliament were at the time empowered to demand from their constituents. It was as follows :—

*"To his Grace James Duke of Ormond Lord Lieutenant Generall and Generall Governor of Ireland.*

"The Humble Peticion of the Portreeue, Burgesses, and Commons of the Corporation of Gawran.

"Humbly complaining, Sheweth : that whereas William Warden and John Powell, Esqrs., were chosen Burgesses for the s<sup>d</sup> Corporation to this p'sent Parliament, at which time the s<sup>d</sup> William Warden and John Powell, in publick assembly, hath promist & Engadged to serue the said Corpo-

ration gratis. Yett soe it is that the said William Warden and John Powell have serued yo<sup>r</sup> petit<sup>m</sup> with writts from Dublin to pay them their salary for their seruise aforesaid, amountinge to two hundred and seaventeene pounds ster<sup>s</sup>, which, if obtained, will be to the utter rvine of yo<sup>r</sup> petit<sup>m</sup>.

"The P<sup>r</sup>misses tenderly Considered, May it therefore please yo<sup>r</sup> Grace to call your petit<sup>m</sup> before yo<sup>r</sup> Grace to prove their said allegation, and in the interem to Suspend the Execution and proceedings of the s<sup>d</sup> writts. And granted, yo<sup>r</sup> pet<sup>m</sup> shall Daily pray," &c.

*"Kilkenny Castle, the 11th off October, 1665.*

"Lett this petition bee showed unto Coll. William Warden and John Powell aboue mentioned, upon whose answer therevnto We shall take the same into further consideration.

"ORMONDE.

"Copia Vera. Attested by mee,  
"MARKS KELLY, *Portriffs of Gawran.*"

It was a pity that they wer eleft uninformed as to the decision ultimately made by the Duke in the case. Another curious document was one setting out the "Rules and Articles to be entered into and strictly observed by the Honourable the Members of the Club of Athunry for Hunting, Hawking, Setting, and Shooting," &c. in the beginning of the last century.

Mr. Prim said he had now to bring before the Meeting the most interesting of the documents kindly confided to him by Major Agar Ellis for that purpose. It was one of the briefs held by counsel for the prosecution of the celebrated orator and statesman, Harry Flood, at the Kilkenny Assizes, 13th April, 1770, "on an indictment against the defendant, for the wilful and malicious murder of James Agar, Esq., the 25th August, 1769, at Dunmore, in the county of the city of Kilkenny, by giving him a mortal wound near the left breast with a bullet shot from a pistol by Henry Flood, Esq<sup>r</sup>., of which wound he then and there dyed." This was one of the *causes celebres* of the last century, and, there being no report of the trial extant, the various depositions at the Coroner's inquest and magisterial inquiry, and the other circumstances set out in the brief, rendered the document one of peculiar interest. The prosecution was urged with a degree of bitterness by the relatives of the gentleman who had fallen in the duel, which was fully accounted for by the animosity which had for a considerable

period previously subsisted between the Agar and Flood families, arising from a protracted struggle to secure the patronage of the borough of Callan, in the county of Kilkenny. The Manor of Callan had belonged to the House of Ormonde from a very early period ; but after the attainder of the second Duke, and the non-residence of his brother and successor, the Earl of Arran, the family of Flood, which had considerable property neighbouring the town of Callan, had acquired that interest in the parliamentary representation and management of its municipal affairs which at the period was usually exercised by the Lord of the Manor. However, the Agar family, having, purchased the property, rights, and privileges of the representative of the House of Ormonde, considered the interest in the borough should be theirs, and being resisted therein by the Floods, a deadly feud arose, which was the cause of many fatal duels, and serious prosecutions for homicides, assaults, and batteries, resulting from collisions at elections of members of parliament, or of sovereigns and burgesses of the town. The ostensible cause of the most celebrated of the duels, that to which the document under notice had reference, was a dispute about a case of pistols, but that dispute had originated in the course of the struggle for the interest in Callan. The constituency of Callan having been comprised of the burgesses and freemen, of course whoever had control of the Corporation possessed a dictatorship as to the parliamentary representation, and Mr. James Agar, brother to the Viscount Clifden, being the proprietor of the town, had, in the middle of the last century, succeeded in obtaining the influence which he desired over the members of the Corporation to the extent of half the body, so that the securing of the vote of a single burgess, more or less, at either side, inclined the interest in the borough to him, or to his rival, Mr. Flood, of Farmley. It would seem that, in the year 1768, a woman named Bridget Knapp, wife to Francis Knapp, a tenant of Flood's, and residing at the village of Burnchurch, adjoining the demesne of Farmley, but also a burgess of Callan, made overtures to Agar for the renouncing of the Flood interest, on the condition of receiving a sum of money and a farm on the Agar property. The negotiations were going on for some time, but appeared to have been brought to a close

towards the end of October, as the election of the sovereign of Callan would take place on the 29th of that month, and Knapp's vote would decide the election in favour of Agar's nominee, and oust the candidate favoured by the Floods. On the evening of the 28th of October, Bridget Knapp came to Mr. Agar, at the Red Lion Inn, Kilkenny, where he was staying at the time ; she had undertaken to bring her husband with her, but she made an excuse for his absence, representing that he was unwilling openly to break with Mr. Flood, till he had Mr. Agar's personal assurance of the promises made to him being carried out, for which purpose she proposed that that gentleman should accompany her to Burnchurch in a chaise, and, having personally given his guarantee to Knapp, then carry him off in that vehicle. Agar assented, and was preparing to accompany the woman, when Michael Keogh, the landlord of the Red Lion, and his wife, interposed their advice, and strongly urged their lodger not to venture on the enterprise, representing that he was suffering from illness, and would be certain to take injury to his health, if he did not even experience other danger. After much discussion, and some unwillingness on the part of Bridget Knapp to have the arrangement altered, it was agreed that the landlord should go with the woman in the chaise, in place of Mr. Agar, and the latter gentleman gave his pistols to Keogh, lest he might require to defend himself whilst in "the enemy's country." Arriving at Burnchurch, Mrs. Knapp got out to reconnoitre, lest any one might be, she said, at the house with her husband ; and during her absence, a number of the Flood party having observed the chaise, and either suspecting or having been previously informed of "a plot" being "on foot," they at once attacked and smashed the vehicle to pieces, injuring the horses, and maltreating the post-boy. Keogh, in a panic, fired off the pistols, but then jumped out and ran away, leaving the weapons after him, and securing his own safety by swiftness of foot. Knapp continued in the Flood interest, and Agar and his friends denounced the opposing party as having sent Mrs. Knapp to entrap Agar, by seducing him to Burnchurch for the purpose of murdering him. Broad accusations of the kind seem to have been freely bandied on all occasions

between the parties to the contest at the time. The pistols lost by Keogh on the occasion were never recovered.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Agar frequently demanded that Mr. Flood should restore them to him, alleging that they must be in his possession. Flood always denied that he knew anything about them. Nearly eleven months passed over, when, on the 22nd of August, 1769, Richard Roth, Esq., of Mountroth, according to his subsequent statement of what had occurred, was sent by Agar to Flood with a message, either to deliver up the pistols or to "meet him." Flood's reply was—"He had not got the pistols, nor did he know where they were; but if they should be brought to him, he would send them back, as they were not his; and if Mr. Agar insisted on it, he would meet him." Roth stated that he returned this answer to Agar, "and advised him to think no more of it; and from that time he thought all was over, and no conversation passed between him and Agar, till the 25th. Then Agar asked Roth what he had done with 'that man,' meaning Flood; to which Roth answered that Flood had denied he had the pistols, which was sufficient, and that Agar ought to stop there. Agar answered 'he found people professed friendship to him, but had none,' and insisted Roth should go to Flood and desire him to meet him immediately at Dunmore. That Roth met Flood near the end of Back-lane, not far from Agar's lodgings (at the Red Lion), and delivered the message to meet in an hour, which Flood said he would do, and then Roth returned to Agar and told him, and Agar desired Roth to be his second; then Roth went away from Agar. This was about 12 o'clock, at noon; that soon after he returned to Agar, found Barton and Prim with him, and pistols in the room; heard Mr. Agar say it was hard he should fight at an hour's warning, and that he believed Flood thought he had neither pistols or friends; and heard him desire Prim and Barton to walk with him, for that the Floods were a murdering

<sup>1</sup> They are referred to in a curious correspondence at the time in "Finn's Leinster Journal," the local newspaper of the day, as having come into the possession of Francis Knapp. This correspondence is copied in Mr. Prim's paper on "Kilkenny Inns and Taverns," in the "Journal of

the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society," new series, vol. iv., page 166, note. Mr. Prim was at the time unaware that it was the circumstances involved in the correspondence which had led to the celebrated duel between Harry Flood and James Agar.

set." From other depositions, it appears that Agar had not pistols in Kilkenny, but having sent for Mr. John Barton, he borrowed his ; he also sent Mr. Mark Prim, who was a member of the Corporation of Callan, although residing in Kilkenny, to buy powder for the occasion. The following deposition of a spectator affords full particulars of the actual duel scene ; but it may be well to premise that Flood's second was Gervase Parker Bushe, Esq., of Kilfane, and that on the evidence of both the seconds at the trial, as to his conduct being fair and honourable throughout, Harry Flood was fully acquitted of the charge of murder :—

*"The Examination of John Walsh, of Green-street, within the Liberties of the City of Kilkenny, Cotner, sworn, &c. :—*

" Sayth That on Friday, the 25th August then last about 2 o'clock in the day, this Examinant was going from the City of Kilkenny to Sutton's Rath, on his lawful business, and as Examinant entered on Green's Bridge he saw Hen. Flood and Ger. Parker Bushe, Esqrs., walking up the Hill, above the house of William Butler, Farmer ; this Examinant went over the Bridge and there stopped for a little time, and as Examinant so stood there he saw Jas. Agar, Esq., and Mr. John Barton, walking together from Green-street over the Bridge and passed Examinant by, and walked together up the Hill, where he saw Mr. Flood and Bushe walk as aforesaid, and they were followed over the Bridge by Mr. Mark Prim, who overtook them on the Hill ; and this Examinant walked up the Hill after them, and was overtaken by Richard Roth, Esq., and his servant, both on horseback, the servant leading another horse with a saddle on his back ; and on the Hill Examinant saw said Roth come up to Mr. Agar, Barton and Prim, and they appeared to Examinant to be talking together ; and Mr. Agar took the Horse, which the servant lead, from the servant, and mounted him, and then Roth rode on before them towards Dunmore alone ; and said Agar and said servant on horseback, and said Barton and Prim on foot, went forward towards Dunmore, about 100 yards ; and Examinant heard either said Barton or Prim say : What business have we to go with them ? The other answered : It does not look well to see so great a crowd going—what have we to do with them at all ? And Examinant saw said Barton take a pistol out of his bosom, and said Prim take a pistol out of his bosom, and both delivered said pistols to the said servant before mentioned, which pistols Examinant saw said servant put into his bosom, and he rode on before Mr. Agar ; and then said Barton and Prim went into a cabin of the Factory ; and the said Agar rode by Examinant's side, who was on foot, for about 200 yards ; and said Agar turned about to Examinant and said—My honest friend, where do you live ? And Examinant answered—I live in Green-street ; and said Agar asked Examinant where he was going to, and Examinant answered he was going to Sutton's Rath to pack wool for his Brother ; said Agar rode forward to the house then building by Mr. Wheeler,<sup>1</sup> and asked a man who was there making

<sup>1</sup> Mountbrilliant House, now called Noremount, near Kilkenny.

mortar, which was the road to the Tryangle, which the man pointed out to him; and the said Agar rode on and Examinant followed pretty near him; and at the top of the hill, above the Bleach Green Gate, said Agar overtook said Roth and said servant; and they rode together down the Hill into the Tryangle; and Examinant followed them at a pretty close distance, until Examinant got over the little Bridge into the Tryangle, where Examinant (who then suspected that said Agar was going to fight) saw said Henry Flood and said Bushe, together on horseback; and they came into the plantation of the Tryangle to the ditch, where they were joined by Mr. Roth and Agar; and they all went into the thickedside of the ditch and alighted from their Horses, and gave their Horses to the said servant; and the Examinant saw the said Bushe and Flood near each other, and Mr. Bushe striking or dressing the flint of a pistol; and said Agar sat down near an Ash Tree, with his face to the river and his back to the road, and appeared to Examinant to be charging a pistol; says said Bush continued handling or doing something to the pistol, about a quarter of an hour; and then said servant came up to Examinant and insisted Examinant should quit the place that he was then in, and Examinant insisted he would not; says said servant said that Agar desired Examinant to quit the place, and to go and pack his wool, or words to that effect; and thereupon Examinant, who had laid himself down on a small hill, got up and walked toward the city about 100 yards, and then went through a ditch, and walked up sheltered by that ditch to near the place where he had before layen, screened by the ditch from their view; and Examinant again saw the said Mr. Bushe handling or doing something with the said pistol, which he discharged towards the ditch, and then put the muzzle of the pistol to his mouth and blew into it; says that immediately a number of passengers or Travellers going towards the said city appeared in sight, and said Flood and Agar crouched down and moved to the other side of the ditch, as Examinant apprehended, to avoid being seen by said Travellers; and when the said Travellers had passed by, the said Agar and Flood, in the like crouching manner, returned back to the said place they had before been, and saw said Flood go up to the said Agar and take the pistol out of his hand, draw the rammer, put it into the barrel of the pistol, and, to the Examinant's apprehension, measured the charge, and showed the measure to the said Agar, which Examinant apprehended was to show that the pistol was over-charged; and afterwards the said Bushe, Flood, Agar, and Roth, walked together, or near each other, to a large Ash tree, the said Bushe continuing to be doing something to said pistol; and the said Agar sat down with his back to the tree, and Examinant moved up in a direct line with them, and they continued there till three officers came in view, on foot, and passed forward, and soon after Mr. Henry Gale and Hen. Downes, on Horseback, came in view, and passed by towards the city, and soon afterwards several other passengers came in view, going towards the city: whereupon the said Roth went down from the said tree (said Agar all the time sitting), and as Examinant apprehends, called or becked to the said servant to bring up the horses, for that the said servant immediately came up to said Roth with the horses; and Roth mounted his horse and rode back to the said tree, followed by the said servant leading the other horses; and then the said Agar, Flood, and Bushe got on horseback and rode from that place up the hill that leads to the Pattern Hill; and Examinant also moved

under the shelter of the ditch until Examinant came up to West's Gate; and said Agar, Flood, Bushe, and Roth, and the said servant rode in at the said gate to the place where Examinant was aforesaid; and said servant said to Examinant, Are you not a damned fellow to come here after what has been sayd to you, or words to the effect; and many other words passed between the said Examinant and said servant, on the said servant insisting that Examinant should go away, and said he was upon his oath not to suffer anyone to be there; and, therefore, Examinant went out at the gate, and walked down by the other side of the ditch to a gap which led to the ground where said Gents then were; and the said Agar, Flood, Bushe, and Roth, rode forward about 50 yards where they alight, and gave their horses to the said servant, who came up with them to the said gate; and the Examinant saw the said Bushe measure by his feet 12 large steps, and Mr. Agar immediately placed himself at one end of said measurement in a hollow, and Mr. Flood placed himself at the other end of said measurement on a height; and the said Roth gave a case of pistols into the hands of Mr. Agar, and the said Bushe gave a case of pistols into the hands of Mr. Flood, and the said Roth and Bushe went up the side of a small hill near them; and after the said Agar and Flood had so stood about two minutes, and the said Agar had layed one of his pistols on the ground at his left side, the said Agar presented the other pistol, which he held in his left hand, to the best of Examinant's recollection, towards the said Flood, supporting the hand in which he held the pistol with his other hand; on which the said Bushe called out to said Agar to fire fair, whereupon the said Agar dropped the hand with which he supported the pistol as aforesaid, and stretched out the hand in which he held the pistol towards the said Flood, who then stood sideways, holding the pistol in his hand, not then extended, toward the said Agar; and the said Agar fired the said pistol with the muzzle extended toward the said Flood; and the said Flood stood in the posture aforesaid for a minute and a half before he extended his hand with the pistol offered towards the said Agar, the said Bushe and Roth remaining in the place to which they had gone as aforesaid; and after the space aforesaid, the said Mr. Agar stooped and reached for the other pistol he had layd on the ground; and, as he stood, sayd aloud—Fire, you scoundrel, Fire; on which the said Flood fired at the said Agar, who then stood erect with his face towards the said Flood, giving the said Agar, by that shot, a mortal wound over the left breast, which wound went through his body and came out behind between his shoulder blades; and said Agar immediately fell upon his side, and immediately a surgeon was called for; and the said servant rode off to bring one, leaving the other three horses in this Examinant's hands; and the said Examinant went to the place where the said Agar lay, and saw the said Flood standing over the body and bemoaning, and requested Examinant to go for a surgeon, but Examinant did not do so, but sat down on the ground, supporting the said Agar's head on Examinant's Breast, in which posture the said Agar expired."

The Chairman said, the tradition which he had heard, accounting for Flood's delay in firing, was, that he was in the act of taking a pinch of snuff when the word to fire was given by the seconds. Having the snuff between his



finger and thumb, he delayed to apply it to his nose before he fired his pistol. He had always heard the circumstance referred to as demonstrating the extreme coolness of the man at such a moment.

The Rev. W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, referring to Mr. Prendergast's communication at p. 150, *supra*, wrote :—

“Your correspondent was in error in describing Dr. Rawlinson, the non-juring Bishop, as a physician. He lived independently in London upon the property bequeathed to him by his father, Alderman Sir Thomas Rawlinson. He was born in London January 3, 1689–90, and died April 6, 1755. He was a member of St. John's College, Oxford, where he took the degrees of B. A. and M. A., and the degree of D. C. L. was conferred upon him by diploma in 1719.”

The Marquis of Kildare made the following communication with regard to a statement of Mr. Pinkerton's, at p. 100, vol. vi., second series :—

“In Mr. Pinkerton's paper on the O'Neill Pedigree, it is mentioned that Marie Stuart O'Donnell died a nun, and that her elder sister married the Earl of Fingall. Neither statement appears to be the fact, as Sir B. Burke, in his ‘Vicissitudes of Families,’ second series, p. 140, states that Lady Mary was married, and I find among the State Papers, that Lady Elizabeth, who was married to Mr. Plunkett, afterwards Earl of Fingall, was her aunt, and daughter of Henry, twelfth Earl of Kildare. See ‘Addenda’ to the ‘Earls of Kildare,’ pages 321 and 322. I only mention this to correct errors, and should be glad to know what proof there is that Lady Mary died a nun.”

Lord Kildare's note having been submitted to Mr. Pinkerton, that gentleman replied as follows :—

“My authority for stating Tyroconnell had a daughter named Elizabeth, who married the Earl of Fingall, is a note by Mr. Grenville, in the Catalogue of his Library, in the British Museum. I see now, however, in the ‘Addenda’ to the ‘Earls of Kildare,’ for which I thank you for drawing my attention, that Elizabeth was really the daughter of Henry the Twelfth Earl of Kildare.

“As it is almost three years since I wrote the article in question, I really cannot now find the reference for my saying that Mary Stuart O'Donnell died a nun. But I see by the ‘Vicissitudes of Families,’ to which you were kind enough to draw my attention, that Sir B. Burke tells a very different story, which, from the authorities he gives, I am bound to believe.”

The Rev. James Graves said that he wished to place on record the discovery in Waterford, somewhere in the “teens”

of the present century, of a very remarkable treasure trove. He had been informed by his friend, Mr. Thomas K. Lynn, of Innyard, Fethard, Co. Wexford, that the late Mr. Henry Ivie, of Waterford, living at No. 21, Henrietta-street, in that city, was one day told by the servant, who had been sent to draw beer in the cellar of the house, that something was shining in the ground where the drop fell from the cock of the beer-barrel. He put the servant off with some careless remark, but soon went to the cellar, and making search, found a concealed treasure, consisting of chalices, cups, crosses, reliquaries, chains, rings, &c., of silver and gold, which he soon after took to London and sold, except some rings which were in the possession of his daughter, mother to the wife of Dr. Cavet, of Waterford. My informant saw the large thumb-rings set with glass or pebble, the reliquaries, and a chain, but he did not see the chalices: a lady who saw all, told him they were worth £10,000. Coins both of gold and silver, enclosed in a small barrel, about the size of a red herring barrel, were found at the same time, and place.

Mr. Graves added, that his curiosity having been excited by Mr. Lynn's account of the find, he had written for further information to Dr. Cavet, of Waterford, who had most zealously seconded his wishes, and forwarded a statement which Mrs. Cavet, who was, as already stated, a granddaughter of the finder of the treasure, had kindly committed to paper, as far as her recollection extended, and which, by Dr. Cavet's permission, was here printed:—

“The discovery of gold and silver coins, and ancient Roman Catholic Church ornaments, in my father's cellars, in Henrietta-street, is so far back, that I cannot remember either the date, or the exact moment of their being brought to light.

“I can only describe three articles with any approach to correctness. One, a gold reliquary, as large as an old-fashioned watch, which opened completely, one side coming out from a groove; the deep side had finely raised figures—the subject I cannot remember. The reverse side, which came off like a cover, was richly encrusted with gems, garnets, emeralds, and small diamonds. The reliquary was suspended to a massive gold chain, about six inches in length. The others were, a gold locket set with blue sapphires and pearls, which, when first seen, had a painting on one side; but this faded at once on meeting the outer air. The last was a small, but very thick gold book, with rubies, emeralds, and pearls ornamenting the sides, having a cavity in the centre, supposed to hold a

portion of the true cross. There were many curious rings and seals, but of these I can give no description.

“ H. CAVET.

“ *Waterford, November 28, 1868.*”

In the letter accompanying Mrs. Cavet's statement, Dr. Cavet said:—

“ I may add to my wife's account of the reliquaries, that Mr. Ivie sold, or disposed of the greater part of them. Some rings, or articles of that nature, were in the family when I first knew them, and which I have seen. These, I think, were taken by my mother-in-law to Paris, where she died some years ago. What became of them I know not.

“ I have much pleasure in giving you what information I can, and am only sorry that it is not more precise.”

Having submitted Mrs. Cavet's statement to Mr. Lynn, he had received the following confirmatory note from the latter:—

“ I return you Mrs. Cavet's description. She gives, to my remembrance, a correct account—her memory is better than mine; she had seen them very often, and handled them, which was not so with me, as they were locked in a box with glass cover. I forget all about the precious stones; her description of the reliquary is right, as it made an impression on my memory; the raised figures represented the Crucifixion. One ring was a ‘ puzzle ring ’ of three parts, instead of the modern way of four parts.”

Mr. Graves said it was much to be regretted that this most interesting discovery had been made at a time when only the intrinsic value of the precious metals and gems were taken into account. The archæological value of the hoard could scarcely be appreciated. Mr. Lynn had described to him the form of several of the rings as having large oval enamelled bezels, and others as being thumb-rings. These evidently were abbots', or bishops' rings: the short portion of a gold chain attached to the reliquary was very massive. There could be little doubt that this treasure had been concealed at the period of the suppression of the monasteries.

The following papers were contributed :—

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ON MERCHANTS' TOKENS STRUCK IN THE TOWNS OF  
CARLOW, BAGNALSTOWN AND TULLOW.

BY ROBERT MALCOMSON, ESQ., M.A.

AT the suggestion of the Rev. James Graves, the zealous and indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the Society, the writer's attention was originally directed to the subject of the Tradesmen's Tokens issued in the town and county of Carlow during the latter half of the seventeenth century; and now, with the kind and valued aid of Dr. Aquilla Smith—who is pre-eminently *the* authority on these matters—and of other correspondents and friends, I believe I am enabled to lay before the Society all that is known of this species of local coinage. In the obliging communication with which I was favoured, the Honorary Secretary too flatteringly desired that I should attempt for Carlow what Mr. Prim had done for Kilkenny, the Rev. Samuel Hayman for Youghal, and Mr. John Davis White for Cashel, in the matter of these tokens, and I was referred to any Corporation books which might exist as fertile sources of information as to the strikers of these coins. I regret, however, to say that the records of the ancient borough town of Carlow have disappeared with the Corporation itself, and my inquiries upon this head have failed to discover any written muniments of that body prior to the year 1733, with the exception of copies of one or two of the Royal Charters granted to the town, and to which reference is hereafter made. Owing to the want of these records, the information as to the individuals who issued tokens in Carlow is probably more scanty than it might otherwise have been; and besides, it is to be borne in mind that although in more distant ages the town of "Catherlough" surpassed the cities of Kilkenny and Youghal in importance, as appears from the fact that the King's Exchequer was established here in the reign of Edward III., yet during the period in which this species of private or local coinage was adopted—a period which would appear almost exclusively to be confined to the years between 1652 and 1670—it could not boast

of the commercial wealth or extent of its neighbour, "the faire citie," or the more distant seaport of Youghal, as the numbers and variety of these very tokens issued in the latter places sufficiently indicate. Following, however, in the track of the gentlemen alluded to, I must refer the reader for the general history of the Irish Tradesmen's Tokens to the brief but comprehensive paper on that subject by Dr. Smith, which was communicated to the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and published in its "Transactions" (vol. ii., pp. 155-159), in 1852. The Catalogues, original and supplementary, of these tokens laid before the Royal Irish Academy by the same gentleman in the years 1849 and 1853, respectively, and published in the "Proceedings" of the body, embracing every specimen that research or inquiry could discover, and comprising to the moment of their publication a grand total of 624 specimens, must form, as it were, the storehouse to which every local or special inquirer shall have access for information. These lists give the names of five issuers of tokens in the town of Carlow—one in "Tullowe," and another in "Newtown Bagnell" (now called Bagnalstown), making in all seven for the county of Carlow. As only one of these tokens is dated, it is impossible to arrange them chronologically with any degree of certainty, and we must, therefore, content ourselves with their enumeration as supplied by Dr. Smith in a list specially contributed for the purpose of this paper, giving from the coins themselves the legend on the obverse in the first instance, with the bearing in the field between parentheses, then the legend and the bearing in the field of the reverse, and lastly, in italics, the present locality of the coins.

They are as follow:—

*Carlow Town.*

1. JOHN MASTERS 1657 (1<sup>D</sup>)  
IN CARTHELOUGH (a Bull)

*Mr. R. Malcomson.*

2. THOMAS MOORE OF (a Stag)  
CARLO POSTMASTER (1<sup>D</sup>)

*Dr. A. Smith.*

3. THO. REYNALDS (a Lion Rampant between  
three escallops)  
OF CARLOW TANER (a cross + over 1<sup>d</sup>.)

*Dr. A. Smith.*

4. EDWARD RENOLDS (a Lion rampant)  
OF CARLO MARCHANT (1<sup>d</sup>.)

*Mr. R. Malcomsom.*

5. GARRETT QVIGLEY (a Harp)  
OF CARLO MARCH:D (G. Q. 1<sup>d</sup>.)

*Dr. A. Smith.*

*Mr. Frederick Haughton.*

*Bagnalstown.*

6. WALTER KARNEY (an Anchor)  
NEWTOWN BAGNALL (W K conjoined)

*Royal Irish Academy.*

*Tullow.*

7. RICH BVRCHALL (St. George and the Dragon)  
OF TVLLOWE (R<sup>B</sup> D).

*Mr. Frederick Haughton.*

I shall now proceed with my notices of the tokens in the order above given.<sup>1</sup>

1. JOHN MASTERS.—Although we have no municipal



record to verify the fact, yet we find from a casual passage in a work hereafter quoted, that John Masters, within

<sup>1</sup> The woodcuts which illustrate this paper are presented by Mr. Malcomson.—Ed.

three years from the date on this token—namely, in 1660, filled the responsible office of portrieve of the borough of Carlow. The town had originally obtained certain corporate rights and privileges in the reign of King John, by a grant from William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, but was more fully incorporated by a Charter of James I., under Letters Patent, dated the 19th of April, in the eleventh year of the reign of that monarch (1614), which ordained “that within the said borough of Carlow there be one body corporate and politique, consisting of one portrieve, twelve free burgesses, and the commonalty;” John Kirton, “gentleman,” was constituted the first and modern portrieve, to continue in office until the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, next after the date of the Charter; and it was provided that the appointment should be annual and elective in the portrieve and free burgesses, who should every year elect one of the more discreet persons of the free burgesses to exercise the office. From a volume published in 1713 ( “Dublin, Samuel Fuller, at the Globe, in Meath-street” ), entitled, “A Compendious View of some sufferings of the people, called Quakers, both in person and substance in the Kingdom of Ireland, from the year 1655 to the end of the reign of King George the First,” I make the following extract:—

“As one of the manifold examples of their grievous sufferings under Oliver Cromwell and the reign of King Charles II., on account of their conscientious dissent from other religious denominations in sundry particulars, as not meeting to worship with them, not paying tythes, &c., nor Priest’s maintenance, nor towards the repair of Parish Worship-houses, not swearing upon any account, not using hat-honour, nor observing Holy days so called.

“*Catherlough County.*

“1660. *Thomas Weston, Thomas Chaunders, Henry Ross*, and nine more Friends, for meeting together in the Fear of the Lord, in *Catherlough*, were apprehended by order of *John Masters*, present Portgreve, and without Examination or Mittimus, committed to Prison till the next Sessions, and then indicted, and by the jury found not guilty; yet, on pretence of Fees, were kept Prisoners several months, and an order was obtained from the chief Rulers (the Lords Justices) of the nation for their Enlargement and shewed to the County-Justices, who refused to release Friends. And at the following Assizes, Friends were brought before Judge *Alexander*, who reviled them, calling them *Rogues, Rascals, Villains*, &c. (which is well

known to their neighbours that they are no such persons, being honest and industrious men), and caused a Bill of Indictment to be drawn up against them, and (for meeting together as aforesaid to worship God) were by the said Judge fined 320*l*."

In 1669, this evidently thriving burgess, John Masters, resided "within ye gate," as we find his name returned in that district of the town (now representing Dublin-street), in a schedule to an applotment of vestry cess, made on the 13th October, 1669, and in which he is assessed at the sum of 10*s*., being the highest amount charged upon any individual in the list; Mr. Robert Brown, in Tullow-street, rating next at 9*s*.

After this date, we lose sight of the name, save that in a fee-farm grant, dated the 29th of September, 1712, from Henry Earl of Thomond to Richard Schooly, of certain premises on the west side of Dublin-street, we find mention as a boundary of one "Mistress Masters, her plot;" and if this lady were the widow or descendant of John Masters, the striker of the token, and succeeded her husband or father in his residence, I fancy his habitation "within ye gate," can be identified as having existed on or near the spot now occupied by the house and concerns of Dr. O'Meara.

This token, which is of brass, weighing about 25 grains, is the only one of the Carlow issue which bears a date. I presume it to have been one of the earliest in the series, though it is not now the most rare.

2. THOMAS MOORE.—The legend on the token comprises all that is known of the history of the individual, "Thomas Moore of Carlo Postmaster." The occupation was, no



doubt, very different from that of the postmaster of the present or recent days, as partaking of the character of post-horse proprietor as well as of the official transmitter



of letters. Speaking of the Post-office in England at the period under review, Lord Macaulay tells us:—

“A rude and imperfect establishment of posts for the conveyance of letters had been set up by Charles I., and had been swept away by the Civil War. Under the Commonwealth, the design was renewed. At the Restoration, the proceeds of the Post-office, after all expenses had been paid, were settled on the Duke of York. On most lines of road the mails went out and came in on alternate days. In Cornwall, in the fens of Lincolnshire, and among the hills and lakes of Cumberland, letters were received only once a week. During a Royal progress, a daily post was dispatched from the capital to the place where the Court sojourned. There was also daily communication between London and the Downs; and the same privilege was extended to Tunbridge Wells and Bath at the seasons when those places were crowded by the great. The bags were carried on horse-back day and night, at the rate of about five miles an hour. The revenue of this establishment was not derived solely from the charge for the transmission of letters. The Post-office alone was entitled to furnish post-horses, and from the care with which this monopoly was guarded, we may infer that it was found profitable. If, indeed, a traveller had waited half an hour without being supplied, he might hire a horse wherever he could.”

The name of Thomas Moore does not appear in the vestry assessment of 1669, on which, however, we find a “John Moore” residing “without ye gate,” and a “Peter Moore,” an inhabitant of Tullow-street.

The device of a stag on this token was probably an armorial bearing. The only specimen of this token which has come to our knowledge is in the cabinet of Dr. A. Smith, by whom the drawing from which our wood-cut is taken was made. The weight is 47 grains.

The following are instances of Irish tokens issued by “Postmasters”:—

MATTHEW BETHELL,

RICHARD HARRISON,

ABRAHAM VAUGHAN, POST

POSTM<sup>S</sup>TR IN ANTRIM, 1671.

BE(LT<sup>V</sup>RB)AT, POSTMR.

MASTER OF YAVGHALL.

3 & 4. THOMAS REYNALDS and EDWARD RENOLDS. I classify these individuals as belonging to the same family,



as well from the similarity of the name as of the arms on the obverse of both tokens—a lion rampant.

Of Thomas Reynalds I have no information beyond what his token conveys, that he followed the business of tanner, a trade which, until a very recent period, was a lucrative and important one in the town of Carlow.

On the assessment of 1669, already referred to, we find, however, the name of Edward Reynolds in the Tullow-street district. In 1675, King Charles II. granted a new charter to the borough of Catherlough, in which His Majesty appointed Robert Browne, Esq., to be sovereign, and in which he named "Edward Reynolds, gentleman," in company with Sir John Povey, Knight, Chief Justice of the Court of Chief Place in the Kingdom of Ireland, Sir William Temple, Bart., John Nicholas, Esq., Robert Browne, Esq., John Warren, Esq., Robert Curtis, Michael Heade, gent., Samuel Blackshaw, gent., Sir Thomas Butler, Bart., Sir John Davellier, Knight, Henry Berkeley, Esq., and John Tench, gent., to be the first and modern twelve free burgesses of the said borough, Mr. Reynolds ranking fifth on the list.

At the period of the granting of this new charter, Mr. Reynolds filled the office of deputy-portrieve under the existing charter of James I. ; and he was also at the same time one of the churchwardens of the parish of Carlow, his colleague in that office being Mr. Robert Browne, both of whom appear about this time, and for some years subsequently to have been active members of the vestry, and to have taken a prominent interest in parochial, as we presume they also did, in municipal matters. Mr. Reynolds succeeded Mr. Browne as sovereign of the borough. His last recorded attendance at vestry was on the 26th of April, 1686 ; and as we miss his name from "An Account of those that hath seats in Church of Carlo, and paid their money for, to Samuel Keeler and Henry Carter, Churchwardens for the Parish in the year 1694," but find therein the name of "Mrs. Mary Reynolds" (probably his widow), we presume him to have died in the interval between the years 1686 and 1694. These latter circumstances we gather from a transcript or "Copy of the Vestry Book of the united Parishes of Carlow and Killeslin from 5 April, 1675, to 31 January, 1715," in the Jackson collection now deposited in the Mechanics' Institute, Carlow.

Both these tokens are of brass ; that of Thomas Reynolds weighs 31 grains, and specimens of it are in the cabinet of Dr. A. Smith, and in the hands of the writer. Edward Renolds' token weighs 42 grains, according to a specimen also with the writer.

5. GARRETT QUIGLEY. This, the last in the series of the tokens of our county town, is also the most common. No less than three specimens are found in the cabinet of



Mr. Frederick Haughton, who informs the writer that "curiously enough they are all three from a different die, although after the same pattern ; the number of strings in the harp vary in each."

When James II. came to the throne, he followed the example of his royal predecessors, James I. and Charles II., in granting charters to various towns in Ireland. Carlow did not escape his favour in this respect. Having first disposed of the old charters and the franchises, liberties and privileges enjoyed thereunder ("all of which, by judgment of his Court of Exchequer in Ireland, were seized into his hand") ; by a new charter, dated the 24th day of February, 1689, he incorporated the borough very much upon the old model, but with an entirely different cast of characters. He appointed "Garrett Quigley, merchant," to be the first and modern sovereign of the borough, John Quigley (probably a near relative of the sovereign) was also nominated in the charter Town Clerk for life.

The burgesses, now increased to the number of 24, were named as follow:—

"Sir Laurence Esmond, Bart; Henry Berkeley, Esq.; John Warren, Esq.; Pierce Bryan, Esq.; Major Charles Cavanagh, Insigne Callaghane M'Callaghan, Francis Eustace, Esq.; John Baggott, Esq.; Patrick Walle, Esq.; Hubert Kelly, Esq.; Marcus Baggott, Esq.; Edmond Jones, Esq.; William Cooke, Esq.; Oliver Grace, Esq.; John Dwyer, Esq.; John Grace, gent.; Pierce Byrne, gent.; Edmond Dwyer, apothecary; John Browne, gent.; Edmond Carrell, merchant; Thomas Keegan, merchant; Henry Webber, merchant; Thomas Chandlers, nayler, and Samuel Barrett, gent."

The Quigleys were of a Munster stock, hailing from the county of Tipperary. "GARRET QUIGLEY IN LISMALIN 1659" is the inscription on a token, quoted in Dr. A. Smith's Catalogue, communicated to the Royal Irish Academy in 1849. Whether this was the same individual as "GARRETT QUIGLEY OF CARLO MARCH<sup>D</sup>." can only be matter of conjecture; but if he emigrated from Lismalin and settled here, he must have done so prior to 1669, as in the applotment for vestry cess for that year, already quoted, we find the name of Garrett Quigley third upon the list. He appears to have resided in Dublin-street; and from the comparative amount of his assessment, we judge him to have occupied one of the best positions in that locality; and, moreover, as the names seem to have been enumerated in that list neither alphabetically nor according to numerical assessment, but, as I imagine, in consecutive order in the different streets, we conclude that Garrett Quigley's house was situated at or in close proximity to that part of Dublin-street now known as the Market Cross.

As the acts of that reformed corporation have not come down to us, we are unable to record any of the public services which Mr. Quigley may have rendered to his gracious Sovereign as chief magistrate of his adopted town; but tradition has it that, "finding the castle of Carlow in ruins since Oliver's time, he took away the oak timber, and with it roofed the houses at the Market Cross of Carlow." Our informant upon this point, Mr. Frederick Haughton, confirms the rumour by the assurance that in his own day he remembers certain of the houses in that locality to have been re-roofed, and in every instance the timber of the old roofs was of fine oak.

On the accession of William III., the old corporation was restored. *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. The times were changed—the tables turned. The spoliator of the castle became the restorer of the church of Carlow. At a vestry held for the parish of Carlow, on Sunday, the 21st of May, 1693, we find it recorded that "it was unanimously agreed upon by the minister, churchwardens, and parishioners, that thirty pounds be forthwith applotted, and levied on the parish at large for the present repayre

of the church, and such other necessarys as shall be requisite ;” and there is appended to the act of vestry the following note:—“Ten pounds of Mr. Quigley is included in the above summe of thirty pounds.” And at the Easter vestry, in 1694, the receipt of the assessment is accounted for, and it is recorded that “of the £30 so applotted, £20 has been received of the parish at large, and £10 from Mr. Garrett Quigley,” so that we find “our respected townsman,” as the journalist of the day no doubt would style him, making retribution for the dilapidation of the castle (whether as a voluntary or an enforced convert to the ruling powers, we are unable to say) by a munificent contribution towards the “repayre of the church.”

The name and family of Garrett Quigley have long disappeared from Carlow. His little tokens, possibly originally issued during the Commonwealth, are, if so, appropriate memorials of his career. The device of a harp, which they bear upon the obverse, might reasonably be regarded as the Irish portion of the arms of the Protectorate; while in the reign of Charles II., and more particularly in that of James II., it might be taken as the significant emblem of Hibernian nationality. As already stated, these tokens are common, and specimens are in the hands of Dr. A. Smith, Mr. Frederick Haughton, and the writer. The material is copper, and the average weight 32 grains.

6. OF WALTER KARNEY, of “NEWTOWN BAGNALL,” the issuer of the next token, I have gained no intelligence. “*William Karney, gent.,*” was one of the 28 burgesses



named in the charter granted by King James II. to Old Leighlin, on the 4th July, 1688. The name is still extant in the neighbourhood. The woodcut has been engraved from a drawing by Dr. Smith from a specimen in the Royal Irish Academy. The token is of copper, and weighs 16 grains.

7. RICHARD BURCHALL of “TULLOWE” concludes the

notice of these county Carlow tokens. My inquiries have failed to discover any particulars of the individuals who struck them.



The token is in the cabinet of Frederick Haughton, Esq., of Levitstown, county Kildare. It is of copper, weighing 33 grains.

I may add that search has been made in vain in the Prerogative Court, Dublin, and the District Registry of the Probate Court at Kilkenny (whither the wills and administrations of the diocese of Leighlin were transferred in 1858), for any testamentary documents calculated to identify the individual strikers of our tokens, or elucidate their history or connexions.

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#### ON TWO OGHAM INSCRIBED STONES FROM THE COUNTY OF CORK.

BY RICHARD R. BRASH, ESQ., M. R. I. A.

THIS remarkable monument was found in a killeen at Leades, on the townland of Deelish, and parish of Aghabulloge, by Mr. Paul Horgan, of Carrigagully, in the year 1826. The finder was unaware of the nature of the markings on it, but being struck with its peculiar coffin shape, it was preserved from injury until seen by Mr. Windele, who first ascertained it to bear an Ogham inscription. Mr. Horgan had a peculiar taste for oddly-shaped stones, of which he had a remarkable collection. On Mr. Windele's representation he presented it to the Museum of the Royal Cork Institution in 1835. The actual place where the stone was found is known as Killbereheret, and the whole district round it abounds with cromleacs, stone circles, pillar stones, raths, and holy wells.

In the course of removal, a flake was unfortunately knocked off one of the angles: this was preserved by the late Mr. Abraham Abell, who was then Librarian, with the intention of having it cemented on, but this having never



Ogham Stone preserved in the Royal Cork Institution.

been done, the piece which bore a portion of the inscription has disappeared. The stone is at present 3' 2½" in height, 11" by 9" at bottom, and 13" by 8½" at the widest part, and 4" by 7½" at the top; it is of a hard, fine-grained clay slate, of a buff colour, and is faithfully represented by

the accompanying woodcuts, engraved from a drawing by Mr. George M. Atkinson.<sup>1</sup>

The first inscription commences on the left angle, *close* to the bottom, and runs round the head, finishing at the right hand angle of the top. Another, and a different inscription, is to be found on the right hand angle, commencing within 4" of the bottom, running to the top, and there being not room enough at the side to complete it, three vowel dots of the last letter are cut on the lateral angle of the top, at the same side. With a few exceptions, the inscription is in fair preservation, the letters being broadly cut, as if with a rather blunt punching instrument. It is quite evident that this stone was longer: invariably a portion of the lower end is left uninscribed, in order to admit of being fixed in the earth: in the present instance we have the inscription at one angle commencing within an inch of the bottom. The inference is, that a portion of this end was knocked off for the convenience of carriage. Whether this was done by Mr. Horgan when he removed the stone from where it was found to his own residence, a distance of three miles, or whether to prepare it for an easy transit to Cork, I cannot now determine: more probably the former, as Mr. Windele, after once having seen

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Atkinson accompanied the drawing by the following observations.—Ed.

"I forward a drawing of the curious Ogham stone preserved in the Royal Institution Museum, Cork. I must refer the members to Mr. Braah for a reading and interpretation of its inscription; but I beg to direct attention to the coffin or boat-like shape of this monument, and the strange fact of the under side being quite smooth, as if it had been drawn along the ground. This smoothness is remarkable; some Ogham stones are smoothed all over, as that preserved in the Museum of Trinity College, figured by Dr. Todd; one at Ardmore also; and several others.

"The right hand inscription shows two very distinct methods used in engraving Ogham writing. I have observed when drawing Oghams, that three very different methods were employed by the Ogham "smiths;" and two of these methods appear frequently on one stone.

"The first, and perhaps the oldest, is a large and broad mark, as if executed with

a blunt kind of punching instrument, giving section, No. 1.

The second is sharp and fine, well cut, and looks as if it had been rubbed with a point and water afterwards, see section No. 2. The third is a very fine scored mark, as if scratched, as shown in No. 3.

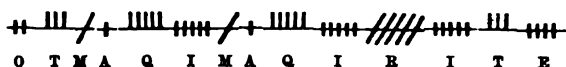
The inscriptions on this stone are of the first type, with the exception of letters 3 and 4, first stroke of 5, and middle point of 6, right hand inscription, which I think are of the second type, and it is a question whether they belong to the original inscription or not.

"The top, or head of the stone shows an ingenious method of getting out of the difficulty caused by the space along the upper edge of the stone proving insufficient for the inscription—the remaining letters being continued down the end and slope, as shown in the illustration."





the monument, would doubtless have prevented any injury to it. The inscription on the left angle reads as follows:—


  
 O T M A Q I M A Q I R I T E

This reading plainly gives "Ot maqi maqi Rit  ," i. e. "Ot, the son of Mac Rit  ."

The name of the individual commemorated is a very singular one—"Ot," being of a type found in our Bardic histories as "Ir," "Un," "Ni"—all names of but two letters: the frequent occurrence of names of this type on Ogham monuments is a strong evidence of their antiquity. That the above letters form the proper name "Ot," we have corroborative evidence in the Tullig inscription, now in the Royal Cork Institution, in which we have the same name spelled with a double r; we have it also entering into the composition of another proper name, "*Ottin*," on a stone at Lomanach, county of Kerry. Between the r and m there is a space of 4½ inches without any trace of a letter, or any appearance of injury to the stone; we have then the letters M A Q I, forming the well known word "*Maqi*," the genitive case of "Mac," a son. Now, the scores forming the m and A, and the first score of the Q, have a remarkably recent appearance, as if rubbed deeply in with a sharp instrument, and not having the rough, shallow, punched aspect of all the other letters. It has been suggested that some person has tampered with this inscription: if by this is meant, that these scores were additions to it, or alterations of it, I must say that I think there are no grounds for such an insinuation. In the first place it would have been made by some person having a direct interest in doing so, the object being to produce a certain reading of it; now, I am not aware of any person ever having published any reading of this inscription. I have looked through Mr. Windle's papers, and he has not done so. I can say the same of the Rev. Matthew Horgan; and as to Mr. Abell, though an enthusiastic Ogham hunter, he never attempted to read one in his life. I know of no other person having

access to this monument who would have the knowledge requisite to make these additions, if such they are ; for these fresh scores make the inscription to read consistently, which it would not do without them. My own opinion is, that the scores in question were much worn and obliterated—more so than the rest—and that some zealous individual, fearing they might be entirely lost, sharpened them up. Now, there is internal evidence in the inscription that these letters must have originally existed in that precise spot ; for, between the second and the fifth letters there is a space of  $7\frac{1}{2}$ '' ; and, looking at the crowded state of the stone, with the letters quite thick and close, it is quite evident that such a space was not left bare, or without letters : again, the inscription, as it now stands, is a consistent one, and the word which the fresh-cut letters assist in forming is to be found on other monuments, and used in exactly the same formula as in the present instance. Thus, on the Dunmore stone, county of Kerry, we have "Erc maqi maqi Erci as ;" and again, on No. 11, in the Royal Irish Academy Collection, we have "Nocati maqi maqi Ret," and which last is, in fact, the very same inscription, the first proper name in each only excepted.

The patronymic "Rite" is a very usual one on these monuments: we have it in various forms, as "Rité," and "Ret," in the above examples ; we have it also as "Rett" on the Cahernagat stone, and as "Ritti" on stones at Ballinrannig, and Greenhill. We must therefore conclude that the place of these fresh-rubbed scores must have been originally occupied by their equivalents, which had been partially obliterated, and which were thus restored by some injudicious person.<sup>1</sup>

It may be considered that this inscription should have been read round the top, and down the opposite angle ; and I confess it was the first impression made upon my mind by the aspect of the stone : a careful examination, however, obliged me to change my mind from difficulties arising. On the top front angle are four vowel dots form-

<sup>1</sup> I have before stated that a spawl was knocked off this stone in its transit ; this was on the top where the letter *r* was, two

of the scores of which were damaged, as shown by the dotted marks.

ing the letter E, the concluding letter of "*Rité*:" following down the right angle there are two vowel dots, equidistant with the four on the top; if read continuously these six vowel dots could not be divided, and the sense of the inscription would be lost, added to which, on a lateral angle on the top of the stone there are three distinct, well formed vowel dots. What would become of these if the whole be read as one inscription continuously? These vowel marks would not work in, and in such a case why should they be put on this lateral angle?

Again, my attempts to read it continuously were very unsatisfactory; I was, therefore, compelled to read the opposite angle from the bottom upwards, the last letter, the vowel I, being rendered complete by taking in the three vowel dots on the lateral top angle, as follows:—



Which I read as follows:—"Coi [rthe] Coribiri," i. e. "Pillar stone of Coribiri."

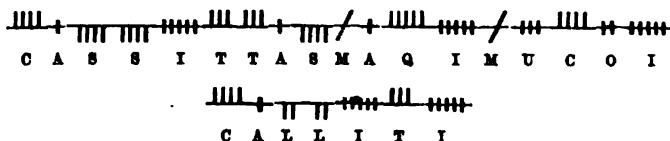
The letters "coi" I take to be the Oghamic initials of "coirthe" or "cairthe," used to designate a sepulchral "dallan" or pillar. Thus Duald Mac Fírbis designates the monumental stone of Dathi, A. D. 405, the "Cairthe Dearg," or "red pillar stone." In a poem introductory to the *Leabhar-na-g-Ceart*, as found in the Book of Lismore, fol. 138, and which is an address by the bard Dubh-da-Tuath, to Aodh O'Neill, he wishes that the king may live for ever like a pillar stone (*cairrte cloc*).

The name "Coribiri" is strange to our Gaedhelic nomenclature, but perfectly consistent with that type found on our Ogham pillars, upon which we find such names as *Togittac*, *Mucotuc*, *Mudossa*, *Cunagus*, *Forarti*, *Colabot*, &c. It is possible that others may attempt a more elaborate reading of this inscription, and may transpose and subdivide the letters into words, which may be made to bear a different rendering: the extraordinary flexibility of our old language eminently favours such attempts.

I am, however, satisfied to submit mine to the judg-

ment of those learned in Oghamic lore, it having at least this merit, that it is based upon the actual letters of the inscription, without any alteration or omission whatsoever, and that it is consistent with the formula usually found on these inscriptions. The custom of making one stone the memorial of more than one individual was very prevalent as regards these monuments, of which we have numerous examples, as No. 11 of the Royal Irish Academy collection, and on the stones at Tullig, Roovesmore, Ballinraunig, &c.

The next Ogham inscribed stone I have to notice was found at Gurrane, county of Cork. This monument was found in a Rath called Lisheenagreine, on the townland of Gurrane, and parish of Templemartin, county of Cork, and one quarter of a mile north of the parish church. My first information of its existence was received from the Rev. John Lyons, C. C., Newcestown, Enniskeane, who informed me that a stone, bearing marks, which he believed to be Oghams, was seen by him, in the locality above named. Being convinced, from Mr. Lyons' description, that it was a veritable Ogham inscription, I took the earliest opportunity of visiting the spot, which I did on December 16th, 1868, and found it to be a rough, irregular-shaped flag, of hard clay slate, the almost universal material of those monuments, being in length 5' 10"; and 15" by 8" in the centre, but of lesser dimensions at either end. The inscription commences as usual on the left angle, at 2' 6" from the bottom, and runs round the head, and down the opposite angle on the same face. The angles are very irregular, and show several flakes off, to the injury of the characters, particularly the vowels; the perfect letters are broadly and deeply cut, and in their original state were executed with care.


  
C A S S I T T A S M A Q I M U C O I
   
C A L L I T I

It reads "Cassitt as Maqi Mucoi Calliti, i. e. Cassit

here, the son of the Swineherd Calliti." This is a very interesting inscription ; it gives us two new names of that remarkable type generally found on these monuments.

We have first the proper name "Cassitt" spelled with that profusion of consonants so often found in these inscriptions ; the vowel  $\Delta$  between c and s has been lost, owing to a flake off the angle, but from the size of the space, the analogy of the rest of the letters, and the fact that the missing letter must have been a vowel, I am warranted in restoring it as I have done. I have not met with this name in any of our indices of ancient names or genealogies ; it may probably have been by other investigators. We have some names akin to it, as the well known one of Cormac Cas, A. D. 170 ; and Caisin, scribe of Lusca, who died A. D. 695. (Ann. 4 Mast.) The  $\Delta$  in "as" is doubtful from the abrasion of the angle, but the presence of the letter s, which has no connexion with the letters following, and which must have been connected with the letters preceding it, and the fact, that there is exactly space for the  $\Delta$  between the last t of the proper name and the s, combined with the fact, that I have met with the word "as" in the same position on several other Ogham inscriptions, warrants me in restoring it as I have done. The word "as," according to our dictionaries, signifies "it is," and which may be rendered "here," or "here lies," "here rests."

We have then the usual word "maqi," the genitive case of "mac," a son. This word is perfect, excepting the lower half of the first letter m, which is much injured. We have then the word "mucoi," so frequently met with in these inscriptions, the literal meaning of which is a swineherd, and is given in our Gaedhelic dictionaries as "mucaidhe, S.M., a swineherd," from "muc," a boar, pig, &c., &c. We find it used on these monuments as a proper name. These animal names are common with ourselves, as Fox, Lyon, Bull, Hare, Wolf, &c. ; and we also find it as a tribe name, and used to designate the calling or occupation of the deceased, as it does in the present instance. We are not to consider this a term of opprobrium : in ancient times it appears to have been quite the contrary, when the wealth of the Gaedhel consisted of herds of cattle, sheep,

and pigs. From numerous allusions in our ancient MSS., the latter animal seems to have been held in great estimation, and in the enumeration of the riches of a wealthy "brughaid," or farmer, the swine occupied a prominent place. Thus we find it forming a principal item in the tributes paid by the territorial chiefs to their provincial kings, as set forth in the "Leabhar-na-g-Ceart," or "Book of Rights." For example, among the tributes due to the King of Cashel are mentioned the following—

"Ten hundred cows, and ten hundred hogs from the Muscraidhe."

"Ten hundred cows, and ten hundred hogs from Ciarraidhe Luachra."

"Two thousand hogs, and a thousand cows from the Deise." (Book of Rights, p. 43.)

The provincial kings and chiefs had also special officers set over their flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle and swine: thus we are informed in the above authority that "Durdru" was the "Mucadhe" or swineherd of the "King of Ele," and "Cularan," the swineherd of the "King of Muscraidhe."

The term "mucaidhe," or its Ogham equivalent, "mucoi," is analogous to that of "bo airech," which we frequently meet with in Irish MSS., and which literally means a man wealthy in cows, from "bo," a cow, and "airech," a term of distinction.

I have found this name, or designation, or tribe name—for it is used in each of these senses—on twelve different monuments. The concluding name, "Calliti," I have not been able to identify, unless we should consider it to be a form of "Cailte," a name well known in our mythic history, as well as in early historic times, and which I am greatly inclined to think it is.

Mr. Lyons informs me that this stone was found on the site of the rath by a farmer named Crowley, about seventeen years since. While earthing potatoes, his spade struck the flag, then lying about a foot below the surface; he dug round it and removed it to the gripe of the adjoining ditch, where it fortunately lay without being broken up, as hundreds of these remarkable and interesting monuments have been from time to time. It appears that the rath

had been levelled some few years previously, by a tenant named Doyle, and the people aver that "neither father nor son had luck nor grace afterwards." I am much indebted to the Rev. John Lyons for his kindness and courtesy in supplying me with all necessary information, not only in this case, but also with respect to the numerous ancient monuments found in his locality. It would be most desirable if this inscription could be removed from its present exposed position to a place of safety.

Since writing the above, I have received a communication from the reverend gentleman already named, who, at my suggestion, commenced a series of excavations on the site of the erased rath where the stone was found, as I hinted to him the probability of its having been a covering stone of a Souterrain: he writes as follows: "I commenced excavations adjoining the stone. We first came on a passage about 8 feet in length, which was half closed with earth; we did not clear it out at the south end, but finding a narrow passage, or channel, at the north end, I crept into it, and found a chamber 16 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet high, quite empty; it was excavated like a gravel pit, without any masonry excepting at the narrow end, which ran in an eastern direction, but was built with stone, and roofed over with large flags, which I examined, but found no trace of Oghams on *the under side* of them: we did not clear the surface on the top. We cleared the passage inside to within 6 or 8 feet of where the stone (Ogham) was found, as it ran in that direction, so that the inscribed stone must have been connected with the cave. We suspended our operations about five o'clock, and propose to renew them on Monday or Tuesday."

In a subsequent communication, Mr. Lyons informed me that he continued his examination, and removed the earth from the upper surface of the roofing stones, but made no discovery of inscriptions.

I before stated, that in the majority of instances where Oghams have been found in rath caves, a "killeen," or the site of one, will be found in the neighbourhood. The rath of Lisheen-na-Greine is no exception to this rule. Close to it is the site of one, which even yet is known by the name

of "Cross-na-lanneev." I should not be surprised if other Ogham inscriptions were found in this locality.

About a mile to the south-east are the pillar stones of Castle na Leacht, described in this "Journal," second series, vol. ii., p. 16. About half a mile to the north, on the same townland, is an immense "caher," with subterraneous passages yet unexplored; and about two miles to the east is the fortified hill of Cashel. In fact the whole of the district lying between the Bandon and Lee rivers is full of earth works and megalithic monuments.

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## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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AT the GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April the 21st (by adjournment from the 7th), 1869,

The Rev. W. C. GORMAN in the Chair,

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. Lord Inchiquin, Dromoland, Newmarket-on-Fergus : proposed by the Hon. Robert O'Brien.

The O'Connor Don, Clonalis, Castlereagh ; the Very Rev. Monsignor Moran, D. D., 53, Eccles-street, Dublin ; Samuel Ferguson, Esq., LL. D., Q. C., M. R. I. A., Deputy Keeper of the Records, Ireland ; Arthur Wynne Foot, Esq., M. D., T. C. D., Fellow King's and Queen's College of Physicians, 21, Lower Pembroke-street, Dublin ; Samuel P. Close, Esq., A. R. I. A. I., Carrickfergus ; Edward Nixon, Esq., Buckley, Mold, Flintshire ; J. Esmonde, Esq., Danesfort, Stoneyford ; James Behan Murtagh, Esq., Great Water-street, Longford ; Daniel Birmingham, Esq., Roscrea ; Matthew Doyle, Esq., New Ross ; The Belfast Library ; and the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, London : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Rees Stephen Jones, Esq., C. E., New Ross : proposed by the Rev. N. R. Brunskill.

W. Steele, Esq., Principal, Royal School of Enniskillen ; and William Henderson, Esq., Silver Hill, Enniskillen : proposed by W. F. Wakeman, Esq.

The Hon. M. J. French, R. M., Hill House, Cashel : proposed by J. Davis White, Esq.

William Valentine, Esq., White Abbey, Belfast ; and Joseph Bell, Esq., 39, Queen-street, Belfast : proposed by Dr. Purdon, Hon. Prov. Sec. for Ulster.

William Fitzgerald, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Elm-park, Merrion, county Dublin ; Laurence Doyle, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Enniscorthy ; and Robert W. Symes, Esq., Barrister at-Law, 58, Lower Dominick-street, Dublin : proposed by C. H. Foot, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Joshua Clarke, Esq., Q. C., 13, Herbert-street, Dublin ; and Patrick Horgan, Esq., 49, Upper John-street, Cork : proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq.

Mr. Graves called attention to the recent declaration of Mr. Layard in the House of Commons, as to his intention of making some movement toward securing State protection for ancient monuments in England. The Honorary Secretaries of the Association had deemed it proper at once to take steps to have Irish national monuments brought within the influence of any measure of the kind which Mr. Layard might contemplate. Communications had accordingly been addressed by them to Mr. Layard, to Mr. Chichester Fortescue, the Irish Chief Secretary, and the Hon. L. Agar Ellis, M. P. On Monday, the 19th, Mr. Ellis had interrogated Mr. Layard in the House of Commons, as to whether he intended including the Irish national monuments amongst those which he proposed the State should take under its supervision ; and the answer—although a difficulty of a routine nature had been suggested—on the whole, was favourable. It appeared, from Mr. Layard's reply, that Lord Talbot de Malahide and others had also written to him on the same subject ; and it was to be hoped that Irishmen, both in Parliament and at the Press, would not lose sight of the matter, but exert themselves for the suitable extension to Irish national monuments of any measure of the kind which might be brought forward in Parliament.

Mr. Graves continued to say that, pending the intervention of the State—if indeed they might hope it would intervene for the protection of ancient monuments in this country—they should exert themselves to keep such monuments from destruction wherever they could do so. Last year they had, by means of a special subscription, obtained the

means of supporting the tower of St. Francis' Abbey—which had been in a most dangerous condition—with cast iron pillars. But if they were not enabled to repair the haunch of the tower arch before next winter, what had been already done would go for very little. From £30 to £40 more would do all that was necessary, there being a small balance still in hands; and he trusted that good taste and a proper patriotic spirit would dictate to the local public the propriety of contributing so much, and not have an object of such beauty and historic interest lost to Kilkenny from a lack of right feeling. The period was now come at which such a work might be entered upon, and he hoped subscriptions would be at once sent in to the local newspaper offices, where they would be received and acknowledged as heretofore.

All the members present expressed a hope that Mr. Graves's appeal would be at once responded to, and some of them stated their willingness to give a second subscription towards the completion of the work, to which they had already contributed.

The following communication from the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland was submitted to the Association :—

“16, *New Burlington-street, W.*, March 16, 1869.

“The Secretary has been requested to call attention to the new Rule, whereby Associated Members of kindred Societies are admitted to all the privileges of Ordinary Members of the Institute, except that of receiving the “Journal” gratuitously, on payment of 10s. 6d. annually. Application to be made to the Secretary for the manner of election.”

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“Holy Cross Abbey, county Tipperary : a series of measured Drawings of the Church ; with Descriptive Letterpress.” By Samuel P. Close, A. R. I. A. I., Belfast, 1868 : presented by the Author.

“The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.” No. 98 : presented by the Institute.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," No. 58, third series : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for March, 1869 : presented by the Association.

"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Vol. X., Part 3 : presented by the Academy.

"Quarterly Journal of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History," January, 1869 : presented by the Institute.

"Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire," 1868 : presented by the Society.

"The Reliquary," edited by Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., F. S. A., No. 36 : presented by the Editor.

"The Carlow College Magazine," Nos. 1-4 inclusive : presented by the Editor.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," January-March, 1868 : presented by the Society.

"The Builder," Nos. 1358-1369 inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 223-227 inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

"The Register and Magazine of Biography," Nos. 1-4 inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

A much corroded bronze celt, found last January at a depth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the surface, in making drains on Mr. M'Donald's farm ; a stone celt, found also on his farm at about eight inches below the surface, in tilling his land, some twelve or fourteen years since ; and a small horn of a cow, measuring about four inches from point to base, being one of about two dozen similar objects which had been found, in Mr. M'Donald's presence, a few years since, in Coolcullen turf bog, on Mr. Diamond's land, resting on the marl beneath sixteen or seventeen spits or sods of the peat : presented by Mr. John M'Donald, of Castlewarren, county Kilkenny.

The Rev. James Graves remarked that the actual horns of the aboriginal short-horn cow are very rarely found, although the skulls, with cores of the horns attached, are common enough, so that the Society should feel very much indebted to Mr. M'Donald for his presentation ; and it was to be hoped our

farmers generally, following his example, would be observant of the turning up of relics of past ages on their land, and preserve them for the Association.

A black-letter prayer-book, of which the title-page was wanting, but of the reign of Charles II. : presented by Captain William Lyster.

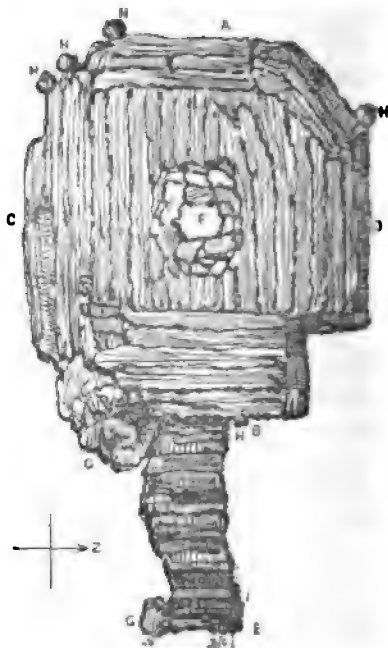
The penny token, struck during the period of the Commonwealth of England, by John Whittle, a Cromwellian settler in Kilkenny. It was found by the donor in his garden in Maudlin-street, and was in excellent preservation : presented by Mr. Bracken, C. I., R. I. C., on behalf of Constable Kirwan.

A drawing of a fine perforated stone hammer, found in a bog in the parish of Muff, near Derry ; also a sketch of a massive pillar stone, seven feet high by four wide, and two and a-half thick, having incised on its broader face fifteen groups of concentric circles, averaging about seven inches in diameter across the outside ring, with a central conical depression in each. This stone stood not far from the spot where the hammer was found, but nothing could be learned about it in the neighbourhood except that it was known as "The Druid's Stone."

Mr. Graves read the following communication from Mr. George Morant, Jun., Carrickmacross :—

"According to your wish, I send you a more detailed account, with a sketch, of the ancient floor which I told you of in my letter a short time since. In June, 1867, a tenant on the Shirley estate here reported to me that, in cutting turf on his 'bank,' he had come upon the ends of three planks of bog oak, which evidently surprised him very much. He was directed not to disturb the timber, and a few days afterwards I visited the spot, which is situated in the townland of Cargaghoge, about six miles north-west of the town of Carrickmacross, county of Monaghan. I found the ends of three or four rude planks exposed by the turf cutting, and it struck me at once that they might probably prove to be the floor of an ancient house. A few days afterwards we proceeded carefully to dig away the superincumbent bog, and after several hours' work completely exhumed the floor, of which I enclose a sketch. As we dug down to the floor level, I was particularly careful to examine the layers next to it in the hope of discovering some relics of its inhabitants ; but beyond ashes, nutshells (both in considerable quantities), some pieces of very rude pottery, and a few small worked flints about the size of a thumb to the first joint, rounded at one end, nothing was found. The floor, as will be seen by the accompanying engraving, is approached by a narrow causeway of black oak planks, similar to those of the floor itself, very rudely formed,

and of unequal size, and laid loosely without any apparent fastening, except by occasional posts, which I have marked on the sketch: at the end of the causeway, nearest to the floor, are the remains of posts, which must have formed the entrance to the house, and at one side is a large tree stump of some soft wood like willow. The odd thing about this tree is, that the timbers of the causeway, and of the floor also, have evidently been fitted to the bole of the tree, proving that the tree must have existed before the floor was laid. The floor now slopes at a considerable angle to the south-west, which I take to be owing to the withdrawal of the water from a small lake in the bog, not far from the site of this ancient floor. I have ascertained that the bog in former days was, at least, fourteen feet deep over it; and that in the memory of persons still living this portion of Cargaghoge bog was entirely covered with water. About the centre of the floor I found a collection of stone slabs closely fitted together with a substratum of blue clay, but all laid on planks of timber forming part of the floor. On this there were quantities of ashes, proving that this was the fire-place of the ancient dwelling. On the edge of this hearth I found a stone which I take to be a small corn-crusher. Underneath the planks, as far as I could observe, without disturbing them, is a thick deposit of hazel and birch branches, forming a foundation for the support of the flooring. I propose this summer to examine very closely the bog around the floor, in the hope of discovering some further relics of flint and pottery, and of metal also, although the entire absence of the latter, up to the present, does not give me much encouragement with regard to the latter. I had the whole floor covered with sods during the summer; but the action of the weather will, I fear, soon destroy this interesting record of prehistoric times."



From A to B, 18 ft. 4 in. F. Fireplace.  
From C to D, 17 ft. 6 in. G. Large tree stump.  
From B to E, 11 ft. 6 in. H. Remains of posts.  
I. Dotted line showing ends of planks bared by the tenant.

Sketch of Ancient Floor in the Town-land of Cargaghoge, Barony of Farney.

The following communication was received from Mr. Thomas O'Gorman:—

"I beg to call attention to some of the details given in our 'Journal' for 1867 (April number), of the personal history of the sons of the celebrated Hugh O'Neill, the last of the Princes of Tyrowen, which, though they may not affect the view taken by Mr. Pinkerton respecting John O'Neill (third son of the above), appear to require revision, inasmuch as

they tend to a continuance of some of the uncertainty or confusion which hangs over his family.

"Mr. Pinkerton says:—'In the record' of the Four Masters (of the Flight of the Earls, A. D., 1607), we have Hugh, the Earl, and his three sons placed according to their birth and age, namely, Hugh, the Baron; John, and Brian; Henry, an elder son who had been a hostage to the King of Spain, having previously died at Brussels, as is clear from Hugh being styled the Baron.' But the fact is, that Hugh had the title of Baron because he was the eldest born son of the Earl, and not from having succeeded to it on the death of an elder brother, Henry, as Mr. Pinkerton assumes. See the inscription on his tomb, in which he is called '*filio primogenito*,' and also the Act of Attainder, 1614, which includes with the Earl his *eldest son Hugh and his second son Henry*.

"The same extract tells us that Henry had died at Brussels previous to the year 1607, the date of the 'Flight;' but we have as yet no published authentic record of the time or place of Henry's death that I am aware of, while there is distinct evidence, according to the Rev. Mr. Meehan, that he was alive in 1615. M. de la Ponce appears to be also at fault respecting the death of Henry, who, he says, 'was assassinated at Brussels in 1620, some years after the death of his father, at the age of about 34.' A son of the unhappy O'Neill did indeed die at Brussels, as will be shown presently, but his name was not Henry, nor was the year in which the event took place either previous to 1607 or 1620.

"On the death of the Earl (A. D., 1616), his eldest son, Hugh, having deceased in 1609, Mr. Pinkerton observes: 'There is then only John and Brian left of the legitimate sons of the Earl, and John succeeded to the titular Earldom,' and in proof he cites a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, which shows that, *about* 1618, John was titular Earl of Tyrone, and Colonel of the Irish in Flanders. As already remarked, we have no certain notification of the time or place of Henry's death, and as, according to O'Sullivan, a pretty safe authority so far, he (Henry) commanded the Irish regiment in Flanders *before* John did, can we be certain that he did not survive his father, and if so, that he did not assume his title?

"Even had Henry died before his father it would not be correct to say that John and Brian were the only remaining sons of the Earl, for the Rev. Mr. Meehan, in his late valuable work, gives us a glimpse, short and sad indeed, but nevertheless certain, of another son, Con O'Neill, as he passes under the gates of the Tower of London on the 12th of August, 1622, but of whom we hear not again.

<sup>1</sup> On this record I may remark, that the Four Masters, when giving an account of those who accompanied O'Neill in his flight, mention his "Countess Catherina, the daughter of Magennis, and *her three sons*, Hugh, the Baron; John, and Brian;" Hugh, the Baron, however, was not the son of Catherina Magennis, but of Judith O'Donel, as is clear from the dates on his tomb, and from the notice of his burial by the Four Masters themselves. His death having occurred in the year 1609, and, when he was 24 years of age, would give the year 1585, as that of his birth. We know that O'Neill was married to Mabel

Bagnal in the year 1591, his previous wife, by his own statement, having been "a daughter of O'Donnell's," so that it is clear Hugh, the Baron, born in 1585, could not have been the son of Catherina Magennis, who was not married to O'Neill till after 1591.

That he was the son of Judith O'Donel is evident from the Four Masters themselves, who say he was buried in the same tomb with his mother's brothers, the Earl O'Donnell and Caffer. According to Archbishop Lombard, "*De Regno Hib.*," p. 383, Hugh and Henry were both the sons of Judith O'Donel.

"Neither Mr. Pinkerton nor M. de la Ponce, on whose article in our 'Journal' Mr. Pinkerton's is a critique, mention the name of this poor youth.

"With respect to Brian O'Neill, M. de la Ponce is of opinion that he was killed in Catalonia in January, 1641; while Mr. Pinkerton says that he died at Brussels about 1619.

"Brian appears to have been known also by the name of Bernard, which was possibly a kind of Flemish translation of his Irish name, and his fate and identity are very clearly pointed out by two persons who were cotemporary with him—one English and the other Irish.

"George Lord Carew says:—'The Earl of Tyrone, that infamous traitor, had lately in the Low Countries, two sons, the eldest Colonel of the Irish regiment with the Arch Dukes; his younger brother Bryan, was, at Brussels, found hanged in his chamber, with his hands bound behind him, but by whom this villanous act was committed is unknown.'—Quoted by the Rev. Mr. Meehan ('Fate and Fortunes,' &c.), from the Publications of the Camden Society.

"Father Donatus Mooney, in his MS. 'History of the Franciscans,' says: 'On the 16th August, 1617, a deplorable event occurred in Brussels about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, when Don Bernard O'Neill, son of the most illustrious Earl of Tyrone, was, in the absence of his tutor and attendants, strangled in his own house; and his body then suspended above the earth by a cord,'<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of making it be thought that he had committed suicide. Father Mooney further informs us that the unfortunate youth, who was of most promising parts, had been left by his father, when on his way to Rome in 1607, to the care of the Franciscans of Louvain, and when he was only nine years of age, which would make him nineteen at the period of his fearful death.

"The above quotations leave no doubt that Brian and Bernard mean the same person, and M. de la Ponce's idea, that he is the O'Neill who died in 1641, must fall to the ground, together with that which sends John to Ireland in the suite of Owen Roe in 1642. For Hugh having died in 1609, Brian in 1617, Henry most probably before 1618–1625, there remain of the Earl's five sons only two from whom to select the victim of 1641, viz.: John and Con. I much fear Con never left the Tower alive, and, consequently, the O'Neill who died in 1641 must have been John.

"As further collateral evidence to same effect, it may be mentioned, that in 1641 Hugh O'Donel, eldest son of Earl Roderic, and then styling himself Earl of Tyrconnel, applied to the King of Spain to send succours to Ireland, or to permit himself to go there, in consideration of the services rendered to his Majesty by the Irish, amongst which he particularly notices 'the death of O'Neill' previously. From these words I assume the death to have been recent, viz. January, 1641, and the person, from the surname only being given, to have been the chief of his name—in other words, John, titular Earl of Tyrone.<sup>2</sup>

"The fate of Henry is shrouded in strange mystery. John, being styled Earl in 1618–25, would lead to the supposition that his elder brother, Henry, was dead before that time, as certainly were Hugh and Brian. Who then were the 'sonnes' of O'Neale mentioned in the State paper of 1625,

<sup>1</sup> Note to O'Sullivan's "Hist. Cath."—Edition of the late Rev. Professor Kelly, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> O'Clery's "Notice of the Death of O'Donnell," 1642, translated by O'Donovan in Duffy's "Hib. Mag." No. I. 1860.



quoted by M. de la Ponce? could Con have escaped from the Tower of London; or could Henry have resigned his claim to the title to his brother John, and have been still in existence? These are questions which some genealogist might take up with benefit to the subject.

"Before we can feel certain as to whether the great Hugh is still represented in the male line or not, we must be assured of the fates of Henry and Con—pending which it is to the illegitimate son of John that we must look for a continuation of the line outside Hugh's own illegitimate sons; and as he appears to have settled finally on the Continent, perhaps M. de la Ponce could furnish us with some particulars respecting his descendants, and tell us if there are any in existence at the present time.

"In the will of the celebrated Balderg O'Donel, who assumed the title of Earl of Tyrconnel, and which is dated April, 1679, the Earl of Tirone is named as one of his executors. Who was this Earl of Tirone? For the reasons already given it could not have been John, as he died in 1641. Was it Henry? or was it Con, escaped from the Tower of London? or was it Hugh, the illegitimate son of John, to whom the King of Spain gave letters of legitimation, and also his father's regiment, and who, there is some reason to suppose, assumed the title of Count of Tyrone?"

"In conclusion, I beg to submit the table printed at p. 274, *infra*, showing—as far as authorities available to the general reader will permit—the fate of each of the legitimate sons of the once formidable 'Hugh Tirone.'

The Rev. J. Graves said that he felt bound to call the attention of the members to the magnificent folio volume on the table, being the second part of Professor Stephens' "Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England." The deep erudition displayed in this great work, and the splendour, variety, and artistic excellence of its illustrations, were unequalled anywhere, and did honour, not only to its distinguished author, but also to the noble kingdom of Denmark, of which Professor Stephens was an adopted citizen. Having consulted the Professor on the remarkable fact, that, although there was such a long-continued intercourse, both predatory and mercantile, kept up by the Northern races with Ireland, yet not one single well-authenticated Runic inscription has been as yet discovered in the island, he (Mr. Graves) had received the following communication:—

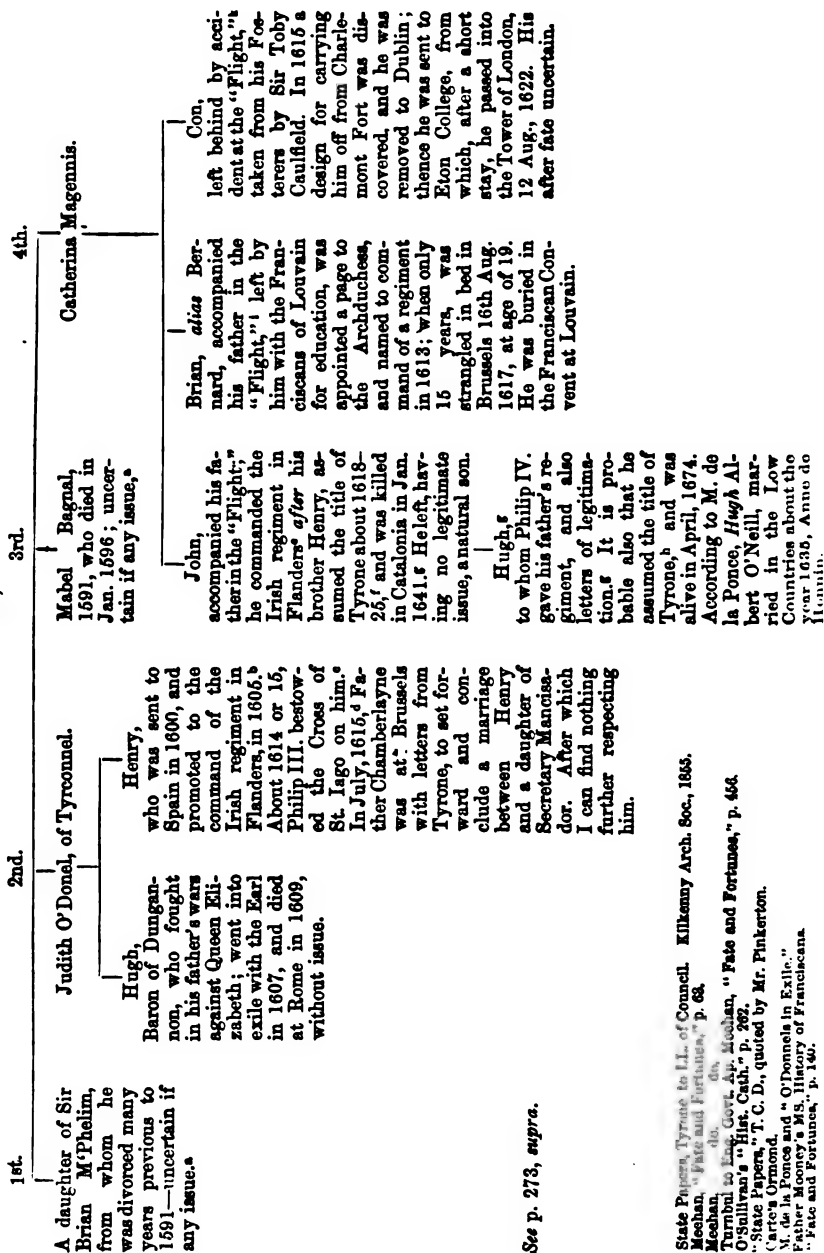
"As I take it, the Scandinavian vikings who invaded Ireland were, by long sojourn in Great Britain, already so largely Anglicised both in speech and letters, that—as their coins show—when they did write, they used the Anglo-Roman alphabet, not their own Runic letter. Had Runic monuments existed in Ireland in any decent number, I do not see why they should all have disappeared thence, more than they have anywhere else."

\* M. de la Ponce.—Though there appears to be some difficulty as to the cor-

rectness of the year he gives, namely, A.D. 1636.

## HUGH O'NEILL, &amp;c., &amp;c.,

## MARRIED,



See p. 273, *supra*.

<sup>a</sup> State Papers, Tyrone to LL. of Council. Kilkenny Arch. Soc., 1665.

<sup>b</sup> Machan, "Fate and Fortunes," p. 64.

<sup>c</sup> Machan, "Fate and Fortunes," p. 64.

<sup>d</sup> Tyrone to Eng. Govt., 1616, Machan, "Fate and Fortunes," p. 464.

<sup>e</sup> O'Sullivan's "Hist. Cath." p. 207.

<sup>f</sup> "State Papers," T. C. D., quoted by Mr. Pinkerton.

<sup>g</sup> Carte's Ormond.

<sup>h</sup> M. de la Ponce and "O'Donnells in Exile."

<sup>i</sup> Father Mooney's MS. History of Franciscans.

<sup>j</sup> "Fate and Fortunes," p. 140.

With regard to the contract for building a timber bridge at Enniscorthy, printed at p. 15, *supra*, Mr. Graves having, in a note appended to the contract, expressed a wish to learn if there was any tradition of such a bridge having existed, stated that he had received the following communication from Mr. George C. Roberts, of that town :—

“I have been making inquiries from the ‘oldest inhabitant’ here about a timber bridge at this town, and have been informed that, previous to the erection of the old stone bridge—since removed and replaced by a modern stone bridge—two lines of stakes were driven across the Slaney, on the site of the old and new stone bridges, between which a long timber float was passed from the east to the west bank of the river—say about 100 years ago. My informant received the information I give you from his mother, who resided close to the river, at the place described.”

Mr. Beauchamp Colclough, of Wexford, had also written to say that the tradition of the locality was, that the old stone bridge which preceded the present structure was the *first* bridge that ever spanned the Slaney at Enniscorthy.

Mr. W. F. Wakeman sent for exhibition a stone on which was sunk moulds for casting button-like ornaments and a small crucifix; he observed that it illustrated a similar stone described by Mr. Fitz Gerald, of Youghal, and sought to be identified by him as the Duveen Declan (see “Journal,” second series, Vol. III., p. 51). The latter he believed to have been simply a mould, as the stone now exhibited certainly was.

Mr. Graves remarked that he fully agreed with Mr. Wakeman’s suggestion.

Mr. Graves submitted to the notice of the meeting the oldest written speculation upon the origin of the Round Towers of Ireland which had yet been discovered. It had never been printed hitherto, and it would be interesting to Kilkenny men to know that it came from the pen of a learned local archæologist—Bishop David Rothe—who had written it early in the seventeenth century. It did not serve to throw much additional light on the Round Tower controversy, but was curious and interesting in itself, and was fortunately put on record by Lynch in his unpublished work “*De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*” (from a transcript of which, made for Carte by a very incompetent scribe, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the following ex-

tract was printed).<sup>1</sup> In treating of the Diocese of Ossory, Lynch gives a memoir of Bishop David Rothe, and especially alludes to an unpublished work of his, entitled "*Hierographia Hiberniæ*," the title page alone of which, he says, Rothe printed in Waterford, in 1647; being prevented, according to Lynch's assertion, by want of means from committing the rest to type. Lynch had in his possession a MS. fragment of this work relating to the Diocese of Ossory, and it is from this fragment, as proved by his express statement, the passage here given relative to the Round Towers of Ireland is taken.

After describing the manner in which the cemetery of the Cathedral of St. Canice was environed by the manses of the bishop, the dean, the precentor, the treasurer and the archdeacon, Rothe proceeds:—

"Est autem ad australem templi partem, quasi in umbilico cœmeterii tribus aut quatuor passibus a templi muro dissita, turris alta et angusta, figuræ rotundæ, in cujus orientali latere ostium habetur mediocri formâ, quinque circiter ulnis elevatum, ut non possit, nisi admotâ scalâ, subintrari. Schematis ejusmodi turres passim in hoc regno reperiuntur, plerumque templis adstructæ, sive in ornamentum sive in defensionem nescio, non enim inter antiquarios nostros convenit, quorsum vel a quibus fabricatæ sunt, nam alii volunt epitrophia [*sic*] cujusdam monarchi, qui suæ potestati totam insulam subjecisset, et in partæ victoriæ memoriam eum in pluribus cujusq. provinciæ locis hujusmodi monumenta erexisse. In hac autem unicâ Diœcesi intra paucorum milliarium spatium quatuor hujusmodi turres existunt, ut mirum videri possit cur in tantello terræ tractu tam densæ inveniantur victrices illæ tesserae, cum in hoc regno alibi per immensa territoria paucæ conspiciantur. Alii eorum originem altius repetunt, et ad ætatem S. Patricii referunt, tanquam illâ vices compa-nilium obtinuerint, unde vel sonitu æris, vel faculâ prælucente populi admonerentur ut ad sacra convenirent. Nam cum plerumq. loca per illa tempora silvis et saltibus referta essent, illos turres altitudine silvarum cacumina superare oportuit, ut vel cerni flamma vel sonitus exaudiri e longinquo possit. Sed quibusdam vix credibile est eas tam diu subsistere

<sup>1</sup> With respect to this work of Lynch's, I beg leave here to place on record the last letter I received from my late lamented friend, and Tutor in loved old "Trinity," the Rev. James H. Todd, D. D.:—

"Pardon my getting this written by an amanuensis.

"Ever yours,

"J. H. TODD.

"*Silveracre, Rathfarnham,*  
19 April, '67."

"MY DEAR GRAVES,—I cannot find in my copy of Lynch the quotation you refer to; can you give me any more exact reference? The Bodleian copy is a bad one by a scribe who mis-spells every Irish word or name. The original autograph is in the Mazarine Library, Paris.

The few words at its conclusion, in his own hand, must possess a melancholy interest to all who knew him. Even in his prostrate state he was still anxious to share with every inquirer his deep and varied knowledge. Alas! that all is closed from us for ever in the darkness of the grave.

potuisse cultore [*sic*] vacuos, tametsi mole ipsa et soliditate operis firmissimos fuisse fatendum sit, et jam in pluribus locis fatiscentes ruinam minantur; alibi etiam corruerunt in terram, ut in civitate Fernensi. Dani quidem orbiculares illos arctosque turriculos primi erexisse dicuntur, ut prospectulâ essent, unde prospectus ad longinqua late protenderetur. Postea tamen usus invaluisse putatur, ut, campanis in eorum culmine appensis, campanilium vices gererent, tametsi non e mediâ Ecclesiæ fabricâ extantes fornicibus innixi in altum trudent ut modo fit, sed e cimiterii solo in idoneam altitudinem extollantur; vel nominis enim Etymon illos indicat huic usui accommodatos fuisse, *Clogtheoill*<sup>1</sup> enim hibernice dicuntur, quæ vox perinde est ac domus Campanæ; voce *clog* campanam, et *teach* domum significante. Cujusmodi nullum in Hiberniâ vix modo cernimus nisi in Cathedralium Ecclesiarum aut præstantiorum Abbatiarum cœmeteriis."

Of which passage he offered the following translation :—

Almost in the centre of the cemetery, three or four paces south of the wall of the church, stands a tall and slender tower of circular form, in the east side of which there is a plainly fashioned door, raised about five ells from the ground, so that it cannot be entered except by a ladder. Towers of the same design are found everywhere in this kingdom, for the most part built close to the churches—whether for ornament or defence I know not. Our antiquaries are not agreed for what purpose, or by whom they were built; for some would have them trophies of some monarch who had subjected the whole island to his power, and that in memory of the victory obtained he had erected monuments of this nature in many places within each province. But in this single diocese, within the space of a few miles, there remain four towers<sup>2</sup> of this kind, so that it may seem strange that in so small a tract of country these tokens of victory should be found so thickly placed, whereas elsewhere in this realm there are immense territories where few are to be seen. Others trace their origin farther back, and refer them to the age of St. Patrick, as if in that age they had served as belfries, from whence, either by the ring of metal, or light of a torch, the people might be summoned to assemble to religious rites—for since most places at that time were covered with woods and thickets, it was needful that these towers should, by their height, appear above the tops of the forests, so that the flame could be seen, or the sound heard afar off. But to some it seems scarcely credible that they could have stood so long, being left unemployed, although it must be confessed that, from their very size and the solidity of their construction, they were of extreme durability, yet at the present day in very many places they are rent and threatening to decay; elsewhere also they have fallen to the ground, as in the city of Ferns.<sup>3</sup> The Danes are said to have first erected these round and slender turrets to serve as look out stations, from whence an extensive view might be had around. Afterwards, however, it was thought to have become the custom to hang bells in their summit, and so to make them serve the purpose of belfries, although they do not rise from the middle of the fabric of the church, supported on arches, as is now the custom,

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a mistake for "Clogtheach."

<sup>2</sup> Rothe seems to have passed over one of our Round Towers, for the Diocese of Ossory contains *five*, viz. the Towers of Kilkenny, Fertagh, Tullowherm, Kilree,

and Aghaviller.

<sup>3</sup> This is interesting, as proving that the Round Tower of Ferns had ceased to exist for some time before Rothe wrote the passage above quoted.

but are reared to a fitting height from the soil of the cemetery ; and even the etymon of their name indicates that they were accommodated to this purpose—for *clogtheach* is their Irish appellation, which is equivalent to our words *house of the bell*—the word *clog* signifying *bell*, and *teach*, *house* : of which kind we scarcely ever see one now in Ireland, except in the cemeteries of the cathedral churches or of the more important abbeys.

It was interesting to note that nearly all the rival theories as to the use of our Round Towers had presented themselves to the mind of Rothe, with the strange one added of their being memorials of conquest.

Mr. Thomas Stanley, of Tullamore, sent the following account of "giants' graves" and other megalithic monuments, known to him as being extant on the Slieve Bloom range of mountains :—

"Having read somewhere that there is an 'altar' on these mountains, at which annual meetings are held at the present day, I was anxious to learn if such really existed; and, whenever I enjoyed the luxury of a ramble through the hills, I kept this altar always before me. The cairns which the sappers raised in their survey, and every other cairn, were overhauled for the place of sacrifice, at the same time using the proper precautions, that I would not stumble into a 'kaim o' kimprunes.' At length I found that meetings were held at a part of the range called the 'Height of Ireland.' I felt some disappointment on my arrival at the top of this hill—no altar, no appearance or beaten track of a meeting place; all around was bog and heather. But some young people, who halted upon it, pointed out a little mote in the valley beneath, where, they said, a dance, music, and other amusements, used to be on the last Sunday of July, commonly called 'Garliagh Sunday.'

"There is a so-called 'giant's grave' near Cadamstown, north side of the range, hard by a cottage occupied by a herd of Mr. Davis, and on the bank of the stream which divides the counties. Seven or eight stones appear, none so large but that two or three men might lift it. They were disturbed seventy, perhaps a hundred, years ago, probably by some party whose golden dreams led them to look for crocks of money beneath. They are all conglomerates, and from some outcrop in the vicinity. There is a group of similar stones at a little distance, which may bear some relation to them.

"About a mile from the 'giant's grave,' and near the Coolagh cross roads, there is a great stone on the mountain side which tradition says was thrown by the giant. 'You will know it when you see it,' said a boy, of whom I inquired, 'it is a great solid stone, and there is no other stone in the mountain like it.' It is of *Gahway granite*, and averages about five and a half feet on every side. Its upper surface inclines towards the east. If it is a boulder, I have not met with so great a one at an equal elevation in the mountains; and it is the largest mass of granite which I have seen in an area of five hundred square miles. Whether lodged here by man, or by nature, it stayed in a depression at the foot of a more steep ascent, as if the force which toiled it up sank here exhausted. It is said that the giant threw it here from the top of Knockboran hill, distant about three miles;





FIBULA FOUND AT RIDGEMOUNT, NEAR FRANKFORT, KING'S COUNTY.



and that the giant which is to come will pick it up and throw it to Cap-pard, on the east side of the mountain, distant about six miles. It is something remarkable that the course which tradition makes the stone to travel is the same, precisely, as that along which geology conducts it. Some smasher broke several slices off this block many years ago.

"There is a townland near Clonaslee called Tinnehinch. I took my stand on the Tinnehinch bridge, to scan the fields around. On an eminence down stream I remarked the foliage of several thorns, which seemed to be religiously preserved. I said there must be something remarkable in the shade of those flowering thorns. A mound encircled the summit of the hill, and a circle of sand stones were within the mound. It is nearly insulated, standing in a fork where two rivers join to form the Barrow. A man might lift any of the stones which make the circle, and the enclosing mound is not very massive."

Mr. Hodder M. Westropp sent for exhibition a bronze brooch, and submitted the following paper to the meeting:—

"The fibula represented on the plate which faces this page was found at Ridgemount, Frankford, King's County, the estate of Robert Seymour Drought, Esq. The material is white bronze, or findruin. The ornamental portion has a thick plating of gold, and precious stones or glass originally filled the empty sockets with which the brooch is studded. The ornamentation on it is similar to that on a fibula figured in Wilde's Catalogue, page 565. A most curious feature in this fibula is, that it has been mended in the upper portion by the insertion of two pieces of iron. The date is supposed to be about the twelfth century.

"These ornaments, though generally styled Celtic, are, I am convinced, though it may be considered heresy to say so, not exclusively Celtic, nor can they *à fortiori* be termed solely Irish. A similar form of fibula, with a like style of ornamentation, is to be met with in Scotland, and in the north of England. Mr. Wright remarks: 'We have little reason for believing that the Celtic race in the far West was ever distinguished by anything approaching to a refined taste for art. The purely Irish works of an early period found in Ireland are distinguished only by the richness of the material (usually solid gold), but they show very few, and those very rude attempts at ornamentation. They consist principally of collars and armlets. On the other hand, that remarkable monument of ecclesiastic art known as the bell of St. Mura, exhibits, I think, the strongest marks of Anglo-Saxon influence.'

"The ornamentation of these fibulæ—that strangely complicated interlacing and lacertine knot-work pattern—obviously belongs to a style which was common to the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, the Irish, and the Lombards of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. This so-called Celtic decoration was a development of the great main stem commonly known as Byzantine art. That it took an individual line of growth among the Anglo-Saxons and the Irish is to be admitted, but that it flourished aboriginally only in Ireland, or amongst the Anglo-Saxons, is a needless stretch of credulity. Indeed, the style of ornament met with in the remains of art found in Ireland seems to speak plainly of the influence of Byzantine art.

"From the sixth to the tenth centuries, during which period the Greeks of the Eastern Empire were, indeed, 'arbitri elegantiarum,' numerous

works of ornamental art, such as richly woven and embroidered stuffs, wood and ivory carvings, ornaments in the rare and precious metals enriched with damascene work and enamels, illuminated manuscripts, and paintings on panel, were carried by traders, and bought by the clergy and others, throughout Europe; and it is from these combined influences that the Byzantine style sprung.

"This is further confirmed by the following passage from Mr. Wornum's work on 'Styles'; it also shows that we may attribute the same origin to a similar style of ornamentation in Scandinavian art. 'Indeed,' he says, 'the Byzantine was so widely spread, and so thoroughly identified with all middle-age art, after the first few centuries of the Christian era, that its influence even in Italy did not wholly decline before the fifteenth century, until the establishment of the *Quattro cento*, by Lorenzo Ghiberti. Both the Saracenic and the Gothic proceeded from the Byzantine. The Greek missionaries carried its influence into the extreme north; and while the artists of Syria were accommodating their style to Mahomedan exclusiveness in the south, in the colder regions of Europe the mysteries of Mount Athos were freely mixed up with the fables of Scandinavian mythology. The Scandinavian soldiers, also, of the imperial body-guard at Constantinople, made, on their return, the talismans of Christian mythology almost as familiar in their native homes as the gods of their forefathers.

"The cross planted on the serpent is not an uncommon image on Mount Athos; and the cross surrounded by the so-called Runic knot, is only a Scandinavian version of the original Byzantine symbol of the redemption—the crushed snake curling round the stem of the avenging cross. The same mixture of Christian and Northern mythology characterizes the portals of the churches of Lombardy."

"All evidence tends to show that this style was brought by the foreign ecclesiastics who first introduced Christianity into Ireland. These foreigners, who, as Dr. Petrie observes, flocked to Ireland as a place of refuge in the fifth and sixth centuries, far removed from the turmoil and distracting wars of the Continent, devoted their time, not only to the propagation of Christianity, but also to the cultivation of that peculiar style of art which they had introduced. Hence Ireland became celebrated during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries for its illuminated manuscripts, its authors, and its academies.

"The fibula we are now noticing and other such ornaments were probably worn chiefly by the ecclesiastics of the period. For in that age nearly all civilization, art, literature, was confined to them alone. They were not only priests, but were also the physicians, architects, painters, sculptors of that day. Most of the monuments which remain to us of the twelfth century and earlier are ecclesiastical. The practice of the arts was employed almost exclusively for ecclesiastical purposes. The ecclesiastics of the eighth century were remarkable for their love of dress, and their inclination to such 'pomp and vanities' is obvious from the order promulgated in 785, forbidding them to wear the tintured colours of India. Boniface,

<sup>1</sup> A similar mixture of Christian and Northern mythology characterizes the sculptured bas reliefs at Glendalough; they bear a great resemblance to analo-

gous sculptures of a human head between dragons on the portals of the Church of San Fedele, Como, of the Lombard period (fifth century).

the Anglo-Saxon missionary, in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, inveighs against the luxuries of dress, and declares those garments that are adorned with very broad studs and images of worms announce the coming of Antichrist. In Lord Londesborough's collection, the beauty of the personal ornaments, such as the morse or clasp, the enamelled jewels and fibulæ frequently worn by the ecclesiastics of those early ages, is remarkable.

"Many of these personal decorations found in Ireland, as well as other objects of art employed for ecclesiastical purposes, such as croziers, crosses, bells, etc., were evidently imported by the foreign ecclesiastics who crowded over in great numbers to Ireland. The celebrated crozier of Cormac, found at Cashel, though put forward by Dr. Petrie as a wonderful specimen of the jewellery art in Ireland, is most undoubtedly of foreign workmanship. Two croziers, identical in style and age, are to be met with in France: one that of Robert d'Arbrissel, abbé of Fontevault, now in the museum of Angers, and another in the museum of Amiens.

"Mr. Wright confirms this assertion. His words are: 'We know from the early historians and other writers that the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics of the seventh and following centuries brought over from the Continent not only objects of art, but foreign workmen; and their labours seem to have produced in this country a considerable degree of enthusiasm.' We have conclusive evidence that the same took place in Ireland.

"The penannular style of fibula, of which such numerous examples are found in Ireland, is, we may observe here also, most certainly of late Roman or Byzantine origin. Of this kind I have obtained several in Rome and Naples: about a dozen in bronze of a late Roman period, two of the fourth century in silver, with inscriptions in niello, and one of the fifteenth century in the metal termed *alchemy*, the latter three presenting a most marked Byzantine configuration."

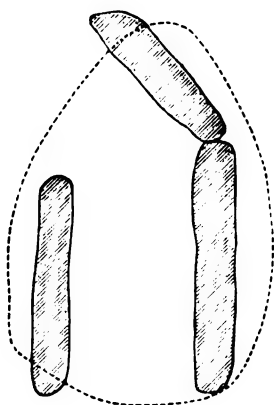
Mr. Prim said he had to place on record an interesting discovery made in this locality—an Ogham inscription cut on one of the stones which had been used as ordinary building material in the erection of the chancel of the old church of Claragh, four miles from Kilkenny. Mr. John Moore of Columbkil, in taking a walk through the very interesting district of Claragh, had observed this stone, and called his attention to it; and on visiting the place accordingly, he found that it was a veritable Ogham inscription, although the stone was so weather-worn that the scores were scarcely visible by the light afforded on the very gloomy day on which his visit had been paid. He had transcribed the inscription as far as he could then make it out; but he doubted that it could ever be entirely deciphered. However, on a brighter day, and when provided with the necessary apparatus for clearing round the edges, so as to see portions of the stone now embedded in the masonry around it, he hoped to make a more perfect transcript

of the characters so far as they might be legible. He had not been at Claragh previously since his schoolboy days, and on his present visit he was delighted to find in the chancel of the old church—the original work, apparently, but to which the nave, a commonplace structure, had been added some centuries later—a very ancient and interesting building indeed, the masonry of which partook of the so-called “Cyclopean” character; the round head of the little east window being also, as usually found in old work, cut out of a single stone: but the casing of this window seemed in danger of falling out very soon, and leaving an unsightly breach, if something were not done for its preservation. The whole south wall of the chancel also, including a curious square-headed window, was in a most threatening state, from a large ash tree having grown up through the masonry, rending and shaking it from bottom to top. The stone inscribed with the Ogham was placed in the east gable, beneath the round-headed window already referred to. Mr. Graves had promised to accompany him in his next visit to Claragh, and he hoped they would be able to give a fuller report at the July meeting respecting the reading of the Ogham.

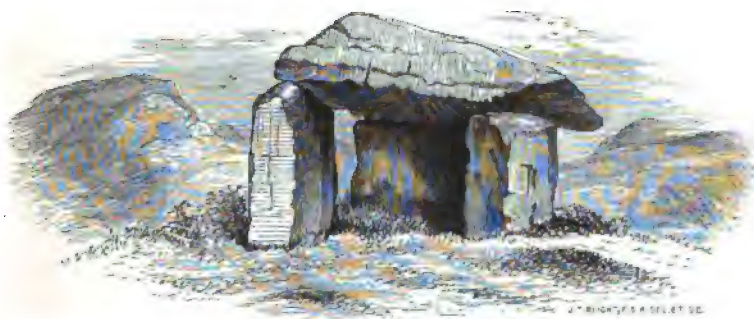
Mr. George H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A., Provincial Honorary Secretary for Connaught, sent the following notes on a Cromleac-like doorway to a *Less*, or earthen fort:—

“At the north-west corner of the county of Galway, and in the vicinity of the ancient castle of Rinvyle, there is one of those structures usually called on the Ordnance Maps ‘Cromleac,’ but by the natives of this county ‘Leabuidh Diarmada agus Graine,’ or ‘Dermot and Graine’s beds.’ This erection, viewed from a distance, has the appearance of a ‘*Liag-áitreabh*’ (*Anglice* a dwelling built of pillars); however, on a close inspection, apparently it could never have been used as a habitation, as it evidently originally was built in the S. S. W. part of the rampart or wall of a small, nearly circular ‘*Les*’ or clay fort, about 23 yards in diameter, and opening inwards and outwards. This Cromleac-like structure is all of the *Les* that now remains intact, as, during the cultivation of land, the rampart and foss have been levelled and the ancient enclosure nearly obliterated; however, enough remains to trace its site and understand what formerly occupied the ground.

“The chamber (see Plate facing this page), if it may be so designated, was about 7 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet high, having three upright stones respectively on the S. S. E., N. N. W., and N. N. E., the two first being parallel to one another, and the last named extending obliquely from the first. Lying nearly horizontally on these, and covering the passage, is



PLAN.



CROMLEAC-LIKE ENTRANCE TO A RATH, NEAR RINVYLE, CO. GALWAY.

View looking N. N. E.

[From a drawing by GEORGE H. KINAHAN, M. R. I. A.]



an irregularly oval-shaped flag-like stone, 7 feet long by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and on an average a foot thick. From the make and appearance of this structure, also its position in regard to the Less—being an open way through the rampart—it would evidently appear to have been the entrance into the fort; and this enclosure must have been used only by human beings, or for lesser cattle, such as sheep and pigs, for an entrance of the above dimensions would not admit of the passage of a cow or a horse. Such an entrance to one of the ancient forts is not singular, for, besides this instance, one very similar was observed by me in a 'Caher,' or stone fort, at the ancient ruined village of Ballynaseann, on Aranmore Island, Galway Bay. The doorway in that fort was 3 feet high, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide; the remains of the wall of the Caher being from 2 to 6 feet high. Also, in other places on that island there are structures called on the Ordnance Maps 'Dermot and Graine's bed,' some of which evidently were once doorways into Cahers, although now all the other stones have been removed to build farm walls.

"In connexion with these notes it may be allowable to give a list of the different structures which are somewhat promiscuously called on the Ordnance Maps 'Cromleac,' or 'Dermot and Graine's bed,' although evidently erected for many different purposes. The Irish terms are not given here as ancient, only as equivalents.

"*Comhrair-chloiche*.—Kistvaen, or sepulchral stone cist. These, when the mounds of earth or stone which originally covered them have been removed, are somewhat similar to Cromleacs; one from which the mound has been partially removed can be seen a few miles northward of Athenry, county of Galway. Another is in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, while three or more occur in the demesne of Marble Hill, county of Galway, and in various places in Munster; generally their original structure is evident, as the remains of the mound that formerly covered them remains in their vicinity. Some Kistvaens were built in holes excavated in the ground, and the mound made over the spot. These do not appear conspicuous when the mounds are removed, but only such as were erected originally on the surface of the ground.

"*Cromleac*.—As that accomplished artist and eminent archæologist, the late G. V. Du Noyer, Esq., M. R. I. A., has figured, classified, and described these structures in our 'Journal,' his descriptions may be referred to.

"*Fos-leac*.—A house of flags. These are very common in, among other places in Ireland, the Barony of Burren, county of Clare; very fine examples occurring on the hills northward of Corrofin. The ancient inhabitants of this barony seem to have adopted this style of architecture on account of the nature of the stones of the district, which can be raised in huge flags. On the hills, north of Feacle, county of Clare, at the *maum*, or gap leading northward from the valley called Glen Bonniff, there are very peculiar Fos-leacs, as out of each there is a low, narrow, flagged passage. These seem in former ages to have been used by the hunters waiting for the deer to pass in the migratory season, as their gins and wooden vessels full of lard occur in the bog which now nearly covers the structures. The late J. B. Jukes, Esq., F. R. S., on seeing these, remarked the similarity between them and the huts used by the Newfoundlanders while waiting in the deer passes in that island.

“ *Kistvaen*.—See *Comhraihr-cloicha*.

“ *Leabuidh Diarmada agus Grainne*.—Dermot and Grainne's bed. This seems to be only a name given to Cromleac-like structures by a people who did not understand what they were erected for. They are generally less massive than the Cromleacs, the stones used in the construction being flag-like.

“ *Liag-ditreabh*.—A dwelling built of pillars. Many of the smaller so-called Dermot and Grainne's beds seem to belong to this class of structure. Dr. O'Donovan, in his supplement to O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, quotes an extract from the Book of Lismore under the word ‘Dun,’ in which is given an account of the erection of a pillar dwelling for Cormac Cas, King of Munster, who was suffering from innumerable wounds received in the battle of Samhna.”

The Rev. Philip Moore, P. P., Johnstown, announced the discovery of an ancient Irish Bell in his neighbourhood, close to the old church of Foulks court :—It was found on the site of an ancient well, it having been discovered by a workman engaged in enlarging a fish pond, midway between Foulks court Castle and the neighbouring old church, buildings which were evidently coeval, dating about the year 1450. The bell, as far as his observation went, was of iron, covered over with fine bronze, and riveted together at the sides. It had a handle, to be used in ringing it, and there was an iron bar inside upon which, apparently, the tongue had been suspended. When struck it emitted a fine clear sound. Mr. Hely prized the relic very much, but would have, he was sure, no objection to send it to a meeting of the Association for inspection. He said there was a tradition in the locality, that the bell had belonged to the old church, and was hidden in Cromwell's time.

The members expressed a hope that Mr. Hely would, as the Rev. Mr. Moore had suggested, let the bell be submitted to their next meeting ; and it was suggested that he might, perhaps, have no objection to allow it to remain for a while in the museum ; as those depositing objects of interest in the museum did not lose their property in them, but might, by the Association's rules, claim and remove them whenever they felt so disposed.

The following Papers were contributed :—



THE páeth píada (GUARDSMAN'S CRY) OF ST. PATRIC,  
WITH THE ANCIENT PREFACE.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL IRISH IN THE LIBER HYMNORUM, A MANUSCRIPT IN THE  
LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN; WITH AN INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION,  
AND NOTES.

BY J. O'BEIRNE CROWE, A. B.

INTRODUCTION.—The following *cecnad*, or *incantation*, improperly called a hymn<sup>1</sup>, for it is neither a hymn, a psalm, nor a canticle, is printed from the ancient Liber Hymnorum, fol. 19, b. It has already been printed twice, and translated four times. Its first appearance was in Dr. Petrie's "Antiquities of Tara," with a Latin and English translation by Dr. O'Donovan, and its last in Dr. Whitley Stokes's "Goidilica," with an English translation and notes. The other two translations are—one by Dr. Stokes in the "Saturday Review" of the 5th September, 1857, and one by the late Dr. Todd in his "St. Patrick," Dublin, 1864. The after translations differ but very little from the original one by Dr. O'Donovan. Dr. Todd generally follows the "Saturday Review;" while S.<sup>2</sup> himself follows in the most critical places not exactly the text before him, but something which he conceives that text should be. Any material difference of translation between myself and those three scholars will

<sup>1</sup> "In psalmis, qui ad bonam operationem commovent, ethymnis, quide Dei laudationibus dicunt, et canticis, quæ de æterno gaudio sunt."—Petr. Lombard. in Epist. ad Ephesios.

<sup>2</sup> The references used in this paper are as follows:—

- A. E. M. = Death of Eochaid Mac Maireda, Lebor na hUidre.
- B. B. = Book of Ballymote.
- Beitr. = Beiträge zur vergleichenden sprachforschung. Berlin.
- B. H. = Brocan's Hymn, Liber Hymnorum.
- B. L. = Book of Leinster.
- Br. D. = Destruction of Brudin Da Derga, Lebor na hUidre.
- C. R. R. = Cato: Res Rusticæ.
- C. Gall. = Cæsar de Bello Gallico.
- D. L. = Daim Liaco.
- D. S. = Dindsenchus.

- F. A. = Vision of Adamnan, Lebor na hUidre.
- F. B. = Feast of Bricriu, Lebor na hUidre.
- L. H. = Liber Hymnorum.
- L. Oll. = Lebor Oll., B. B.
- L. U. = Lebor na hUidre.
- M. R. = Battle of Mag Rath.
- O'D. = Dr. O'Donovan.
- S. = Dr. Whitley Stokes.
- Sc. E. = Scela na Esergi, L. U.
- S. C. = Spirit-chariot of O.Chulaind, L. U.
- S. H. = Sanctan's Hymn, L. H.
- S. M. D. = Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin, L. U.
- Ta. = Tain Bo Cuailnge, L. U.
- T. E. = Tochmarc Emare, L. U.
- T. Et. = Tochmarc Etaine, L. U.
- Ur. = Uraicept.
- Z. = Zeuss: Gramm. Celtica.

be pointed out in the notes, while the text will now, for the first time, be correctly given.

In the original preface, our poem is technically called *Páeth Fíada*, "Guardsman's Cry," incorrectly written *pech fíada* by O'D. and T., and by the latter erroneously rendered "Instruction of the Deer."—See note <sup>b</sup> on the Preface. In the L. Oll., we read that the curriculum for the degree of *pil* extended over twelve years; and among the subjects for the eighth year we find *cetnatn uire*, incantation for long life, introduced thus: Incipit *cetnatn uire*, and proceeding thus: *Nuall fip fía fop ret*, &c., "Cry of a man of protection on a journey," &c. This *cetnatn* ends in the same way as St. Patric's—"Domini est salus," &c., and is the only one in the book which so ends. It will be observed that the *nuall fip fía* of B. Ballymote is the same as the *páeth fíada* of the *Liber Hymnorum*—*nuall* being = *páeth*; and *fip fía* = *fíada*.

At this point of our remarks, the Irish student will, no doubt, call to mind the *pech fía* of later manuscripts, and ask himself if there is any connexion between it and our *páeth fíada*. Now, I give it as my opinion, that there is a connexion between these two names. In the seventh Life of St. Patric, printed by Colgan (cap. 103), it is stated that the apostle left his disciple Benignus as abbot at Druimm Lias; and in the Irish notes in the Book of Armagh (S. "Goidilic." p. 38) the same fact is recorded; and further, that Feth Fio made a bequest to the monks of Druimm Lias. Colgan is not sure whether this Benignus was our Benen or a fellow-disciple of his; but it strikes me that he must have been our Benen, and that Feth Fio was his Irish name. If so, the original name of our charm would be *Páeth fíada Fetho Fio*, and the authorship of it should be ascribed to Benen, as in fact, in all consistency, it must be. And, as in the oldest known copy of the preface, that of the *Liber Hymnorum*, the *α* subjoined to *e* (= *æ*) in *páeth* is at present scarcely visible, but most certainly there; and as the *o* in *fíada* is in pronunciation almost silent, so *páeth fíada* and *pecho fío* would become almost identical in sound, and the one would be regarded as a repetition of the other, and the consequence would be, that one form only would finally be retained. But whether

Feth Fío was Benen or not, it is certain that the feth fíā, translated *magical mist*, &c., was, originally, name and rite, the same as our fáeth fíāda.

*Poetic characteristics of the Faeth Fiada.*—There are in Irish two kinds of poetry—the one metrical, the other not. The latter species was the composition of the fíli, never of the bard, who always sang in metre (comur) and in rhyme (cubóir). There were sixteen classes of bards, eight of free- and eight of serf-bards : and each class, with the exception of the lowest in free and serf, had his own special form of poetry (his puíole), but was, at the same time, at liberty to compose in all the forms of those below him in rank. Thus the king-bard or ollam, who was chief among the free-bards, composed in all the forms, but bechnao (*bicantus*) was his puíole or propriety. An example of one species of this form will be found in all the poetic parts of the Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin (H. 2.16, T. C. D.), a very interesting piece, which, together with the fragment in Lebor na hUidre, I have transcribed and translated for the Irish Archaeological Society.

The fíli, though originally the only poet, and a poet only, grew at length, in direct antithesis to the fate of the Greek *κωμικός* to be the poet *par excellence*, the teacher of philosophy, philology, rhetoric, &c.; and this development was due to the genius of Celtic polity, so rich in reverence for ancient dignities, so strong in sympathy for established customs, and so fertile in its own resources. All those mysterious compositions supposed to produce supernatural effects, such as incantations, satires, cries of poesy (of the last-named class is our fáeth fíāda) &c., were the works of the fíli, while at the same time his undergraduate course included all the metrical rules of the bards. Thus we see that the fíli and the bard were quite distinct; yet, all our modern scholars have mixed them up together under the general name of *bards*. We read, for example, everywhere, that at the synod of Druimm Cetta (erroneously written Cet in all our printed books) St. Columba succeeded in retaining the bards in Ireland. But at this synod there was no question whatever about the bards : it was the *filis* and their disciples that created the disturbance at the time. The bards never taught, had no disciples, being in fact a modern and non-associate

institution, and represented as such in our manuscripts. Thus L. Oll. :—Cep̄—cín ap̄ na p̄cínbeo p̄mach̄e loiḡ ap̄ na hair̄tib-rea? Nín. Ap̄ ir̄at nuai-lic̄rib̄i ap̄ancab̄ar̄ et̄: “Question—Why has there not been defined a condition of price on these proprieties? [that is of the bards.] Not difficult. Because it is late-literati that invented them.” The *fili*, on the other hand, may be traced back to the remotest period, and indeed his title claims this antiquity, at least if the following idea as to the origin of the name can have any value. In Z. 274, *Cap̄ na p̄leob̄a* is glossed “apud comicos,” which would seem to be an exact translation. As from the Greek stem, *κωμ*, we have *κῶμη*, village; *κῶμος*, village revel; *κωμικός*, village poet; so from the Ir. stem *p̄el*, we have *p̄el*, or *p̄ele*,<sup>1</sup> an enclosure; *p̄leob̄* (written in full *p̄leob̄* in Br. D.), a village feast; and *p̄il̄i*, a village poet.

The non-metrical, like the metrical Goedelic poem, has various forms. In some cases it consists of a certain number of *b̄p̄ich̄e*'s (eight-syllable combinations) in one or more divisions, and generally introduces some metrical lines. Thus in the poem before us:—

P̄p̄i cinchēla p̄aib̄-pachē,  
 P̄p̄i dub-pēch̄tu zen̄ch̄uch̄ta,  
 P̄p̄i p̄aib̄-pēch̄tu hēp̄etēc̄ba,  
 P̄p̄i him̄cellach̄en̄ ib̄lach̄ta,

is a complete quatrain of *Casbairdne*, the most majestic of Irish metres: other metrical portions will be shown in the notes. And so in the B. B. Cry, before referred to, we find perfect metre:—

Roh̄on̄chap̄ mo p̄ich̄e, por̄aep̄chap̄ mo pēch̄e, pom̄on̄chap̄ mo nēp̄e:

Nip̄'b̄ ellum̄ do lēch̄e, nim̄ch̄i bar̄ por̄ pēch̄e, por̄ip̄chap̄ mo chēch̄e.

May my shape be gilt, may my law be freed, may my strength be magnified:

May it be not quick of monument, may death not come to me on a journey, may my coming be verified.

These two lines contain each fifteen syllables, and are in the metre called, “Commingling of variegated rod and

<sup>1</sup> [Do na] ib̄ pelib̄, (gl. de celis) S. “Goidilica,” v. Introd. In the following line from B. L., Dindsenchus of “Sengarman,” it means the enclosed residence of a hun-

ter: Co p̄acca dúice in̄ p̄naib̄e do b̄n̄d̄ pēile p̄ian̄-gl̄aine: “Until he saw towards him the line from the brow of a bright booth of hunters.”

half-great rounding." Further, for the making of an Irish poem, metrical or not, there are, as regards expression, certain laws, the three principal of which are defined as follows in the ancient preface to the *Lebor na hUidre* copy of the *Amra*:—

Ír é immopo a ainm fein lair in Goedel aetpup in guth gnát;<sup>4</sup> ar bíar tpi quale corraile labartha ic pileab na Goedelge .i. aetpup in guth glách, ocup ainrimob ocup abíabul: ocup ír íro aicne ceáir bíb. Ír é int aetpup quibem emnat oén-pocul in oen-inub ír inb punn ocup cen lenamain de o fein immaó. Ír é immopo ainremob ainripin o mub inub .i. int oén-pocul do ríó com menic ír inb punb con etarparbeó pocul ele etarpu. . . . Ír é immopo abíabul .i. apíluob .i. do-emnat:

"But the name of that with the Goedel is *return to a usual sound*, for there be three similar standards of expression with the *filis* of the Goedelic .i. *re-return to a usual sound*, and *re-narration-mode*, and *re-duplication*; and this is the mark of each of them. The return, indeed, is a doubling of one word in one place in the round, and without following it from that out. But re-narration-mode is re-narrating from a like mode .i. the one word—to say (it) frequently in the round with the intervention of other words between them. . . . Re-duplication again is, namely, refolding, that is, bi-geminating."

An example of *aichepnech* in *guthn gnath* in a non-metrical poem is—*Óia, Óia, Donnogur*, "God, God, I beseech him"—in *Dallan's* preface to the *Amra*; and an example of it in a metrical poem is the following in the treatise on Irish Metres in *B. B.*:—

A gilla gluar, geb buainm brian,  
Geb buainm brian, a gilla gluar:  
brian broga in buair, buair fear Fail,  
(buaib fear Fail), brian broga in buair!

"O splendid boy, sing Brian's poem,  
Sing Brian's poem, O splendid boy:  
Brian of the kine's plain, palm of Fal's men,  
(Palm of Fal's men), Brian of the kine's plain!"

Examples of *ainrimob*, which, of the three forms here spoken of, is the only one that appears in the *Faeth Fiada*, as well as in the *Amra*, are the repetition of *mupc* at the

<sup>4</sup> This poetic rule is alluded to in a gloss in *S. "Goidilic,"* p. 28: Ír gnath hí palmaib aichepnech forí na punnu cecna, "Usual in psalms is a return upon

the same sounds;" but *S.* erroneously—"usual in psalms is a change on the first words."

beginning of each line of the second division; of *De* and *an* in the fifth division; and of *ppu* in the *Carbairtne* quatrain quoted above. A metrical example is the following in *S. C.* *Cu Chulaind* says to *Loegaire*:—

Nipra caú-ra imlomta fuibell,  
bapa éau-ra cairtbe buben :  
Nipra éau-ra inéaire gamna,  
bára éau-ra inéaire Émna.

"I was not a hound of round-lapping of leavings,  
I was a hound of slaying of troops :  
I was not a hound of watching of calves,  
I was a hound of watching of Emain."

The example of re-duplication given in the preface to the *Amra* is :

Agur, agur, iar cern cern, 7c.

"I fear, I fear, after long long," &c.

From what has been said it will be clearly seen that, in order to edit an Irish poem with any degree of correctness, a knowledge not only of the Irish language, but also of Irish prosody, is indispensable. The want of this knowledge has been such amongst us, that poetry is often printed in our books as prose. Thus, in the *Sep̃l̃ige*, edited by the late Mr. O'Curry, *Loeg* addresses his master in a triplet of *casbairdne* (twist-bardism), introduced by five sympathetic words in prose, thus: *l̃r moṛ ep̃pa do láech*—

l̃aig̃i pp̃u p̃úan p̃ep̃g̃-l̃ig̃e  
Ap̃anabbat̃ genait̃  
Aépa a Ten-mag̃ Up̃og̃aig̃i,

and concludes in a manner befitting this metre. A second time, without any introduction, he bursts at once into another triplet:—

Dúócp̃a a c'ep̃baig̃ anp̃eg̃oin,  
Ap̃ doct̃ac̃ do loch-bp̃iṛga  
Écp̃ ap̃gaib̃ ep̃p̃uib̃,

and closes in a corresponding manner. But all this is printed as prose; and, to add to its prosaic look, the very glosses are brought into the text; but, I must acknowledge, within brackets.

Again, in Mr. Stokes's edition of *St. Brocan's hymn*

("Goid." p. 82), we are favoured with several textual corrections, some of which violate all laws of syntax and word-forms, and all to a great degree through want of acquaintance with Irish prosody. The hymn is composed in the form called *pannaigect mop rcaile*, "loose great rounding," which contains twenty-eight syllables in each couplet, and of which the example in B. B. is:—

Ruaibn Rath a brocan bpic,  
beim bobep nachaib do neod,  
Ua níg Cairn-clann, brathaib brian,  
Ip bach in fíaisg ap a eod.

"Ruadre of speckled Brocan's fort,  
A stroke a serpent gives to one :  
Grandson of Cairn-clann's king,  
Brother of Brian, and the raven's colour on his steed."

This fundamental metre, however, is variously modified throughout the poem, though these modifications are quite invisible to the uninitiated. For example, we have occasionally what is called, "Commingling between loose great rounding and twist-bardism," a form having the same number of syllables as the primary metre, but requiring one of the two halves of the first line and a corresponding one of the second line to end in a trisyllable. Thus, lines 47, 48 :—

ba mo ampu apailu—  
Míir docluceptar d'ino lucht—  
Ní coill bach a mmappeta :  
bpothach pocper um a lucht.

"Greater than another wonder was—  
A portion she asked from the charge—  
Stained not her cape-cloak :  
It was flung hot into her lap."

For a *mmappeta* S. has erroneously *anm*—: the gloss says, "nochad o'nòr ap *mafortis* .i. cop-chaille" (*novatio* (?) ab eo quod est *mafortis* .i. cappatum pallium). Several examples of this metre are given in B. B. Another variety is where we have an additional syllable in the last half of each line of the couplet, such half line being called "a third of great-rounding," which consists of twenty-four syllables, while "great loose-rounding," as we

have seen, consists of twenty-eight. An example of this variety is :

Scapaip a hech cenn a bpeic  
In tan dopeptatap po pá[1]n,  
Ní p'bu leich-ipei in mam—  
Macc De ropepaiz in piḡ-lám.<sup>1</sup>

There are several other varieties in Brocan's hymn, but my discussion of these I must reserve for my own Brocan, which is just now ready; for with all due deference to highly scholarlike and most conscientious efforts, I must say that the Brocan of S. is not in either text, syntax, or translation the Brocan of the Liber Hymnorum. In support of this statement, I shall here examine a single couplet only, text and translation, and with this examination close my Introduction.

Ní p'bu aipḡech aip plébe,  
ḡenaip pop mebon maḡe :  
Ampa apab do chuacab  
O'apcnam platha maic Maípe.

Lines 11, 12.

"It was not a cattle shed(?) on a mountain,  
It was born amid a plain;  
A marvellous ladder for the populace whereby  
To visit the kingdom of Mary's son."

*Text.*—In the first place, do chuacab, is do chuacab in the original. In the second place, do apcnam, which S. has corrected into o'apcnam, is quite right, because in reading, the o and a coalesce, a case of frequent occurrence in Irish poetry, though we still more frequently find the final vowel of the first, or the initial one of the second, elided, which of course comes to the same thing. Further, in order to reproduce the original correctly, we should write for the contraction in the MS. last line, maicc, not maic, because it is so written in full in the last word of the first couplet in the poem, where also S. omits one c.

*Translation.*—From the beginning of the poem down to this distich, the continuous subject is ḡriḡiṛ, and so is it here; but S. makes cāthip, taken from the preceding

<sup>1</sup> For my remarks on this distich, see note \* on Text.



couplet, the subject, and hence in part the extraordinary translation. *Uirgech* is not a cattle-shed, but the occupant of an *arg*, "a hermitage;" *air plébe* is not "on a mountain," for *plébe* is the genitive of *plíab*, while *air* would, in this case, require a dative *pléib*: *ó pléib do r-léib*, from "mountain to mountain," Z. *Airplíab* is a compound, "a mountain side," of which *airplébe* is the genitive: *airm in adnacht 'r int airplíab*, "where he was buried in the mountain side" (B. L. p. 156). Again, *genair* is not, "it was born," which would be *genair*, or *rogenair*, or *rogenad*, but, "she worked," and is accordingly here glossed, "*gnur bonum*," "she works good," where the gloss takes it as the historical present, but the past is better. Again, *tuatao* is not an Irish word, but *tuataib* is, being the dative of *tuatae* = *tuath-de*, "paganus," in a theological sense. Comp. Z. 1049: *in tan pombóí ecirtuaithe*, when she was a pagan: *túatí .i. extra ecclesiam*, lb. 1043. In later times *tuatae* came to mean a *laic*, as distinguished from a *cleric*. Correct text as above, and translate:

"She was not a hermit of a mountain tract,  
She worked in the middle of a plain:  
A wonderful ladder for pagans  
To go to the kingdom of Mary's Son."

---

[REMPOCUL.]

Patraicc dorone inn immun-ro. In amreir Loegaire meic Néil dorigned. Fád a denma autem—di a dsoen con a manchaib air náimuib in báir pobátar in etarnio air na cleircheib. Ocur ir luirech hirre inro fri himde-gáil cuirp ocur anma air demháib ocur dúinib ocur tuálchib. Cech duine norgéba cech día con innitheim léir in Día—ní thairipet denma fri a gnúir: bío dstin dó air cech neim ocur format: bío comna dó fri dían-bar: bío lúrech di a anmain iarn a étrécht. Patraicc nochán ro in tan dorata na hetarnaidi air a chiun ó Loegaire, ná digred oc rilad chreime co Temraig: comu annrin atcherra piad lucht nan etarnade comtir aige alta, ocur iarróe<sup>a</sup> in an diaib .i. benen; ocur fáech<sup>b</sup> fáda a hainm.

## pa'eth p'ada.

1. Acompiug<sup>a</sup> indíú níurc<sup>b</sup>—cpen-cogairm<sup>c</sup> Tpinoit. Cpetim<sup>d</sup> Treodataid foir<sup>e</sup> in O'endataid in' Dúlemáin dail.

2. Acompiug indíu níurc gene Cpi'c con a bachíur : níurc cpocta con a adnocul : níurc<sup>n</sup> e'péirge co fpergabáil : níurc—tóniu<sup>s</sup> bo b'pethemnar b'pacha.

3. Acompiug indíu<sup>h</sup> níurc<sup>i</sup> gráó h'puphin in uplataid aingel, h' fpercipin e'péirge ap cenn fochpáice, in e'pnaisgib h'uaral-athpach, i c'airchetlaib<sup>t</sup> p'acha, h' p'páiceptaib ap'ptal, in h'p'eraib f'uirmedach, in enogai noem-ingén, h'in gnímaib f'ep f'ipean.

4. Acompiug indíu níurc nime,<sup>l</sup> p'oilpe gréne, e'pochta p'nechtai, ane<sup>m</sup> chened, déne lóchet, luathe gaethe, f'ubomna mapá,<sup>a</sup> c'airipem talmain, cob'páidecht ailech.

5. Acompiug indíu níurc Dé do m'luamapacht,<sup>o</sup> cumachta Dé do m' chumgabail, ciall De do mm' im-chúr, p'orc Dé do m' p'eimc'ípe, cluar Dé do m' é'p'techt, b'p'athar Dé do m' e'plab'rai,<sup>p</sup> lám De do mm' imdegail. In'tech<sup>a</sup> De do m' p'em'thechtar, p'ciath Dé do m' d'icín, p'ochpáice Dé do mm' anucul—ap in'cleadaib demna, ap a'plaisgib dualche, ap ip'nechtaib aicnib, ap c'ech'n duine m'íúir<sup>r</sup> th'p'ar'tar dam i c'én ocur in ocur, in uathed ocur h' p'ocháide.

6. Tocui'p'ur<sup>r</sup> e'p'pum th'p'a na huile ne'p't-ro p'p'i c'ech ne'p'ten am'p'ar'n, e'p'rócar p'p'ir'c'í do m' ch'up'p ocur do mm'anmain : p'p'i c'inchetla<sup>t</sup> p'áib-p'ache, p'p'i dub-pechtu geint'luichta, p'p'i p'áib-pechtu he'p'etecna,<sup>a</sup> p'p'i h' m'cellachten íolachta, p'p'i b'p'ichta ban ocur gobano ocur o'p'uan,<sup>r</sup> p'p'i c'ech p'ir a p'achuiliu<sup>m</sup> anman<sup>x</sup> duini.

7. Cpi'c do mm' imdegail indíu ap neim, ap l'orc'uo, ap ba'uo, ap guin, co nom'thair ilap f'ochpáice. Cpi'c lim, Cpi'c p'ium, Cpi'c i m' degaid, Cpi'c innium, Cpi'c ip'pum, Cpi'c uapuin, Cpi'c de'ppum, Cpi'c tuathum, Cpi'c il liur,<sup>r</sup> Cpi'c i p'uir, Cpi'c in epur. Cpi'c i c'p'íou c'ech duine im'm'p'op'oda, Cpi'c in gin c'ech óen p'odomlab'p'athar, Cpi'c in c'ech p'urc nom'der'caedar,<sup>r</sup> Cpi'c in c'ech cluar'p' no'amchloathar.

NOTE.—The small letters above the Irish words refer to the notes on Preface and

Text, which follow after the Translation, p. 296, *infra*.

8. Ατομπιυζ ινδιου νιυρε—ερεν-τογαριμ Τρινοιτ.  
 Ορετιμ Τρεοδαταιο ποιρ ιν Οενδαταο ιν Ούλεμάη  
 [vái]. Domini ert palur, Domini ert palur, Chpirtí  
 ert palur; palur tua, Domine, rit pemper nobiscum!  
 (Amen.)

*Translation.*

[FORESPEECH.]

Patric made this hymn. In the time of Loegaire, son of Nial, it was made. And the cause of its making was—for his protection with his monks against the death's enemies, who were in ambush for the clerics. And this is a corselet of faith for defence of body and of soul against demons, and persons, and vices. Every person who will sing it every day with pious contemplation in God—demons will not stand at his face: it will be a protection for him against every poison and envy: it will be a safe-guard for him against sudden death: it will be a corselet for his soul after his death. Patric sang this the time the ambuscaders were given in front of him from Loegaire, that he might not come a-sowing of belief to Temair: so that it is then it seemed before the band of the ambuscades that they were wild deer and a hind after them, that is, Benen: and Guardsman's Cry is its name.

GUARDSMAN'S CRY.

1. May there come to me to-day the power—the strong title Trinity. I believe a Triadness as basis of the Unitness in the Elementer of elementation.

2. May there come to me to-day the power of Christ's birth with his baptism, crucifixion's power with his burial, resurrection's power with ascension, the power—departure for judgment's adjudication.

3. May there come to me to-day the power of Seraphim's orders in obedience of angels, in hope of resurrection for meeting of rewards, in prayers of patriarchs, in predictions of prophets, in precepts of apostles, in faiths of confessors, in purity of holy virgins, in works of just men.

4. May there come to me to-day the power of heaven, light of sun, brightness of snow, splendour of fire, speed of

lightning, swiftness of wind, deeps of sea, stability in earth, compactness of rocks.

5. May there come to me to-day God's power for my guiding, God's might for my uplifting, God's wisdom for my journeying, God's eye for my foreseeing, God's ear for my hearing, God's word for my good-speaking, God's hand for my defending, God's way for my precedence, God's shield for my protection, God's host for my guard—against snares of demons, against persuasions of vices, against inventions of nature: against every person who deems attack for me in nearness and in farness, in singleness and in maniness.

6. Now I have inter-invited for myself all these powers against every dangerous, merciless power that comes opposed to my body and to my soul: against incantations of false prophets, against black laws of hereticians, against surrounding of idolism: against spells of women, and of smiths, and of druids: against every science which is wont to profane the souls of man.

7. Christ for my defending to-day against poison, against burning, against drowning, against slaying, until a multitude of rewards comes to me: Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me, Christ in me, Christ below me, Christ above me, Christ right of me, Christ left of me; Christ aside, Christ along, Christ around. Christ in the heart of every person that may think on me, Christ in the mouth of every one that may speak to me, Christ in every eye that may behold me, Christ in every ear that may hear me.

8. May there come to me to-day the power—the strong title Trinity. I believe a Triadness as basis of the Uniteness in the Elementer of elementation. The Lord's is salvation, the Lord's is salvation: Christ's is salvation: thy Salvation, O Lord, be always with us! (Amen).

[NOTES ON PREFACE.]

\* 1apno6, hind: this word is erroneously printed 1apnoe, and erroneously rendered "fawn" by O'D., for 1apnoe means the "mother," who kept behind the herd, and by a peculiar cry announced approaching danger. Two forms of the word occur in Ta., 1apne, a fem. 1a-stem; and epp a fem. a-stem. Cu Chulaind kills the three sons of Nechta Scene:

cocfala iap fuibiu p6ib am m6chap in an6fai6—"He heard after that their mother's cry after them." He then tells his charioteer to drive on—*6fag in 6peppa ocup inna iappa pil in apn 6fai6*, "on account of the fight and the *hind* that is after us." Here the *cry* of the hind is alluded to, and so in the following: *M6p in cuicbiub 6uib, ol Meob, can 6opund na eppi an6ce6il ucuc pil co popn 6uin*—"It is a great disgrace to you," says Medb, "not to chase that dire-music hind who is slaying you." Next column we have *ailic: pobp6ip6em ap cappa6 oc 6opund na ailice ucuc Con Culain6*—"We broke our chariot at chasing of you hind Cu Chulaind." The nom. *epp* occurs in a title given to Cu: *in6 epp 6ap6ib*—"the hind of championship."

For the double forms *iappe* and *epp*, comp. *6p66ce* and *6p66ic*, Brocan's Hymn; *m6nae* and *m6in*, a bog; *longae* and *long*: *6ob6ochai6 Cu Chulain6 iap rin in a lunga . . . ip iac pobo luch6 o6n-lunga 66*—"Cu Chulaind went after that into his *ship* . . . it is they who were the company of *one ship* for him" (T. E.). I may here observe that this *long* is *not* the Latin "(navis) *longa*," but a genuine Irish word = Lat. *lagena*, and meaning a *vessel*, a *receptacle*, large or small, from the gold-mounted basin in which the daughter of an ancient Irish king washed her snow-white arm to the very city of the Eternal: *innichm6gub na luinge hi pailet noim 6p66 nime*—"The contemplation of the *receptacle* in which are the nine orders of heaven" (F. A.).

<sup>b</sup> *P6ech P6aba*: *paech* (cry) = *p6eb*, or *p6ib*, as *p6ch* (peace) = *p6b*, &c. The lower part of the subjoined *a*, referred to in the Introduction, shows a bold attempt by a modern hand in good black ink to shade the letter, but fortunately the attempt has not been successful. *P6aba*, gen. sing. of *p6ab*, a conductor, a guard: comp. *Sen 66 bonpe*, "God's blessing conduct us" (C. H.); *6en 6o mbeich p6aba ag a popchoimet*, "though there were no witnesses (*recte*, guards) to protect her."—M. R. 144, ed. O'D. So F. B. "They came to Uath to his lake, and guards (*p6aba*) from Bude with them." The word *p6ab*, which is supposed by L. and S. in his Irish Glosses, art. 183, to mean a *deer*, is simply an adjectival *a*-stem, and means *wild* (Lat. *ferus*): *oc peil6 ap ca6 p6ab*—"At rushing on every wild animal" (F. A.). And so Emir, in the Feast of Bricrin, says of herself, *6iamm 66-pe baech, p6ab, 6caplu*—"If I were foolish, *arch*, flightsome." *P6ab*, as a fem. *a*-stem, means a herd of animals (comp. fem. *iall*, gen. *eille*, a flock of wild birds): *6o muccaib ocup 6' aigib alca ocup 6' eppail cacha p6aba ol6ena hi Sl6ib P6a6e*—"Of swine and of wild deer and of a division of every other *wild herd* in Sliab Fuait" T. E. In this passage we see that *mucc* (pig) is a species of the class *p6ab*, and so in H. 2, 18, fol. 155.

From the evidences adduced in this and the preceding note, we can say that "Instruction of the Deer" is not the translation of *p6ech p6aba*. We have seen that *p6ech*, and not *pech*, is the true reading, and that *p6ab* simply never means a *deer*. But admitting for a moment that *pech* is the true reading, which most certainly it is not, the word does not mean *instruction*, but *mental observation*, *perception*. The verbal form occurs two or three times in the Felire of Oengus; one example will be sufficient. *P6ech lat pair Antoni, gl. .i. cuimn6, no p66* (remember, or observe). Augt. 9.

## NOTES ON TEXT.

1. \* *Abcompniug* = *ab-bom-po-iug*, Opt. of the verb *ab-iaɣ*, *ad-venio*, with the infixed pronoun *bom*, "to me," and the precativ *po*: and having *niug* as subject. This compound with the same infixed pron. occurs in Leb. Oll: *atompiaht-pa mabain*, "there came to me (one) morning." S., who corrects the "*blunder*" *coɣaim ʔpinoit* into *co-ɣaim ʔpinoite*, and translates thus:—"I bind myself to-day to (the) strong virtue of an invocation of the Trinity," makes *atompniug* = *ad-mo-jungo*, because he finds *conpiug* glossed *ligo*, Z. 440. But the *piug* in *conpiug* is the ordinary *piɣ*, to stretch = Lat. *rego*, and the force of *binding* arises from the prefix *con*: comp. Lat. "*corrigere catenas*," C. R. R., and *corrigia*, a shoe latchet, and the Skrt. *sam-raj*. *Ab-piug* then would not be *adjungo*, but *arrigo*, for as *conpiug* means *to bring the two ends of a fater together*, and accordingly means *jungo*, so *adjungo* would be expressed by *abcompniug*. This is further proven from the following passage in Michael O'Clery's preface to his *Genealogy of the Irish Saints*, where *religio* is expressed by *achdumpioda*. *ʔibe tu, a legchoir, leg-mib ab' let pen ɣo bpuil capba, eppeacht, eolar ocup achdumpiocet ip in paotap po*:—"Whoever thou art, O reader, we leave it to thy own judgment that there is benefit, effect, knowledge, and religion in this labour." The normal *cumpiugim* occurs in a gloss in the *Amra*, and *cumpiugir*, *conpiug*, pres., and *conpèpaig*, past, in *Ta*: *Conpiug Cu Chulaind inna eppe, ocup ceomalca int apd inna héonu: conpèpaig Cu Chulaind iap pin inna héonu bi tetaib ɣ pèpèbaib in dappait*:—"Cu Chulaind ties the reins, and the charioteer collects the birds: Cu Chulaind after that tied the birds to the chords and ropes of the chariot." The simple *piɣ* occurs frequently. In Brocan's hymn: *pèpaig iapum a oappat, rexit postea carpentum suum*. This *pèpaig* S. has changed into *pèpaich*, making *oappat* the subject, and translating the verb *reached*: but *pèpaich* is *occurrit*. *Raich pich pècher*—(gl. *pèpaichetap*, no *oappat* bō in *pich pèpèrtap*):—"he perceived, or the course he ran occurred to him." And the simple *piɣ* again in B. L.:—

*Rèpaig níg Rubraige ndm*  
O fén oo ʔndig-baile bdm.

"The wrist of noble Rudraige guided  
From that to the Strand-place of Ban" (See D. L. p. 6).

A few lines after this Brocan's *pèpaig*, S. attacks a couplet most unmercifully, deeming it erroneous in metre and word-forms: see this couplet quoted in introduction as an example of additional syllable lines. In the first line in *can bopèrtatap po pan*, he changes *bopèrtatap* into *bopèpnatap*, *pan* into *pain* correctly, but incorrectly omitting *po*: and in the second line omits the *po* of *pòpèpaig*. Now, *bopèrtatap*, they bounded, glossed *pòpèrtetap*, they ran, (not *pòpèrtet*, as S. erroneously has it), is a fine old form—3d. pl. past. Ind. of *ep* with the prep. *bo*. This *ep* compounded with "*com*" occurs in the *Felire of Oengus*, Augt. 26: *bi a chele-bpab comeip*, for its celebration start thou; the gloss is, *epiɣ i pèppom bo ceilebpab a pèile*, "get into standing for the celebration of his festival." So in T. B. the simple *ep*: *oem bep in ben in ʔnuc uoc nìpèpurra*, "while the woman shall be in that manner I shall not start to him." The derivative substantive is *érim* (comp. *ɣaim* from *ɣaim*): *bopapɣetapriu*

bağ-épim bund, "thou promisedst a good drive to us:" (Ta.) The gen.: ba hē ludr ind épma donucpat, such was the speed of the drive which they took: lb. The dative epmam occurs in T. E. The verb epn with or without do, is quite common, and means to "*escape by running away*," so that bopepnatap pain, taking pain, as I suppose S. does, as an attributive dependency on the subject to the verb, would mean "*evaserunt proclives*." There is another verb epn, to distribute, &c., the past of which occurs in Brocan, line 7: epnair cen neim, con machim, "*she distributed without peevishness, without grudging*." The infinitive of this epn is epnail, while that of the former is epnam. This epnail together with begail, and glenail from glen, to adhere, I am enabled to add to Dr. Ebel's single gabail, with the suffix -li. ("Celtic Studies," Dr. Sullivan's Trans., p. 124). The verb beg is not very common, though the compound verbal noun imbegail is: immanbíg Mağ Mupchemne "*who defends Murthemne's plain*:" (Ta.). Pán is either a dat. or acc. fem. of the adj. pán and popán, like opáip, &c., is taken adverbially, and means *down-hill*. Pán as a substantive is like áip, a u-stem: dat. hī Pán Rácha níg: acc. bap Pán na Cappat: (S. C.). Ropepaig is reduplicated 3d. preter. of níg, or perhaps a compound past. of po = Skrt. *pra*, and níg: Céb noí ropepaig Rubpaige pop Éipib—poíuibíg Pērgur a clano popaib a nnipt áacha:—every plain Rudraige governed over Eriu—Fergus seated his clann over them from strength of battle (Invasions of Eriu, B. L.). But in the poem immediately following the simple pret. pepaig: Céb noí pepaig, &c. Translate thus:—

"Her horse separated head from bridle,  
The time they bounded down-hill;  
The yoke was not uneven,  
God's son directed the royal hand."

In conclusion of this note on atompnuğ, I may subjoin, that we might take nuğ as the verb without the precative po, as níg is used intransitively = to go. Thus, in the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman, April 11:

Bepchan paich oo a nígimm  
Berehen of grace to whom I stretch:

just as April 1:

An poep-óenn oo a paighim,  
The noble chief to whom I am making.

In either case the foregoing arguments will hold.

\* Niupt: This is the nom. sing. It cannot be dat. as S. makes it, for atompnuğ niupt, "I bind myself to power" is not Irish construction. Besides the n in niuptn epeipge, which in the nom. singular is correct, would in such a case be inexplicable, and so would all the co-ordinate nominatives in the following sections, such as poitpe, dne, císall, cludr. ntech, &c. As to its form, we may compare the niupt of the same scribe for pept in—pobo móp in niupt do bpiúic, "it was a great miracle for Brigit," a gloss on a passage in Brocan's hymn. So biup, dart: niup, judgment: piup, knowledge: are, though regular dative forms, found as nominatives in Ta. (L. U.)

\* cpen-cogaipm Éipnoic: cogaipm = do-po-ğaipm, vocatio, appellatio, *title*. hī cogaipmim ppecnbaipc, in appellatione rei presentis, Z. 266: cīp līp cogaipmamba, what is the number of titles? H. 3.18,

T.C.D. So the verb: *epí gne ap a cogarap peim*, there are three forms, one which *peim* is given as name: *Ur*. The author prays that the power—the strong name Trinity—may come to his aid; in the next line he proclaims why he calls upon the Trinity. For *cpén-cogarap Cpinoic* comp. *Atéoch pígn ampan aingel, uap ír eb ainm ap cpeppam*, “I beseech the wondrous king of angels, for it is a name that is mightiest,” S. H., and *Óia bó m’ chobair, noeb-cogarap*, “God to my aid, a holy title:” Ib. Here, in the first quotation, “king of angels” is pronounced to be a name which is *mightiest*, and in the second “God” is said to be a “*holy appellation*:” both of which passages may in sentiment and form be fitly compared with that before us. S. and after him T. read against the MS. *cogarapme Cpinoic*, “of an invocation of the Trinity,” but this is violence not only to the text, but to the very ideal of the poem. All the powers asked for are those of objective qualities or objects; but the power of an invocation would be that of a subjective faculty. Besides the word *cogarap* never means *invocation*, that is, in the sense of a *prayer*. In the *Felire of Oengus* it occurs several times, and in every instance means *God’s calling one of his saints from here below to his heavenly reward*. But even here the idea of *title* is the primary one. “Well done, thou good and faithful servant:” here “good and faithful servant” is the *cogarap*.

“*Cpepim cpeobatarb* (acc.) = *credo triaditatem*, “I believe in the existence of a Trinity:” *credo triaditati*, would be—*cpepim bó chpeobatarb*: *credo in triaditatem*, would be—*cpepim hí cpeobatarb*.

“*Poir in oénatarb*: correctly printed by O.D., incorrectly and without intimation *oénatarb* by S., who wanted a *dat.* for his *po*. O.D., T., and S. have erroneously assumed *poir in* to be the preposition *po* with the article, and = “under the;” but for two reasons this cannot be. Firstly, *po* requires either a *dat.* or *acc.*, and *oénatarb* is a *gen.*: secondly, *po* does not take *r* with the article, so that, “under the” would be *po in* or *inb*, contracted into *po’n* or *po’nb*. “*Po coalescit, ut bó, cum articulo: inne bír po’n pógur rín*,” (the sense which is under that sound.) Z. 582. We must, therefore, look out for some solution of this difficulty. I take for the present *poir* to be a combination like *poberr*, and accordingly governing *oénatarb* in the genitive. It may be, however, that *poir* is a compound with the base *ír*, *ér*, like *ír-ír*, faith, *aíth-ír*, opposition, and meaning *support*, which in idea would come to the same thing. Z. has *poirím* (*sustineo*), 462.

“In *búlemáin búil*: *búlemáin* is *dat.* of *búlem*, and *búil* = *búil* (comp. Z. 31), *gen.* of *búil*. Comp. *bácdár búbichíur bpuimn búil*, they were blacker than a chafer’s back, Br. D.: further on—*búbichíur bpuimn búil inc fúil aile*, blacker than a chafer’s back the other eye. *búil*, *búil*, *búlem*: *búil*, a neuter *a-stem*, element, elementation: *í cet cuip-tiu nan búil*, in the first creation of the elements: (Sc. E.): *búil*, a fem. *i-stem*, a thing elemented, a creature: *inb noeb-búil*, the holy creature, Brocan’s hymn: *in Combiu nan búla*, the Lord of creatures, F. A. *Búlem*, *gen.* *búleman*, elementer, creator, *passim*. The root is *bul*, to go: comp. Gr. *στέρω*, to march, lengthened from *σιγχ-* in *σιγχος*; and Lat. *vestigium*, and *στοιχεῖα*, elementa: and so, perhaps, *elementum*, which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, has lost an initial *d*. Comp. Skrt. *as’ru*, a tear = *das’ru* (Bopp). The long-vowel *búil*, *búil*, *búlem*, from the short vowel *bul*, are perfectly analogous in gender, declension, formation, and meaning, to the long-vowel *búl*, a dividing, division; *búil*, a thing



divided, food: *bdilem*, a divider, from the short vowel *dal*, to divide: for though the verb has the long vowel even in old Goedelic, this must have arisen from gunation (comp. *στελχ.-στελχ.*), as the stem vowel is short in Skrt. *dal*, id. *Odál* is common: *ba pdín-bán bpi bdl*, dividing was a peculiar office to her (T. Et.): *pochinpet bdlm bpsain*, the division of Brian descended (A. E. M.): *hí cpích bdl Ríataí*, in the territory of the division of Riata (Ta.). We might take our *bdl* as the gen. of *bdl*, and giving it a philosophical and technical meaning, render *búlemain bdl*, "Elementer of participation;" but on account of the interchange between *bdl* and *bdl* in formation, and the connexion with *búlem*, I prefer as above.

This division is a *cpe-bpícht*, that is, contains three feet of eight syllables each, exclusive of the introductory *acompiug inbú*.

2. \* *Cóniud*: this is the *secessio* of Z. 888: *cóniud plachó ó Róman* (Ib.) *secessio imperii a Romanis*. Inferior copies give *coniuda*, but our *cóniud* is in apposition with *niúpt*, as *cpen-cogairm* is in the preceding section. This division contains a quatrain of *ollcárbaipbne* (great-twist bardism) eight-syllable lines, *niúpt* beginning each line, the introductory *acompiug inbú*, and the last word *bpacha* being extra-numerical: it is, therefore, a *cetap-bpícht*.

3. <sup>a</sup> *Inbú*: omitted by S. These sins of omission are very dangerous: the following is a remarkable illustration. In transcribing the words *ben-cap cpial mo bepcha-pa*, "let my tonsuring be proceeded with," preface to Fiacc's hymn, S. ("Goidilica") omitted *mo*, which is quite plain in the manuscript, but the last word in the line, The result is, that we have (Beitr. II. 396), a new rule of Irish syntax, which lays down that *pa* in such a position as after *bepcha* = *meus*, whereas it is simply the emphasizing of some preceding word, as it is here of *mo*. In support of this rule S. quotes from a poetic fragment of Z. ("Goidilio." p. 27), the half verse *ma-chip-pe a machip pem*, where he finds *mo* also omitted before *machip*, and the *pe* following doing duty for it, as in Fiacc. Accordingly he translates—"my mother was his mother." But if S. will look over the poem a little more carefully, he must see that the *vision* speaks of a person who saw his *own father* delivered of a son, and so he says: "I thought he was my brother, that *my father* was his mother." *Lege m' achip*, my father.

<sup>i</sup> *Niupt ghab hipuphin*: here we should have *niuptn ghab*, but I find the *Liber Hymnorum* frequently omits a final *n* of this kind. Thus, in the first line of Brocan an acc. *n*: *puibe eóin* instead of *puiben eóin*: in the sixth line—*ní píp macc Oé*, "she gave not up God's son," instead of *maccn Oé*. And so in S. C.: *la Cpípt macc Oé bí*, with Christ son of the living God, but in same poem correctly: *ní cumcat ní la maccn Oé*, "non possunt quidquam apud filium Dei." *Ḡhab* does not take the gen. pl. *n*, because the following *h* is for *p*. An Irish *p* sometimes, but rarely, becomes an *h*. Thus in an *Amra* gloss *hapab* for *papab*: *bai peimpath*, gl. *ba beo a pauth*, no *ba bec domeleb*, no *ba beo a hapab*:—"Little was his sufficiency, or it was little he used to consume, or little was the satisfying of him." O'D. and T. err in rendering *ḡhab*, love: and so S. in "Saturday Review," but self-corrected in "Goidilica," *Ḡhab*, love, gen. *ḡhaba*: *ḡhab*, gradus, gen. *ḡhab*.

<sup>b</sup> *Caipcheclab*: S. incorrectly *caipcetlab*. This section is an *oetm-bpícht*, that is, contains eight feet, or sixty-four syllables, exclusive of the introductory *acompiug inbú*.

4. <sup>1</sup> Niupe nime: nime is gen. of nem, a neut. 1-stem, not a fem. a-stem, as Zeuss and all of us have hitherto imagined. Dorap ind nime canapi, the door of the second heaven, F. A.: dorap inotachca in cechpamab nime, the door of entrance of the fourth heaven: Ib. In the Uraicept nem is the example given for deim-bialt, "neut. declension."

<sup>2</sup> One chened: Opposite these words is the marginal gloss lappach, of flame, the only gloss on our poem. This lappach must from its gen. form, (the nom. is lappap), refer to the gen. chened. S. took it to refer to one, and hence he renders dne chened, "blaze of fire," without, however, intimating anything of lappach. He quotes the gloss oop ind paigic ain, which he translates "with the arrow of fire," ("Goidilica"). But I do not know of a word dn meaning *fire*: I know, however, of an adjective dn, splendid, gleaming, noble, beautiful, &c. (never *fiery*), which is of frequent occurrence, and of which our dne is the derivative substantive. buibne dna do ainglib, splendid troops of angels, F. A. Grián dn Inpi Goedel, "noble sun, or splendid sun, of the Island of the Goedel." Fel. 7 July. ba hán aip ceoh aibind nobicir, fuit pulchrum super quodque amoenum erant, T. E. The substantive dne: ap a déni oop ap a dni in chappat oop ind epped aibruibeb and, "for the speed, and for the splendour of the chariot and of the hero who was sitting in it:" Ib. Here, as in our poem, we have dne and déne associated. I agree then with the gloss in rendering dne chened, "splendour of fire," "of flame." That dn, however, is from the same root as Skrt. *agnis*, Latin *ignis*, is, I think, certain; but that there is a substantive dn, *fire*, or that the adj. dn is ever taken literally for *ignis*, is to me unknown. The Latin *ignis* is, so far as I know, always cence, as *ignis* is cene. The gloss oop ind paigic ain will prove nothing, for though there is reference to fire, as there is in our own passage, still the secondary idea—"with the gleaming arrow"—is the most analogous.

5. <sup>3</sup> Pubomna mapa: pubomna is the nom. pl. of the adjective pubomain, *altum*, not an abstract: ip in goichluch pubumain (gl. in profunda palude, Z. 739): pubomain, gl. altum mare, Z. 1030: i pubomain ipppind, in altum inferni, F. A. This section is a coio-bpiche, containing forty syllables exclusive of the introductory acomping indiu.

• Luamapacht: S. incorrectly luamhapacht. Cfall, cludr, bpiachap, lám, intech, poohpact: according to S.'s construction instead of these nominative forms we should have the dat. céill, bpéthip, lám, intuach, poohpacti.

<sup>4</sup> Oo m' eplabpai: S. renders to "speak for me," but eplabpai is more than simple *speech*. He quotes from L. H. dopacab eplabpa bo Sachap, "speech was given to Zacharias," but here also it means *full speech, eloquence*, as the case itself shows. In Ta: eomaio atgeion rium pop eplabpai ind pip combo bpsit, "it happened he knew on the eloquence of the man that he was a satirist." In Br. D.: eciw zdip oop dlarw oop eplabpae, "in wisdom, and celebrity, and eloquence." The simple labpa is always, so far as I know, used to denote a vocal strain of grief or joy. Thus, in the first line of the prologue to the Feline: Sén a Chpipt, mo labpa, "bless, O Christ, my hymn:" in this passage some bad manuscripts give labpab, which is erroneous. In the sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin (L. U.) a great cry is heard—amal bto oc cetol palm nobete and, "as if it were at singing of psalms people were in it:" afterwards it is found that birds were—oc núall oop

oc labpa mór, "at cry and at great strain." And so Art, son of Cond, in his song of prophecy (L. U.) says: mo labpa ní lim, aóc fúir in plaich pínb, "my song belongs not to me, but to the fair prince," that is, Christ. In B. B. page 249, labpa is thus employed: Roóúala íar pín in acaine mór ocup in labpan énept na tpuáig ar in calam, "he heard after that the great complaint and the feeble strain of the wretches out of the earth." Oengus also speaks of his labpa in the epilogue.

<sup>a</sup> Intech: In the following ancient legend from the Uraicept, which I print from the Book of Lecan for the gratification of naturalists and mythologists, intech is explained as réc, Lat. *semita*. Ocup lítep bobepín cia bunab ó píl? Nin. O'ní ír ligitépa, ainm tigi apailí anmanba aitepbur: tpaig mapa, dianib ainm Moloppur, ocup cibeb nech atchi tegdaí in anmanna pín, poillrigcheí bó pír ceoh ealaban. Amail ír réc íarum paillrigcheí eolair bo neoch paíorin in tigi rín, ír amlaib rín ír réc paillrigcheí eolair bo pír ocup aíorin lítep: conib aipí rín eucab int ainm ír *littera* o anmaim tigi in anmanna pempaíorí pop lítep in gach bailí ita. No, *littera* a *litura* .i. o'n poill-rigub .i. o'n chomailc bobepíor na harrata pop rín-clapo eíapcha, ar ír intib nocet-íoribcha leo: no, *ligitera* .i. inteach legínb .i. réc legínb.—And letter itself, what is the origin whence it is? Not difficult. From *Ligitera*, the name of the house of a certain animal that dwells in the strand of the sea, which is named Molossus, and whatever person sees that animal's residence, there is revealed to him the knowledge of every science. As then the seeing of that house is a path of revealing of knowledge to one, it is thus the knowing and seeing of a letter is a path of revealing of knowledge to him; so that it is for that reason the name *littera*, from the name of the fore-said animal's house, has been given upon a letter in every place it is. Or, *littera* from *litura*, that is, from the smoothing, that is, from the rubbing the ancients used to give on old waxed tablets, for it is in them they first wrote: or, *ligitera*, that is, *way* of reading, that is, *path* of reading."

<sup>b</sup> Míbur chpactap: S. reads míbuchpactap, "wishes ill," from a form in the Ir. Tripartite, and though the scribe writes as I do, in two words, perhaps this verb is the true reading. When, however, S. adds that míbur is an impossible form, and that there is no such word as tpa-ctap, and that even if there were, the initial would not be aspirated after r, he goes too far. Míbur, better míber, is the relative present, and this form *does* aspirate. Z. 1041: nachíbmídeb (gl. nemo vos judicet): aí míbeap, a science which meditates: Ur. Tpa-ctap: this form can be a derivative from tpa-ct, as plabap is from plab: and tpa-ct can be equal tpo-ct, as bóbb is frequently written bóbb (see Essay on the Religious Beliefs of the Pagan Irish, *infra*), and palc is written for polc, hair, and pála for pola, gen. of puil (blood). The verb tpuact (= tpo-ct), occurs in the Tain Bo Cuailnge (not Cuailgne, as erroneously given in all our printed books): ó pozáb cáb díb pop tpuactab a óelí, "after each of them began to trounce the other," said of two combatants.

This note I give in defence of the accurate scribe of L. H., who regarded míbur chpactap as two genuine Irish words. If, however, we take míburchpactap as one word and a verb, the form in the text might, perhaps, be retained. Uíchpaccap is a denominative from uíchpach (= dopúchpach) votivus, Z. 271, where Ir. pút = Lat. *vot*—: dopúchpaccap, volunt, Z. 990: ír beic don[ne]p]úchpachap, "it is for thee that I

wish it," F. B. In this latter example the *p* has been omitted through negligence, not on account of mortification, which would not take place after the relative *n*. See Beitr. v. 19. The normal form would be *bon-pútrartar* = *bo-ran-pútrartar*, and from this primitive form we could descend thus: *bo-ran-pútrartar*, *bo-rn-pútrartar*, *bo-r-pútrartar*, *bo-r-útrartar*, *bo-ú-rétrartar*, *bútrartar*. There is as much authority for retaining the *r* as there is for rejecting the *p*. In this section we have a double *oðctm-bpicht*, that is, one hundred and twenty-eight syllables in all, the second beginning with *Incech*, which the MS. proclaims by writing the initial with a large letter. At the same time we have some regular verses, as the *capbairtne* (seven syllable) lines:—

briathar Dó dom' eplabrar,  
Idm Dó do m' imbeagail,  
Incech Dó dom' pemchechtar,

and a triplet of *lubenóppach* (six-syllable) lines :

Ar mtebaib demna,  
Ar arlaigchib bualche,  
Ar ipnechtair aicmib.

6. \* *Cocuiriur* = *bo-po-ab-zairiur*, where the *b* of *ab*, and the *z* of *zairiur* become *c*, and hence the *c* not aspirated. Comp. *cócupib dochum nim chuci*, he invites to heaven to him, F. A. This verb, as well as the parallel prayer in the Book of Ballymote, shows that *acompiuz*, *supra*, is precativè, not declarative, as S. and T. assume.

*Ecpum*: This form is very difficult. I take it as I have rendered: that is, supposing *cocuiriur ecpum* to be equal to a compound *ecip-me-cocuiriur*, where "me" would be what is called a dat. of advantage. The speaker could not use this form, as infixed pronouns cannot be used with *ecip* in composition. Then *cocuiriur ecpum ppi* = *intervocavi mihi contra*. Again, it may be, that the final *m* is a mistranscription for *in*: to my own knowledge this is frequently the case in the best manuscripts. I have tried this form, but I find *m* impregnable. By reading *ecpum*, separation, barrier, we could have perfect sense. In the Feast of Bricriu a quarrel arose: *bogni Conchobur ocup matí Ulad oldena an ecpain*, "Concobur and the rest of the chiefs of Ulaid make their separation." We could thus render: I have invited as barrier, &c.

\* *Ppi unchecla*: with these words begins a quatrain of *Casbairdne*: see Introduction.

\* *hepēcēba*.—O'D., S., and T. render "heresy," but erroneously. *Amasl popa checpaib rin bo'nb epītecbu*, *bo Eotac*, as that was an opinion for the heretic (heretician), for Eutychea. (My "*Scela na Epepēgi*," p. 14.)

\* *Opuab*, gen. plur. of *opuf*, a *b*-stem. There is another word *opúch* an *a*-stem, a satirist. The *opuf* and *opúch* coexisted in Pagan times—*ecip opúcharb ocup opubib*, "among satirists and druids," T. E., but the latter gave way to Christianity, while the former held his position. These two words are never confounded in the older manuscripts, and yet some of our Irish scholars, finding the *opúch* at the Court of the Christian king, tell us that *druidism* prevailed in Eriu for centuries after the days of Patric. This error has arisen from the fact, that the later scribes through pure ignorance turned the *opúch* of the sixth and seventh century into a genuine *opuf*, and then felt themselves of course obliged to give him

practice. Hence our druidic fables of Christian times. There is one example only of confusion between *bpúich* and *bpuf* in *Lebor na hUidre*, the oldest and most venerable of all Scotie manuscripts. In the battle of Carnd Chonaill (L. U.) the scribe writes the gen. *bpuad* for the correct *bpúich*, though in the previous sentence, where the satirist is mentioned, he writes *bpúich* in the nominative.

A note by Dr. Ebel, *Beitr.* iv. 17, in which he speaks of *bpuf* and *puí*, has induced me to examine some nouns of this class, and I shall here say a word or two on the result. I find that such nouns have *two* declensions, the more ancient a vowel, and the latter a *-b*, like that of *bpúí*. But even *bpúí* itself occurs as an acc. in L. U.: *po[í]luic ban in calam Loegaire Opuí*, "the earth accordingly swallowed Loegaire Drui" (fol. 76), unless we take *bpuf* here as the *material* case. *Nof: acat ppi a bin archinon aipibí bí noe*, "there are at its two special points two boats," (Br. D.): *Lá in a tnpcanpab a ndé*, "the day on which he should begin his curach." S. M. D. (H. 2, 16, T. C. D.): *po gach noab*, around each ship (D. S.: B. B.): *bpaé: bí bpóí duba*, two black brows, *Ta: gela béc anb, bubai bpaí*, "white are teeth there, black are brows," (T. Et.), but *cectapnai a dá bpuaó*, "each of his two brows," (T. E.): *puí nom. pl. :-Dubtaó macu lugair, ocup Ppogur Píli, ocup Rup mac Tricím, puí bepla Féni*, "Dubthach Macu Lugair, and Fergus Fili, and Rus Mac Trichim, poets of the language of the Feni." (L. U. fol. 76). The *-b* declension is common. Mean time I am inclined to think that the word *puí* has nothing to do with Ebel's *poi*, to turn, (*Beitr.* iv. 174), for I find *bui* of the same declension to be its exact opposite. Thus: *pobo búí cech buine in a con-belg pom co India*, "every person was a simpleton in comparison with him to India": a Gloss in the *Amra* on the words—*coí india buí do, quomodo narrabit simplex de eo?* Another gloss: *ní ba pcel do buib*, it shall not be a story for a simpleton, for which H. 2.16 writes: *ní pcel do indipin a piabnupi buab*, "not a story for telling in presence of simpletons." *Suf* and *bui* then must, like *póip* and *boip*, *poncha* and *boncha*, &c., be compounds with the prefixes *pu* and *bu*: they are probably *sukavi* and *dukavi*. See Benfey's *Skrt. Dict. voc. kavi*. The loss of a guttural, hard or soft, is common in Irish: thus *méir*, Lat. *mag-nitudo*, has lost its root-letter *g*. As to the meaning of *puí*, in the passage above quoted, it is = *píli*: in the parallel account (*Leb. Oll.*) we read: *Ropp, dubthach, Ppogur-na tpi pílib*, "the three poets." And so *poap* means poetical inspiration, poesy: *Ní poap dopigne in lebran leip lainspech*, "Not poetical inspiration that has made the clear, shining little book:" (*Oengus, Felire, Epil. v. 45*): *aéc cumbrigub indpce po poap do cuibbeó*, "but abridgment of speech under poesy to adapt." (*Ib. v. 65*).

"*Q pachuiliu*: this S. takes as from *apcuil*, assuming the omission of the sign of the past tense, and making the second *a* the infixed relative *quod*; but this last is erroneous. The infixed or prefixed relative *a* which sing. or pl. is a short form of *pan*, *an*, could not cause aspiration. For examples of the infixed relative not aspirating, see Ebel, *Beitr.* v. 17. The following is from *Ta: gilla apaclíó claibeb co pciach ap buab*—"A lad *who* plays sword with shield on kine." The plural *a*, however, of *an*, the pronoun of the third person, aspirates: thus with *apaclích*, just given: *apaclíóeb pom a oénup*—"He used to play *them* alone" (*Ib.*). So in *Fiacc's Hymn*, line 19: *conbachanic int apreat*—"until the Apostle came to them." In *pachuiliu* then we have this plural pro-

noun, *pachuilu* being = *po-a-chuilu*—"has profaned them"—where the *a* is explained by the *anman* following. This pleonasm is common: *papelgatap* (= *po-an-pelgatap*) *na buoni in fíb*—"the troops cut it down the wood," *Ta.*: *papetaman in gilla fín*—"we know him that lad" (*Ib.*) *pachuilu* is third sing. past. Ind. of *cúil* (comp. *cúilech*, *profanus*, *Z.*), like *do-poigú*, *Z.* 439, and having *a* for its subject. Of course we can take the verb as compd., that is, *ap[p]achuilu*, and with the subject relative understood explain in the same way. Another example of a preterite in *-u* is *popú*, *dormivit*, or, perhaps better, *dormiebat*: *caó at ocu caó bingnai oc á p'fíu*—"every ford and every fort at which she slept," *Ta.*: and so *puacpu*, in the following distich from *Brocan*:—

*Puacpu do'n cach—Coemgen cloch—  
Snechta tpiá fín luaber gaech;  
In Glinn da Loch cepta epoich:  
Combnaptiob ríth iap faech.*

"She used to proclaim to the wise one, illustrious Coemgen,  
Snow through a storm the wind hurls:  
In Glenn Two-Lakes sufferings of crosses:  
So that he consulted for peace after distress."

*Do'n cach* (*catus*, *Z.*) is glossed *.i. do'nt ppunch*, to the scholar; and a marginal note says, *no chepcanab bpiúit do Choemgen chaich, aip-  
bpiú, conbluachpeb gaech tpe fnechta ocu tpe fín po'n chpo  
in Glinn da Loch, &c.*—"Brigit used to prophesy to noble, illustrious Coemgen, that wind through snow and through storm would toss him under the hut in Glenn da Loch," &c. *Da loch*, a locative agreeing with *glinn*, like *cuach* in: *hí Slán—cuach benna bairche (Fiacc): cepta epoich*, "sufferings of crosses," the object of *puacpu* put in apposition with *fnechta*: *cepta*, acc. pl.: comp. *Cript ppipinnle mo chepta*, "may Christ resist my suffering," *S. H.*, not "minister to my sufferings." Though *ppipinnle* is glossed by *ppichaile*, yet these two words are quite different. The former prepares against and repels a dangerous object; the latter waits on and serves a worthy object. Thus in the *Tain, Cu Chulaind (prolepsis hic)*, *ppipinnle in coin con a dib lámairb*, "prepares against the hound with his two hands," and kills it. In *ppichalob nech*?—"Are ye in the habit of waiting on any one?" (*Ib.*) It must be understood that a gloss never conveys exactly the meaning of a word or phrase, so that instead of translating the glosses, which seems to be a general rule, the text itself should be translated. *S.* alters the first half of the second line thus: *in glinn da linn cepta epoich*, and in his own way translates the distich:—

"She called Coemgen to the battle,  
Through a storm of snow went wind,  
In the Glen of two Linns he suffered a cross,  
So that he possessed peace after trouble."

\* *Anman*, acc. plural. *S.* reads *anmain*, acc. sing., with which his idea about the aspiration of *c* in *chuilu* would agree, but mine could not. When we have the best copy of a certain text, we should make no alteration whatever in that text, so long as sense and grammar can abide by it. In case of an inferior copy, while a better one can be had, the very reverse is the rule. *Ouin* "of man," Gen. sing., that is, "of humanity" in general. This section is a *veichm-bpiúit*, containing eighty syllables in all.

\* *Cript ilup, Cript i riup, Cript in epur*; S., and T. after him, translate, "Christ be with me at home and abroad, whether travelling in a chariot or a ship." Now, though this rendering is strictly grammatical, it seems forced. "In seat," "in poop," would mean, not as S. interprets, but that Christ might drive Patric's chariot, and steer his vessel. But then "in fort" would be out of harmony with this idea. I take these words to be datives from abstracts in *ap: il lup*, in latitude, from *le*, broad; *i riup*, in longitude, from *ri*, long; in *epur*, in circuitu, from *ep*, round. I may observe that *in latitude* expresses defence "before and behind;" *in longitude*, "right and left;" and *in circuitu*, "all round" St. Patric when a trest; and are therefore not the same as "*Cript pium, Cript i m'beguib, Cript beppum, Cript cuachum*," which imply protection to him when on a journey. As, however, I give this interpretation with diffidence, I shall, before discussing it, submit it to the consideration of Celtic scholars. Meantime comp. *lrap*, swiftmess, from *lu*, swift; and other like forms.

\* *Nomdepcæbap*. This word is quite plain in the manuscript, though S. puts the last two syllables within brackets. This section contains *twelve brichts*, that is, ninety-six syllables in all.

\* For the words—*poip in oendacab in tulemain bail*, the MS. has the initials p. c. (unfinished o?) i. v., but no initials for *bail*. I have therefore put this word within brackets.

## RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE PAGAN IRISH.

BY J. O'BEIRNE CROWE, A. B.

THE title which heads this short paper will inspire hopes which, I fear, may not be realized. Having, however, undertaken to edit a poem such as the "*Faeth Fiada*," the very name of which implies pre-Christian descent, I have thought it would not be right to omit noticing certain allusions to Pagan practices which the poem presents. Meantime I would not at all maintain that the writer paid the slightest homage to those powers of nature, of which he speaks when addressing the author of nature only, or was in the least afraid of "the spells of women and of smiths, and of druids." The assertion sometimes, and even recently made, that he invokes the powers of nature, "of snow, of sea," &c., is entirely unfounded. See Dr. Todd's "*Memoirs of St. Patrick*," p. 431. I consider the introduction of these ornaments as merely formal, and for the sole purpose of

giving an antique cast to the composition. Yet if there are those who believe that the Irish druids were, like the Egyptian enchanter, able to imitate in a manner the wonders of the servants of God, they are only following up the earliest traditions of Ibero-Celtic Christianity.

That the Pagan Irish worshipped and invoked, as did all other Pagan people, the personified powers of nature, as well as certain natural objects, is quite true. Tuathal Techtmar, monarch of Ireland, received as pledges from the nation, "Sun and Moon, and every Power which is in Heaven and in Earth," that the sovereignty should be for ever allowed in his family. King Loegaire, again, went a-hosting once to the Laighe to demand the *Borome* from them. A battle ensued, the Laighe were victorious, Loegaire was taken captive, and compelled to give as pledges to the Laighe—*Ḥrían ocuḤ EḤcā, UḤcī ocuḤ Āḥn, Ā ocuḤ Āocāḡ, MúḤn ocuḤ Tīn*—"Sun and Moon, Water and Air, Day and Night, Sea and Land," that he would not ask the *Borome* as long as he lived. (Conversion of Loegaire, L. U.). He was then released, and the writer further on says: "Now Loegaire goes again a great hosting to the Laighe for seeking of the *Borome* from them. He did not, however, give his pledges to his attention. After he had accordingly come to Grellach Daphil, on the side of Caisse in Mag Life, between the hills .i. Eriu and Alba their names—he perished there from Sun and from Wind, and from the rest of the pledges, for transgressing them in that time used not be dared."

A more ancient and a direct example of Pagan Irish invocation is the following from the Ta. in the same manuscript. Medb, queen of the Connachta, was pressing hard upon Cu Chulaind, sole defender of the Ulaid: Cu makes the following prayer: "*Ābeoā-Ḥa inna ḤuḤcī do cōngnam ḤḤim: ābeoā Nem ocuḤ TalmuḤn ocuḤ CḤuḤnn inḤḤainḤeāḡ. Ḥaibin cḤón-cōideā ḤḤiu: nḤḤleicḤe muḤn-ḤḤiu, cōḤḤoḤḤc monaḤ Ḥéne ḤḤ inḤ Ḥléib túāā Oāine!*" "I beseech the Waters to assist me: I beseech Heaven and Earth, and Cronn [a river in Cualnge] especially. Take ye hard warfare against them: may sea-pouring not abandon them, until the work of Fene crushes them on the north mountain Ochaine!" At this prayer the water



rose to the tops of the surrounding trees, thirty of Medb's horsemen were drowned, and Cu Chulaind slew thirty-two of her bravest heroes. As a Christian invocation the following appears very Pagan, *Leb. Oll.* :—

Gopaimm in Comdb̄ cup na haicib̄ ampaib̄,  
Nem ḡelmap con ainglib̄, leap tonn-ban pop calmain :

“I adore the Lord with the wondrous structures,  
Bright heaven with angels, white-wave ocean on earth.”

We may, however, explain thus : “I adore the Lord, who possesses, or has made the wondrous structures : I adore heaven bright with angels—a white-wave ocean on earth.” In ancient Irish compositions assemblies of angels are frequently compared with the sea. Thus, Oengus, *Epilogue*, v. 13, speaking of the vast number of those who had gone to heaven, calls it : *am m̄up̄ b̄r̄igach b̄uan̄ r̄ain̄*—“that powerful, everlasting sea.” I shall now advert to druidism, but I must tell the reader that I intend to make this paper somewhat general on Ibero-Celtic mythology, while at the same time, I shall, towards the close, make some special comparisons between Gaulish and Irish druidism.

There can be no doubt whatever but the druidic religion was in a certain manner established in Ireland before, though perhaps not long before, the coming of Patrick. Now is this druidism that of Gaul? Are we entitled to apply to Irish druidism the words of Cæsar and others on Gaulish druidism? Not to do so in a general way would, in my mind, be over sceptical and wholly uncritical. The limited range of time and space—the former certainly not very extended, and the latter, the area of a single stock—and it may be added, the peculiar character of the druidic Church must preclude the existence of any very abnormal difference in the druidism of Gaul, Britain, and Eriu. Nay, further, if we assume, as Cæsar states, that druidism not only had its origin, but, even when he wrote, its chief seat in the island of Britain, we cannot but conclude that, no matter what period we may fix on for its first introduction among us, there must have been but very little difference between Gaulish and Irish druidism. But we need not depend wholly on assumption. We can safely

say, that on this subject there is but exceedingly little in Cæsar which might not be applied to Irish druidism, as that druidism appears in our early records. These records have hitherto been a sealed book indeed, but the rapid strides, which Celtic scholarship is now making, cannot but inspire the hope that Irishmen will soon be able to write as sensibly on the gods of ancient Eriu as they can on those of Greece and Rome. It is very unfortunate that we have not had a Cæsar to give an epitome of our religious doctrines: if we had, it would have saved a world of trouble, and prevented the wildest and the most opposite theories being held on the subject. It has been generally believed that the known fact of the Gauls having worshipped the *Dii gentium*, Apollo, Mars, &c., and their co-ordinate female deities, makes against the identity of the Gaulish and Irish faith. We are told that the ancient Irish never reached the civilization point of even idol conception properly so called: that besides the heavenly bodies, they worshipped nothing but pillar stones, remarkable hills, wells, and other natural objects: that they had no knowledge whatever of the *Dii gentium* under any Celtic names or designations. T. "Mem. of St. Patrick," p. 456.

Now this sweeping assertion cannot be substantiated. The idea, for example, that the great idol of Mag Slecht, which our ancient writers speak of as made of gold, was nothing but a "massive stone pillar," without any, even the rudest representation of animal feature, is so very absurd that it need not be discussed. There is a vast difference in height of thought between the mind which assigns a guardian deity to a majestic river, and the mind which assigns one to a massive pillar stone. That the most ancient Irish idols, however, were of wood and stone is most probable, and that some of these ancient idols would be continued through pure veneration, even after the introduction of metallurgy, is also not improbable. It is possible, then, that the great idol of Mag Slecht may have been of stone, but we have no right to assume this against the concurring testimony of antiquity. It must also be remembered that the association of Crom Cruach with king Tigernmas, who was of the race of Miled, and therefore comparatively late, and in whose reign gold was first smelted "in the pits of

the east of Life" (B. L. Invasions), gives probability to this old tradition.

In the Dindsenchus of Mag Slecht, B. B., fol. 220, col. a., we read: *And nobui Cpóic ocur da iual dég do clocunb úimí ocur epeom de óp*: "In it (Mag Slecht) Cruach was, and twelve idols of stone around him, and himself of gold." One of the pretended pillar stones above referred to is said to have been until recently deposited in the church of Clogher, and to have been called *Cloch Óp*, "Stone of gold," and it is further stated that it is from this *cloth óp*, stone of gold, the name *Clochar* has arisen. Now the legend itself is proof positive against the existence of such an idol. *Clochar*, as any Irish scholar might know, does not mean a *stone of gold*: the form *clochar* from *cloic*, a stone, is like that of *rputhar* from *rputh*, a stream, and other nouns of this class with a cumulative signification. The following passage from the Ta. (L. U.) gives the meaning. *Am batár int plóig and epac nóna, conaccatár docupetar in lia forpu anar ocur a céli anfar ap a cend. Conpecat ip mo aer: notuicetip etip bunad Fergus ocur dúnadn Ailello: . . . . ip de atá Mag Clochar*: "As the hosts were there the time of none, they saw the stone is shot over them from the east, and its fellow from the west to meet it. They encounter in the air: they used to fall between the camp of Fergus and the camp of Ailell: . . . It is from it Mag Clochair is." Here we see that a field on which there lies a heap of stones is called *Mag Clochair*. The idea of the worship of natural objects indiscriminately by indiscriminate Iberionacians has taken such a hold of us, that in a most important passage in Fiac's poetic life of St. Patric, where we are told that the Pagan Irish adored *Síoes*, Dr. W. Stokes, "Goidilic," p. 77, renders the word  *síoe*  "fairy mounds." I have noticed this error in my "D. L.," Dublin, 1867, and have shown, I think clearly, that  *síoe*  here means the  *síoe*  spoken of in the Book of Armagh. See my translation of the passage from the Book of Armagh, (D. L. p. 8), and compare it with the questions (Dr. T., "St. Patrick," p. 454) which the daughter of King Loegaire puts to the apostle of Ireland. One of these questions is: "Is (your God) everlasting?" In Irish manuscripts the  *síoi*  are

frequently called the "everliving livings," that is, the *immortal immortals*.

Again, as to the idea that the ancient Irish had no knowledge of the great deities of Greece or Rome, it is true only in the sense that neither they nor any other nation of antiquity had a knowledge of these deities by either their Greek or Roman names or characteristics. We must not suppose that the Gaulish inscriptions are an exception to this rule. In "Apollini Granno Mogouno," for example, "Apollini" is merely borrowed from the Romans, and the true Gaulish name is "Grannos" and the epithet "Mogounos." That the ancient Irish, however, had deities corresponding to those of Greece and Rome, is certain. It is quite certain also that the Irish had as much faith in the valour and power of Neit, their god of war, as the Romans had in their Mars, or the Greeks in their Ares. But as Mars differed from Ares, so does Neit differ from both. On a near occasion, when I hope to have an opportunity of discussing in full the whole system of Iberionacian mythology, I shall endeavour to co-ordinate the deities of ancient Eriu with those of ancient Gaul, so far as these latter are known, and collaterally with those of Greece and Rome. I may state here that every day brings out some additional proof of the original identity of the Irish and Gaulish pantheon. The Irish Bodb (not Badb) has lately been, as I think, satisfactorily, though unwittingly, identified by Pictet with the Gaulish *Bodua* in the name "[C]athu-bodua," "Rev. Arch." vol. 17, p. 13 : but at the same time neither Badb nor Bodb is the Irish goddess of war. There is one thing which M. Pictet would do well to be on his guard against, and that is—placing too much reliance on modern Irish glosses and romances. In the paper just referred to he says : "Cette Bellona (Badb) Irlandaise parait aussi avoir été appelée Machae, ce qui est encore, un nom de corbeau. C'est ce qui résulte d'une ancienne glose citée par Stokes dans sa préface au glossaire de Cormac." The gloss is this : Machae .i. badb, no aṛí an tpeṛ Moppigan : unde meppao Machae .i. cenṛae doine iapn an aṛplech, thus translated by S. "Machae .i. a scald-crow, or it is the third Morrigan : unde meppao Machae, Machae's mast-feeding .i. the heads of men that

have been slaughtered." Now this gloss, even as it stands, neither proves that *baob* is a bird, or that *Badb* and *Macha* are identical. Indeed I have never seen a passage in which *badb* is simply the natural history name of any bird whatever. In one of the most ancient Irish tales we have at present, the *Serglige of Cu Chulaind* (L. U.) two *fiach*'s (*fiach*. gl. *corvus*, Z. 1030) intimidated by their cries the approach of Cu to the field of battle. If in any of the modern romances this *fiach*, that frequents the battle-field, is *baob*, it is only figuratively, as *fatidica* or *Fatua* (= *baob*), and after this latter deity had become confounded with *Nemain*, who was the true Irish goddess of war. In the most ancient Irish mythological tract in existence, the account of the *Tuatha De Danann* in the *Book of Leinster*, *Fea* and *Nemaind* are the two wives of *Net*, and the two daughters of *Elcmar*, whose pedigree is known, while *Badb* and *Macha*, and *Anand*, are the daughters of *Ernmas*, whose pedigree is also known. In another passage in the same tract *Morrigan* is put in place of *Anand*, but with the explanation "*id est, Anand.*" The only inconsistency noticeable is, that the prose gives *Fea* and *Nemand* as the two wives of *Net*, while one of the poems has *Badb* and *Nemand*: but again in the *Dindsenchus of Mag Fea* in the same manuscript, *Fea* is given as one of the wives of *Net*. We may suppose then that *Net* had two wives, and that the second was one time *Fea* and another time *Badb*.

There is nothing more painful to the Irish student than to see the way in which our transcribers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth century have corrupted our ancient tracts. When they met a difficult form or phrase, their invariable habit was to put it into another form somewhat resembling the original in sound, or to substitute what they thought a synonyme for it, or to omit it altogether. Thus *én gaile* "bird of valour," which M. Pictet, *ubi supra*, quoting from O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, considers the *Badb*, is nothing more or less than an attempt to explain the old phrase *lón láich*, *lúan láich*, which occurs frequently in *Lebor na hUidre*. The Irish champion was called *lác gaile*, "heat of steam," and when his champion wrath was roused, his *lón láich* or *lúan láich*, rose from the top of his head, or from his forehead, and set everything around

him in a ferment. This lón láith existed in the champion until death. In the account of the death of Cu Chulaind, his faithful Liath Macha stayed beside him, guarding him i céin poból a anim and ocup pomaip in lón láith ar a étun: "while his soul was in him, and the *lon laith* lived out of his forehead." (B. L.). What this lón láith exactly was I have not yet thoroughly examined, but I apprehend the lúan is that in the phrase lá in lúan, which expresses the ordinary lá inn bráca, "day of judgment." The transcriber of the battle of Magh Rath took lúan in the above phrase to mean a *bird* (lúan is a "black-bird"), and thus én gaile would be somewhat equivalent to the older phrase: in another case, p. 70, he merely alters it into lumbé laic, "wrath of a hero." In the Tain the lón láith acts thus: arpeacc in lúan láith ar a mulluc—"the *luan laith* arose from the top of his head:" arpaic in lúan láith ar a étun comba piteip, pemiteip annemmn ócláich, co p'bo compota ppip in ppoin: "the *luan laith* arose from his forehead until it was longer, thicker than the fist of a youth, until it was equally long with the nose."

These corruptions of single words and phrases have been the source of an enormous amount of injury to true Irish history. I shall give one example in reference to the fabulous Fenian *militia* of ancient Eriu. In a chaste little piece on the causes of the battle of Cnucha, and preserved in L. U., we are told that Murne eloped with Cummall, who was rig-pennib hEpend, "royal champion of Eriu," at the court of Cond, heir apparent to the throne. Tadg, the father of Murne, made his complaint to Cond, who immediately orders Cummall to restore the lady, or leave Eriu. Cummall refuses to do either. "Cond (accordingly) sends his mercenaries and Urugrend, son of Lugaid Corr, and Daire Derc and his son, to attack Cummall." The champion collects his forces—further on called his muintep (family)—and fights the battle of Cnucha against Cond's party. This is the simple and intelligible cause of this battle. But now let us turn to the next oldest account of the transaction, and we shall see what three centuries' neglect of a nation's speech can do towards the falsification of its early records. In the fourth volume of the Ossianic Society's publications is a little tract on the boyish deeds

of Find, son of Cumhall, and beginning thus : *Dopála com-tinól aig ocuṛ inṛich deabtha imon fianaisecht ocuṛ im apo-maepaisecht Eirenn inṛ Cumoll mac Tṛenmóir ocuṛ Uirṡenn mac Luigech Cuṛr do Luaigne* : "There happened a meeting of valour and contention of battle respecting the chieftainship of the Fianns, and the head-stewardship of Erin, between Cumhall, son of Treanmor, and Uirgenn, son of Lughaidh Corr, [one] of the Luaighne." (Ed. O'D., p. 280). In this rhapsody we have the modern *militia* cause of the battle of Cnucha, and why ? Simply because Cumhall's title "royal-champion of Eriu," like "royal-poet of Eriu," and so on, has been turned into "king of the Fenians of Eriu !" but this expression, even assuming the existence of the Fennidian *militia*, would be *pí Fenníbe hEpeno*. That such a body, however, has never had a being in Eriu I hope to be able to show in another place : I shall here merely say that there are three Irish words which must not be confounded : *Péne*, an Irishman ; *penno*, a champion ; *fián* or *fiann*, a body of hunters, plunderers, outlaws, &c.

Let us now return to the Bodb and her friends. The Morrigan and the Nemain appear on different occasions in the *Ta.* (L. U.) : the Badb never, but the Bodb once or twice. The Nemain appears twice in Medb's camp, which she throws into confusion : the Morrigan appears two or three times, first in the shape of a bird perched on a pillar stone in Cualnge, and addressing the famous bull Dond in dark mysterious language. After the address the bull sets out for Sliab Culind, and flings off the one hundred and fifty boys who used to be playing on his back, and kills the two-thirds of them. On another occasion she appears to Cu, in the form of a beautiful lady, and tells him she is in love with him, and has brought him her gems (*reócu*) and her cattle (*inṛib*). Cu said he had something else than love to attend to at the time. She said when he would next engage in single combat, she would in the shape of a serpent coil herself around his feet, and hold him fast for his adversary. Cu threatened he would punish her. She kept her word meantime, but Cu defeated her and wounded her : deities are liable to be wounded, and even slain, as we know from general mythology. She was healed, however, after-

wards, though unconsciously, by Cu himself. When Cu was a lad he met with a queer sprite, who addressed him and picked a quarrel with him, and had him trodden under foot when Bodb, not Badb, with a few words inspired him, so as at once to prove more than a match for his antagonist. Of Nemain I shall say a word or two more farther on. Meantime I have thought it worth while to see if I could, without lengthened discussion, co-ordinate any of our rustic deities with those of any other people. I think I have succeeded in some cases.

*The Morrigan.* She is most infallibly the Bona Dea of the Romans. Like the Roman deity, her special name is concealed, and she goes by the general appellation "Great Queen," as the Roman lady does by that of "Good Goddess." As I have stated just now, she appeared to Cu in the form of a most beautiful young maiden. "Cé tón-riu?" ol Cú chulaind. "Ingen búain ino rí," op rí:—"Who art thou?" says Cu Chulaind. "The daughter of Buan the king," she says. Now Bona Dea is the daughter of Faunus, and búan is exactly the Irish form of Faunus. Again, Bona Dea is, on a certain occasion, transformed into a serpent, like the Morrigan above. Again, her sacrifice is called *damium*, herself *damia*, and her priestess *damia-trix*, words which have not yet been explained. Now, these forms are genuine old Celtic, the Latin termination *-um* being equal to the old Celtic *-on*, and *-ia* and *-iatrix* quite normal: the stem can be the Irish *bam* (Lat. *bos*.) Again, Bona Dea is said by some to have been an Hyperborean, and, accordingly, it may be that Celtic land has given the goddess and her worship to the Romans. The idea that such may be the case receives support from the form *bona*, which may have been originally a proper name, old Celtic for Fauna, another name for Bona Dea, and from the circumstance, that the Morrigan is always engaged about bulls and cows. We have seen her above addressing Dond Cuailnge: we find her again in the same tale offering her cattle to Cu, and again milking the cows of Triphne. In the Dindsenchus (B. L.) I find her coming from Sid Cruachain, her proper residence, and stealing away a bull for a certain purpose. The lady Odras and her gilla, who had charge of the bull, go to look for it. Odras



presumes to make towards Cruachan : the Morrigan meets her—conbepna lind upci di Odrar—"so that she made a pool of water of Odras." This is the river Odras to the west of Sliab Bodbgnai. Again, in the Tain we have the famous Find-bennach, the "white-horned" bull of Cruachan, sacred to the Morrigan, set in opposition to the Dond Cuailnge, the "brown" bull of Cualnge : all mythological, and several myths rolled into one.

Morrigan was also, as we have seen above, called *Anu*, and was the goddess of prosperity and wealth, as we learn from the following gloss on Muma (Munster) .i. mo a hana nár ána cáe coigio, ap ip intí noádnad ban-dia int pónupa .i. Ana a hainm fein : ocup ip uatí pibe ipbepap da chis Anann op Luachair Oeda : .i. "greater its wealth than is the wealth of each province, for it is in it used to be adored the goddess of prosperity .i. Ana her name : and it is from her is called the Two Paps of Anu above Luachair Deda." [H. 3, 18, 565 : a MS. of Trinity College, Dublin]. These "two paps" appear to me to be evidently a trace of the peculiar worship of Bona Dea : they are also mentioned in Cormac's gloss on Ana, and *en passant* I shall make one remark on that gloss. In the oldest copy, that published by Stokes, the gloss begins thus .i. mater deorum Hibernensium : nobu maith dín porbiathad na dee :—"the mother of the Irish gods : it was *good*, *then*, she used to feed the gods." Now, it is evident that these words are not genuine. How does *maith*, *good*, and *dín*, *then*, fit in here? Very badly indeed. I am almost convinced that the original ran somewhat thus : .i. "Bona Dea Hibernensium : nobu maith dín," &c., where *maith* would be an explanation of the epithet Bona : or, perhaps in Irish : .i. "ban-dia Maith nan Goedel : nobu maith dín," &c., where *maith* could very easily become *mater*. The gloss *supra* correctly refers *Anu* to *one*, wealth, Z. 1052.

*Badb.* In Macrobius, Sat. i., 12, it is said that Bona Dea, Fauna, Opis, and Fatua, are one and the same. So in the gloss quoted *supra* *Badb* is *altered* the third Morrigan. This *Badb*, then, is the Lat. *Fatua* exactly, but not the Gaulish *Bodua*. *Fea* (for *Ofe* ?), the second wife of Net, might be Opis. That an Irish *p* = occasionally a primitive *p*, admits of no doubt.

It has been seen that I have distinguished above between báob and boob. Let us try if there is any authority for this distinction. In L. U., the most ancient Irish manuscript now remaining, báob occurs once in the text, and two or three times as a gloss: boob three or four times in the text, once personified, as in the case of Cu Chulaind referred to above, and two or three times as an abstract noun. The only place I remember to have seen báob in the text is in the word báob-rcélaí (gen. sing. or pl.), in the sense, I think, *fatuum*, "*absurd*." In the following case boob is an abstract noun, and cannot have this meaning. Cu Chulaind is in a passion: atcheppa na calenne boobba ocur na cū-nella neime ocur na haible teneo tpicēm-púaid in nellaib ocur in aepaib uap a cūo ne piucūd na ferge fīp-ḡairge hicpáct uapto: "the flakes of fume, and the drip-clouds of blaze, and the sparks of fierce-red fires, were seen in clouds and in skies above his head with the boiling of the truly-fierce wrath that rose above him" (Ta). With "calenne boobba" compare "in buinne díriuc doño-ḡala" in the following passage a few lines after. Ardiṡir, immoro, pemṡir, calcṡir, tpepṡir, fṡirṡir pēól-ḡpand pṡim-lui[n]ḡi móri in buinne díriuc doño-ḡala atpáct a fīp-ḡlete a cēno-mullaig hī cept-airṡi, con deṡna dub-ḡiaicn dṡuibeḡta de, amal ḡiaig do pīg-bruṡṡin in tan tic pī ṡi a tincup hī pērcup late ḡempeta: "Higher, however, thicker, firmer, stronger, longer than the sail-tree of a large chief-ship the straight pipe of brown fume, which rose from the very point of his head-peak in right-highness, so that he made a black fog of druidism of it, like a fog from a king-*Brudin*, the time a king comes to its preparation in an evening of a winter day." In this passage doño-ḡala would appear to express the boobba of the preceding; and in the following passage from the Battle of Magh Lena, ed. O'Curry, p. 30, the word ḡala is used in the same sense, but translatively: ní ḡaimc pīaḡail an a bḡala, "no weeds had grown upon their animosity." O'D. in his Supp. to O'Reilly's Dictionary, renders boobba, as applied to a *road*, by "dangerous:" but it properly means "impassable on account of mist, or darkness."

In some glosses cpu (blood) and boob are made to mean the same thing, but this is secondarily: and, as in

Greek and Roman mythology the Furies are always covered with filth and gore, so also is our Bodb, who is one of the three Furies, and the chief of them : and this Bodb is undoubtedly the Gaulish Bodua. The Latin root should be *fot*, *fod* or *fud*: we might perhaps comp. "fumus" (= *fud-mus*?). At any rate Bodb cannot be *Badb*, the sister of Anu, or the Morrigan (Bona Dea), the chaste daughter of Ernmas and king Buan. I may observe that O'D. ("Battle of Magh Rath") and after him Pictet ("Rev. Arch." vol. xviii., p. 1), erroneously write Erumas, for the Ernmas of B. L. On a future occasion I hope to be able to examine the words *badb* and *bodb* more fully.

As to Nemain, the Irish goddess of war, I have no doubt but S. has, in his introduction to "Three Irish Glossaries," correctly equated her with "Nemetona" in the "Marti et Nemetona" of De Wal, p. 237. From Nemetona we should have normally Nemethon: this contracted would give Nemthon, and with the omission of *.th.* Nemon, the form in Cormac, and with a change to the *-i* declension Nemain (= Nemani), the form in L. U. The change from the fem. *a*-declension to that of *i*- may be compared with the dat. Belesami (nom. Belesama) in the Vaison inscription, and the omission of *.th.* has its parallel in *riu* (sister) = *rethap*. Net, the husband of Nemain, = a Gaulish Nemetos, or Nemetios, Lat. "*Sylvius*" (comp. Mars Sylvanus), as *reth*, way, = Lat. *semita*. Thus for the Lat. "Marti," above referred to, we might have a Gaulish "Nemetio;" so that "Nemetios et Nemetona" would be the Ir. "Nét ocu<sup>r</sup> Nemain." On the same principle comp. our famous "Clidna" with the Gaulish "*Clutondae*:" "Augusto sacrum, Deae Clutondae" ("Rev. Arch." 1865, p. 387). Macha, sister of Badb, I must reserve for another opportunity.

All the deities here spoken of, with the exception of Bodb, are, according to Ibero-Celtic mythology, *Sides*, that is to say, deified mortals. There are in Irish two words—*riu*, "a vault for the dead," and *riu<sup>e</sup>*, "a resident therein"—which have been confounded, and neither of them hitherto understood. The former is the Lat. *situs*, a substantive, and the latter *situs*, a participle. As I have discussed these words in my Daim Liace, p. 8, I shall only

observe here, that when we are told the pre-Christian Irish worshipped idols, the idea is that of Pagan idolatry in general ; while in Fiacc's poetic life of St. Patric they are said specially to have adored *Sides*. The temples of these deities I conceive to have been the vaults in which they were buried, such as New Grange, which was most certainly the great *Sid* of the Brug, that is, the Plain. And now I must observe once for all, that the word *bpuḡ* means a *plain*, and that the plain through which the Boyne runs was, *par excellence*, usually called *the Brug*, and occasionally *Brug maic Indoc*. In the following passage from S. C. (L. U.), the simple and the fuller designation occur. *Am bára em oc dul oar Fán in chappait do Cnuc Side in bpuḡa i Tulaiḡ in Topcompaie im bpuḡ maic Indoc*, &c. :—"As I was then a-going over Slope of the Chariot to the Hill of the Sid of the Plain in the Plateau of the Assembly in the Plain of Macc Indoc." In the Feast of Bricriu (L. U.), Cu Chulaind says : *porḡiuḡ indiu ocuḡ in Liath moḡ-bpuḡa Eḡeno .i. bpuḡa, Mui, Muḡerc, Muḡcemn, Maca, Maḡ Meoba, Cupneḡ, &c.* :—"Myself and the Liath (one of his steeds) have to-day gone over the great plains of Eriu, namely, Brega, Mide, Muresc, Murthemne, Macha, the Plain of Medb, Currech," &c. Here we have some of the Brugs, or great plains of Eriu. Indeed Eriu itself is called by the poets *bpuḡ banba*, "the Plain of Banba." From this *bpuḡ*, supposed by our Ir. scholars to mean a palace, we have, they say, *bpuḡin*, never taking care to learn that the word *bpuḡin* has nothing whatever to do with *bpuḡ*. The correct spelling of this so-called diminutive *bpuḡin* is *bpuḡon*, of which see *postea*. We must not be deceived by the Index "Brugh na Boinne" of the Four Masters, for though O'D. inadvertently admitted this phrase, it does not occur in the Masters or indeed in any other manuscript, so far as I know. The expression, however, would in itself be quite correct, as meaning the plain through which the Boyne flows, just as "Currech Life," denotes the plain through which the Liffey flows : but it must be borne in mind that it could not mean any particular spot. Curious enough, however, the formula reversed does occur, that is, *boano in bpuḡa*, "the Boyne of the Brug," this genitive epithet indicating that the Boyne passes through the

Brug. A confusion between *bpuḡ* and *bpuḡḡ*, or *bpuḡc*, is the origin of the misconception that *bpuḡ* means a particular spot, a palace. The word *bpuḡḡ* must have been well known in ancient Irish, as we have it in Oengus : *polín bupcu in becha*, "hath filled the burgs (towns, cities) of the world." Prol. v., 70. The *Sids* were scattered over Ireland, and in and around them assembled for worship the family or clan of the deified patron. While we had thus a number of topical deities, each in a particular spot where he was to be invoked, the deities themselves, with the rest of their non-deified but blessed brother spirits, had as their special abode *Ţíne nam Ţeoó*, "Lands of the Living," the happy Island or Islands somewhere far away in the Ocean. This *Side* worship had nothing to do with druidism—in fact was quite opposed to it, and must have preceded it in Ireland. The *Sidi* and the druids are frequently found at variance with each other in respect to mortals. Thus in the "Adventures of Condla Ruad" (L. U.) the *Side* goddess, who comes to carry off Condla, tells Cond's druid that druidism has no grades conferred on it in "Great Land," another name for the Irish Elysium, and that as soon as the Law (the Christian?) would come, the demon should cease to utter his incantations through the mouths of druids.

These *Side* deities, like those of other nations, not unfrequently begat children from the daughters of men : such children were, of course, demigods. Thus Lug Mac Ethlend, upwards of a thousand years after his sojourn on earth, begat Cu Chulaind from Dectere, the wife of Sualtam, and sister of Conchobur Mac Nessa. Hence the extraordinary bravery of Cu Chulaind. On a certain evening (Ta.), when Cu was fatigued and wounded, his charioteer Loeg saw a strange personage fully armed making towards them right through Medb's camp. He was dressed in green, purple, and gold, and invisible to all except Loeg and Cu Chulaind. "Who art thou at all?" says Cu. "I am thy father from the Sidi, namely, Lug Mac Ethlend," he says. He then heals Cu's wounds, and lulls him to sleep for three days and three nights, and promises to contend himself with the hosts during that time.

Now, I dare say I shall be considered heretical if I make

Cu Chulaind a purely mythical and mythological being, but most certainly in a certain sense *that* he is, and that alone. His age at the time of his death has been variously given, but generally ranging around thirty. The following passage, however, never referred to before, and the most ancient in existence on the subject, fixes his age at thirty-three. The verses are found at the close of Scathach's final address to Cu "Tochmairc Emere" (L. U.) :—

Ceopa bliabna ar epén-epícaic  
 ba é' neipic ar do loé-namcib;  
 Trída bliabna bagim-pe  
 Sur do gaili gndé-gépi.  
 O rin immao ní fuillim-pe,  
 Do raegul ní mbuim-pea:

"Three years over strong thirty  
 Thou shalt be in thy power over thy numerous foes:  
 Thirty years I boast  
 The activity of thy usual-sharp valour.  
 From that forth I add not,  
 Thy life I declare not.

Here we have the great hero compared to Christ in regard to age, and it is well known that an eminent German mythologist has seen in the hero of the Niebelungen (more anciently Niflungen, "the children of the clouds," *the O'Neils*), merely a mythic personage, whose story is founded on the life of the Redeemer. In the case of Cu Chulaind every thing confirms the view, that his whole history is a fabrication of this kind. He has an immortal father, and a mortal mother of the royal line. He is born in a district remote from Emania, the Jerusalem of the kingdom: he steals away when a child from his mother to contend against the hero-youths of Emania, as Jesus steals into the temple to contend against the Jewish doctors. His boy deeds till the age of seven are an imitation of the legendary early life of Christ. He is brought up by Culand the artificer, as Christ is brought up by Joseph the carpenter. His proper name was Setanta, which he laid aside for "Cu," "Hound" of the fold of Emain. For thirty years he is employed in defending the weak against aggression, and always victorious. The last three years of his life, like those of our Redeemer, are nothing but misery and trouble;

and finally he dies after being pierced by a dart, and after having taken a drink, and standing erect with his back to a pillar-stone to which he had tied himself—ná p' áblao in a púbu nac in a lígu; combao in a perram at-balao :—"that he might not die in his sitting, or in his lying; that it might be in his standing he might die." B. L., fol. 78, b. His enemies gather around him, but for some time dare not approach him : anuap leó pobo beó, "they imagined he was alive." (Ib.) Hundreds of other illustrations might be given from the life of Cu Chulaind, but these are sufficient. How unjust it is to Celtic history and tradition to lay down as sober facts the records of those purely mythic tales, the proper investigation of which would give light and pleasure to the human mind! I trust this paper, which is, I believe, the first systematic attempt to carry mythological inquiry into the very heart of Irish history, will do something towards the encouragement of a study, which, though extremely laborious in itself, yet carries with it its own reward, and offers one other charming attraction to the lover of our unrivalled ancient literature.

Having now discussed our natural object and idol worship, and glanced at the part which some of our spiritual guardians had been wont to take in our affairs, I shall, before referring to actual druidism, see what our records say in regard to some of our ancient festivals. It is usually admitted, nay, there are positive proofs, that the ancient Irish worshipped the sun. Indeed it would be strange if they did not. But the worship of the sun, as connected in popular tradition with May day, is quite a delusion. Beltaine, the most ancient orthography, cannot possibly mean "Fire of Baal," while at the same time the May fires of modern days are quite unknown to our olden records. The only fire known to them is the universal fire of Samain, the first of November. This is most probably the fire in dispute between St. Patric and Loegaire, and not the May fire : for Samain is called in L. U. the *pasch* of the Gentiles : *per Tempa ceca Samna, an ba hi p'oe cairc nan Gentae* : "the feast of Temair every Samain, for that was the *pasch* of the Gentiles."—Birth of Aed Slaine : (L. U.) In the Destruction of Brudin Da Derga, same manuscript, the writer states it as the opinion of some that

the Samain fire had its origin in the fire lighted by the sons of Dond Desa, as a warning to Conaire of the approach of the plunderers: *comb di'n cenbail ut lentap cenbail Samna ó pin co ruibiu, ocup cloca hi cenb Samna* : "so that it is from that fire the fire of Samain is followed from that to this, and stones in the fire of Samain." That the ancient Irish, however, held a solemn and general festival on a certain day, which has thence received the name of the day of Beltaine, may, I think, be fairly proven both from the analysis of the word, and from the modern fires of St. John's Eve. In Z. 769, *belut* is glossed *compitum*, "cross-way;" and we have in Ireland several topographical names beginning with *belut*, though a great many of these *belut*'s have become *belach*'s, and *ból Ácha*. *Beltaine*, then, must be a compound of *belut*, "cross-road," and *aine*, "game," or the last member, is merely an affix like *aine* in *pechtm-aine*, "a week." This Beltaine festival is the *compitalia* of the Romans, which were held about the beginning of the new year with sacrifices at the cross-ways to the rural Lares. Now, the first of January of the ancient Romans would, in an agricultural point of view, correspond exactly to the first of May of the ancient Irish. On the other hand, however, that the sun was a chief deity with us, as well as with the Gauls, may, I think, be satisfactorily shown. I have long thought that the great moat of Granard was the site of a temple to the sun. This place is called in the Tain (L. U.) *ḡránapiud*, dat. of *ḡrán-aipeo*, and glossed .i. *ḡrán-ápo indiu*, "Granard to-day." In another place in the same manuscript the final letter is *o*. This word is a genuine compound, and *ḡrán* is correctly explained by late writers *ḡrán*, sun (= Gaulish *Grannos*, fem. *Granna*), and *aipeo*, *spatium*. There are several *aipeo*'s in Ireland: these I shall examine on a future occasion, and see if I can make anything of them in reference to "temple enclosures."

I have no doubt but the reader has in the preceding pages met with some things which, if not well founded, are at least national, and may therefore fairly claim his indulgence: but what I am going to say just now, though quite as national, is yet so novel that I fear he may not allow this claim. I must tell him, however, in the outset, that I am



more afraid of his anger than of his criticism ; if he will only restrain the former, let him give full play to the latter, and I shall have the greatest confidence in the result. Some few years ago I proposed to myself the task of examining the exact nature of our ancient Brudins, and the result of that examination would have ere this been before the public, if some very strange motives had not interfered to prevent me carrying out my project. I can, therefore, say only a word or two on the subject at present.

Up to the beginning of the Christian era we had in various parts of Ireland a certain public establishment called *bpuoin*—in later writers erroneously spelled *bpuigin*. Thus Brudin Da Derga, near Tallacht ; Brudin Blai, where the wife of Celtchar Mac Uithir was, and where Cu Chulaind (Courtship of Emer), says himself was brought up ; Brudin Forgaill Monach, near Lusk ; Bruidin Maic Gecht, on Sliab Fuirre, in the county of Galway ; Brudin Da Choga, near Athlone, and so on. The most celebrated of these was Brudin Da Derga, the destruction of which, about the beginning of our era, forms the subject of a most curious tale in *Lebor na hUidre*. We are told that these institutions were large farm-houses, always open for the king's servants and all comers, but we are told also, that in each was a magical cauldron called *Coire Ainsicen*, which was never taken off the fire, which gave his proper share to each, and from which no one ever went dissatisfied ; and further, that no matter what amount was put into it to be boiled, there would come out of it only what was sufficient for the company.

This again is turning mythology into history. It seems strange that, with the birth of Christ these Brudins disappeared. If they were only feeding-houses of this kind, should we not see them rather increase in splendour with the introduction of the Law of Love ? But most certainly these Brudins were something of a different kind. Any person who reads the tale of the destruction of Brudin Da Derga, and contemplates the supernatural features attending that destruction, will see at once that this establishment was a religious institution. A certain personage takes a stealthy peep into it, and describes the sights he saw, and these sights are explained by the person to whom he tells them. It is curious that among all the sights described,

champions, poets, pipers, pig-sacrificers, pig-roasters, and so forth, the druid is not named. The two last sights were the drink-bearers of the King of Tara, and the swine-herd of Bodb from Sid Arfemain; and the exponent says that every feast this swine-herd had ever come to had ended in blood.

Again, as the spy was peeping into the temple a certain person was going through a certain performance, and failed in it; from this he knew that some one must be looking on. He accordingly tells Fer Caille, another mystical being, to slay his pig and divine who was at the door of the Brudin, with intent on harm to the men of Brudin. Fer Caille does so, and this is valuable as telling us the animal from which divination was made in ancient Eriu, and it is the only case in Lebor na hUidre where an animal is slain for that purpose: it is also valuable as an illustration of the warlike character of our ancestors, inasmuch as the pig was the only animal sacrificed to Mars Sylvanus, the primitive god of battle.

Now is there any thing to be had that could throw light on these ancient Irish brudins? I think there is. In the first place, *bpuoin* does not seem to me to be an Irish word: it is a fem. subst. = *brudina*. Is this *brudina* a corruption from the Greek *πρυτανείον*, or are they both corruptions from some other more ancient form? The latter is probably the case, for *πρυτανείον* is as strange in Greek as *bpuoin* is in Irish. At any rate the Irish institution Brudin seems to me to be the Gr. *πρυτανείον*. In every independent district of ancient Greece, and also in a few other places nearer home, there was a *πρυτανείον*. This *πρυτανείον* was a common temple for that independent people, and if at any time that people had to succumb to foreign power, the *πρυτανείον* was abolished. Thus the existence of a *πρυτανείον* anywhere was the symbol of independence. It was a religious institution sacred to Hestia (Lat. Vesta.). In it the perpetual fire was always kept up, and if a colony was sent out from any people, from the *prytaneium* of that people was brought the fire to light the new fire of the colonial *prytaneium*. It was a public feeding-house, like the Irish brudin, for citizens who had deserved well of the State, for the destitute orphans of such citizens, for strangers on political visits, for foreign ambassadors especially, and so

on. Was there ever any thing more like an Irish *brudin* and its perpetual fire under the perpetual cauldron? Before each feast there was a sacrifice, and Poseidon and Hestia were frequently combined: Hestia, Apollo, and Poseidon were worshipped in common at Delphi. So the Brudin Da Derga—and it may be every other Irish *brudin* was situated in the same way—was built on each side of the Dothra (*corrupté* Dodder), which flowed through the centre of it. Of course an artificial stream would satisfy the religious idea. In accordance with this character of a *brudin*, it was prophesied that Conaire the monarch could not be conquered or slain, or the *brudin* taken, unless Conaire were killed through thirst. The Britannic druids, it is said, contrived to bring about this fatal thirst, and not only that, but to dry up the Dodder and all the great lakes and rivers of Ireland, save the celebrated fountain Uaran Gara only. Conaire accordingly died of thirst, and the monarchy was destroyed for a time, and with it, of course, all the *brudins* in Ireland.

As a further illustration of the spiritual character of the Irish *brudin*, I may remark, that the expression for being "in the fairies" is, and has been for centuries, in spoken Irish the same as "being in the *brudin*." *Tá ré inran mbnuíohin* means "he is in the fairies," never *tá ré ir na ríohibh*, "he is in the *sides*." The word *bruidhin*, meantime, in the popular acceptance, does not mean a residence or a place, but is taken as a collective noun to mean "fairies," like *fiann*, Fenians. If there is any foundation for the correlation here made, it will advance the actual civilization of ancient Eriu farther back into antiquity than our greatest enthusiasts have ever dreamed of: it will also increase confidence in the records which bind old Eriu to Greece, and in a measure account for the fact, that the word *blá-uain*, the Ir. for "year," finds its sister only, so far as I can yet see, in Hesiod's *πλειών* (= *πλειδών*) "a year." When the Irish *prytaneium* flourished in all its integrity, the calendar for its festivals required the course of the *πλειδων* to be accurately known. The *bpuioin* is abolished, but that indestructible thing—its name—still survives, a name which, with its associate *blá-uain*, is, in my mind, very valuable for Irish ethnology.

In the beginning of this paper I said that it would be uncritical not to apply to Irish druidism, so far as we are not forbidden to do so, the statements of Cæsar and others on Gaulish druidism. Acting on this view, I shall here make a few comparisons between the two branches: at the same time these comparisons must be very succinct.

*Transmigration.*—"In primis hoc volunt persuadere non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios":—"they are specially anxious to have it believed that souls do not die, but after death pass from one to another." We may here see, from Cæsar's "volunt persuadere," how far above his own idea was that of the Gaulish druids; this, however, is not our subject. Now, if Cæsar had said *ad alia*, which perhaps he did, instead of *ad alios*, we should have the Irish and Gaulish transmigration the same. Irish transmigration means the soul's passing from man into other animals—man and all subordinate animals included. Thus Fintan, in the story of Tuan Mac Cairill, passes into a wild ox, that is, a deer: then into a boar, then into a hawk, and so on. This is Ir. transmigration, called by the Greeks *μετενσωμάτωσις*, "transformation of one body into another," while the Gaulish is *μετεμψυχωσις*, "transmigration of a soul into the body of another human being." Our transmigration is correctly called in Scéla na Érép̃i (L. U.), "metaformatio," which is illustrated by the change of a human body into that of a wolf: *no érép̃i bí an íb ainn*, "metaformatio" .i. *carmaínead, íapn dermínect na conpict*:—"the resurrection for which is the name *metaformatio* .i. transformation, after the example of the wolf-shape." (My Ed. p. 21.) *En passant* I may observe that this passage is the oldest authority we have for the human wolves of the Osrairi.<sup>1</sup> But is this transformation Druidic doctrine? Most certainly not: it is purely Pythagorean, and must have for many centuries preceded druidism in this strange land of ours.

Cæsar calls the ministers of the druidic religion by the general name of druids. Strabo distinguishes thus: Bardi,

<sup>1</sup> This is the correct orthography (= Os-sararii), "Ossararians," which name occurs first in Lebor na hUidre, our oldest

Irish manuscript. "Ossar" was the name of Conaire's lap-dog: *vide* the "wolves" of Ossory!

Vates, Druidæ. He says that when Cæsar writes: "Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant," we are to understand him as meaning the *vates*: and that Cæsar also denotes the *vates* when he says: "Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, &c., disputant"—"they discuss much besides about the constellations and their motion, about the size of the universe and of the world, about the nature of things, and so forth" (Strabo, lib. 4). Now I think that Strabo is certainly misled when he thinks that Cæsar means the *vates* here. This office certainly belonged to the chief class, that is, the druids proper, and I am almost sure Strabo is here confounding astrological magic with actual scientific astronomy. Diodorus thus speaks of the *bards*: 'Εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ποιηταὶ μέλων, οὗς βαρδούς ὀνομαζόνουσιν: "and there are among them makers of songs too, whom they call bards."

In these passages we can see clearly three classes—druids, prophets, and bards. The druids were simply the priests in dignity and teaching: the *vates* or prophets were the sacrificers, inasmuch as they were to divine from the victim; the bards were our *filis*, so far as poetry was concerned, but the Ir. *fili* was far superior in dignity to the Gaulish bard. In our religious system we had only the *ὑπὸ* and the *ῥή*: the bards with us were of late origin, and had no official position in church or state. Indeed nothing can prove the late introduction of druidism into our country more satisfactorily than the utter contempt in which the name *bard* is held in all our records. Had druidism been introduced from either Gaul or Britain, even in the days of Cæsar, we should certainly have the *bards* occupying the position which our *filis* have always held. In our ancient records we find the same individual occasionally a *ὑπὸ* and a *ῥή*, and I make no doubt that our *ῥή* preceded for many centuries our *ὑπὸ*, and for those many centuries was the chief minister of religion. After the introduction of our irregular system of druidism, which must have been about the second century of the Christian era, the *filis* had to fall into something like the position of the British bards, but still retained much of their ancient functions. Hence we see them down to a late period practising

incantations like the *magi* of the Continent, and in religious matters holding extensive sway. Thus the *gláim biceño*, a most terrible thing in its way, was all their own without the intervention of a druid.

My late introduction of druidism into Ireland cannot be refuted by the appearance in our manuscripts of druids from the days of Noah to those of Patric. It is well known that in our later writings we have seen druidism in everything. But let us examine our older compositions—pieces which bear about them intrinsic marks of authenticity—and we shall be astonished to see what a delicate figure the druid makes in them. If we begin with the hymn of St. Patric, we find the word mentioned once only, while idolatry and various other matters occupy a prominent position there. Let us pass on to our next tract, Fiacc's life of St. Patric, and we find the author entirely ignorant of druidism. Instead of introducing the apostle of Ireland as overcoming druidic magic, he speaks of the tribes of Eriu as adoring *Sides*, and we know that the *Side* adoration was in direct opposition to druidism. In Dallan Forgaill's *Amra* the word does not occur. In the next tract, Brocan's poetic life of St. Brigit, druidism is unknown: in the next, Colman's hymn, it is unknown: in Ninnine's Prayer of about the same period the word occurs once. In the next great composition, the *Felire* of Oengus, consisting of upwards of a thousand lines, the word never once occurs. What are we to infer from all this? Why, that druidism was never a properly established system in this country: that the stray, and perhaps the many druids, whom the Roman persecution in Gaul and Britain drove over here, were looked up to as magicians, and as such were taken into the keeping of our kings and princes. In this irregular way, however, Irish druidism was spreading and organizing itself in due course, though it had not time for development before the arrival of Patric. This fact accounts for the easy conversion of Ireland to Christianity. How would our apostle have fared in an attack on Gaulish druidism about a century before the Romans had broken up its highly organized constitution? With ill success, I fear, so far as human efforts might go. In the Book of Armagh we find, for the first time, the druids of Tara brought out in bold relief: but

this is done for the sole purpose of exalting the Christian hero who was soon to destroy their power. Mean time I should say that, though Irish druidism never attained to anything like organization, still its forms and practices, so far as they attained to order, were in the main the same as those of Gaul.

*One arch-druid: an annual assembly in the middle of Gaul.* "His autem omnibus druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem . . . . . Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato." "Now, over all these druids presides one, who has supreme authority among them. . . . . These, in a certain time of the year, take their seat in a sacred spot in the territories of the Carnutes, which district is considered in the middle of Gaul." (Ib. cap. 13). That the Irish druids had also a *prym-tyu*, "arch-druid," whose seat was in Meath, is evident from the Dindsenchus of *Mide*, and that they assembled annually, that is, on the first of August, on the hill of Uisnech, which was regarded as the middle of Ireland, is also evident. Cæsar adds that the druids, at this assembly, decided all controversies, &c. On this point I am not able to speak fully at present as regards the Irish druids; that the *fili*, however, acted occasionally as judge is evident from many passages.

*Immunities of druids: their course of studies.* "Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendent; militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitata premiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur, itaque annos nonnulli vices in disciplina permanent:" "The druids are wont to be absent from war, and pay no tributes like the rest: they have exemption from military service and immunity of all things. Excited by such great rewards, many even of their own accord come to them for instruction, and are sent by their parents and relatives. There they are said to learn a great number of verses, and so some remain twenty years under instruction." (cap. 14.) These words may be applied to the Irish druids. The getting off a great number of verses

refer to the bards, who are our *filis*; and though twelve years was the Irish curriculum, according to the Leb. Oll., it may be that many, through dullness of apprehension, or other causes, continued under discipline with us as long as with the Gauls. The great number of disciples attending the Gaulish druids finds its parallel with us. Cathbad, for example, the druid at the court of Emain—if we allow druidism there in the first century—had a hundred pupils in daily attendance (Tain. L. U.). Cæsar's statement that the Gaulish druids committed none of their tenets to writing, though the art was known and practised in all other concerns, public and private, is very valuable: for it shows that the Irish druids might also have been acquainted with the use of letters, though neither they nor their Gaulish confrères have left us a single line to enable us to say so.

In cap. 18, Cæsar says that the Gauls, considering themselves as descended from Dis, the god of the infernal regions, and consequently of darkness, ended their periods of time, not by number of days, but of nights, and that they "so observe birth-days and the commencements of months and of years, that day follows night." This idea is preserved with us in Fuined, a name for Ireland, as well as for the "Abyss:" and also in the fact that our Calendars are called *Felires*, that is, *Vigilaria*, having reference to the eve of a festival, while *festilogium* has reference to the day itself. Our Irish scholars translate Fuined by "West," but the following passage from the Vision of Adamnan (L. U.) shows its true meaning: *Oia popopcongair in Combiu fap anglib ind fumiud oplocud in calman píar na aprtalaib, co ropégtáir ocu co nommémigtír hífepno con a íl-píanaib*:—"When the Lord enjoined on the angels of the Abyss to open the earth before the apostles, that they might view and that they might contemplate hell with its many pains." This word *fumiud* is an *a*-stem, and is entirely different from the word *fumiud* in the phrase *fumiud gréne* "setting of Sun," as this latter is a *u*-stem. *Fuined* would be equal an original *Vanada*.

*Human sacrifices.* Cæsar, *ubi supra*, cap. 16, says that the druids offered wholesale human sacrifices by burning. In our ancient records there is nothing like this, so far



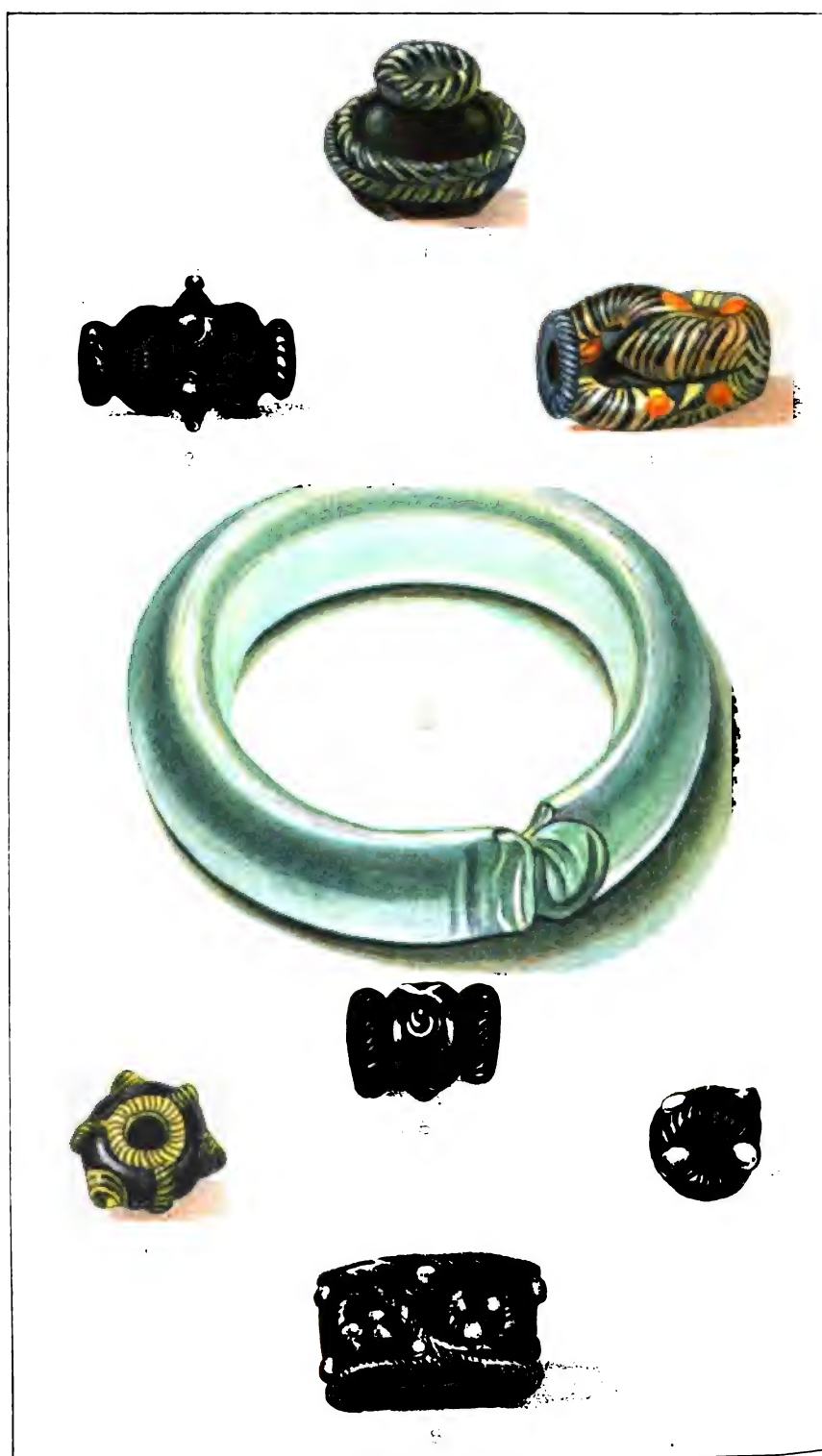
as I know, though at the same time it may have been a rule in Irish druidism. We have, however, instances of public burning for great crimes, especially female immorality, and these may have been sacrifices to the supposed offended deity. Thus Eile, who has given her name to Bri Eile, was for a crime of this kind burned publicly in a *teine tulca*, "hill-fire." Again, in the Causes of the Battle of Cnueha (L. U.), Murne, daughter of Tadge, druid to Cathair Mor, was carried away through force by Cummall, and yet her father would have her burned, if he had not been afraid of the vengeance of Cond Cet-chathach. Again, great breaches of faith were punished by burning. Thus among the pledges given in the case of the three kings of Emain, that they should rule by rotation, were seven chiefs, to *slay* and to *burn* whichever of them would not resign at the end of his seven years. I may observe that the ashes of persons thus burned, or burned by supernatural fire, were usually flung into a river running into the sea, or into the sea itself. Thus in the Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin (L. U.), the navigator and some of his crew landed one day on an island in which was a beautiful dun. In this dun was a splendid apartment hung all round with gold torques, and other ornaments. No living creature was seen in the island, save a cat who was playing about in the apartment. One of the men, contrary to his master's wish, took one of the torques with him, but, as he had reached the Les, the cat gave a bound right through him like an arrow of fire, and instantaneously reduced him to ashes. Mael Duin took up the ashes and flung them into the depth of the sea.

From the way in which the cases of Murne and Eile are spoken of, as well as those of others, it would appear that both law and custom left the family criminals to family punishment. This was the case in ancient Gaul, and Cæsar gives an exact parallel, cap. 19: "The husbands have the power of life and death over their wives as well as their children; and when the father of a family of a rather illustrious name has died, his relatives assemble, and if any suspicion arises about his death, they hold an investigation on the wives as on a slave, and if anything wrong is discovered, they put them to death with *fire*, and all sorts of tortures."

Parallels on many other points might be given, but as my paper has already extended far beyond the intended limit, I shall conclude by giving an example of a funeral sacrifice in ancient Eriu. The record occurs in L. U., and is therefore of great authority, and being the only one of the kind I know of, I deem it of vast importance. Ailell is on his sick bed, dying with the love of Etain, who is left to take care of him until she has laid him in his grave: *Foppácbao Etáin hi fáil Ailella con deppaiceif a éug-maine le .i. co p'clarta a fepc, co poagta a guba, co po opta a cethnai*: "Etain was left in company of Ailell that his last offices might be performed by her .i. that *her* grave might be dug, that *her* lamentation might be acted, that *her* quadruped might be slain." (T. Et.). Here it would seem from the form of the expression that Etain, as being the cause of Ailell's death, calls what should properly be *his*, her own: thus *her* grave, *her* lamentation, *her* quadruped. It may be that Etain intended to lay herself in the grave with Ailell, and that in such cases this was the custom. The whole matter is very curious, and I shall feel obliged for any parallel from either within or without.

On glancing back at the Translation of the *Faeth Fiada*, I find that the phrase "in nearness and in farness" is reversed, and should be "in farness and in nearness:" and that in the next section, instead of "hereticians"—line 4—we should have the words "gentileism, against false laws of hereticians." In the Introduction I pledged myself to an exact reproduction of the Irish text, a thing which had not yet been done, and I think I have succeeded, though I am sorry to have it to say that the Board of Trinity College refused the Honorary Secretary permission to have my copy finally collated with the original. I wish it to be understood that, in the Reference Table, "*Lebor Ollaman*" includes what is so called in the Book of Ballymote, as well as the Tract which immediately precedes it, as the one is merely a repetition of the other.





ORNAMENTS OF GLASS FROM THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

ON SOME ANCIENT PERSONAL ORNAMENTS OF GLASS FOUND  
IN IRELAND.

BY ROBERT DAY, JUN., ESQ., F. S. A.

ANCIENT glass ornaments, from the most simple and unpretending plain blue bead to the amulet studded with settings of enamel or vitreous paste, and of a form so varied in colour and of so much beauty in outline, that they might well be worn at the present day, are still, from time to time, turned up by the plough, brought to light in the reclaiming of waste outlying ground, and found in the burial mounds of pre-Christian cemeteries, with which our island is so thickly studded. Those so accurately figured in the Plate which faces this page I had the honour of laying before the Association at the January Meeting of this year, and I shall now attempt to describe them.

No. 1 was found at Clough, county of Antrim. From its peculiar, and as far as I can ascertain, unique shape, it might probably have formed the head of a bronze pin. It was turned up by the spade, and in so doing slightly injured by the finder.

No. 2 is from Tristernagh, a Priory of Canons Regular in the parish of Ballinacarrig, county of Westmeath;<sup>1</sup> the fact of an amulet of pre-Christian origin having been found here can be readily accounted for. It probably came from one of the many Westmeath crannoges, or tumuli, and, as it is no uncommon thing to find an ancient glass bead on a peasant's rosary, so it might in old times have been placed by the finder on his or her "beads," and might have accidentally dropped off in the abbey. The projections on this bead would serve to symbolize the Five Wounds of our Saviour, and would give it the character of a Christian amulet.

No. 3 is a remarkably fine bead, and differs from the two former by having a number of gold-coloured settings of

<sup>1</sup> I purchased this from the late Patrick Fegan, of Killucan, county of Westmeath. He was, though an humble man, a most

zealous collector of, and honest dealer in, the antiquities of which the surrounding district has proved so rich a depository.

vitreous paste enriching its surface. Where any of these have fallen out, there remains a cavity in the glass, showing that the paste or enamel was superimposed on the bead when in a soft state: this refers to all our glass ornaments which have these settings; the glass was invariably sculpted out, and the setting dropped into the cavity. This bead resembles in form one figured in Vol. II., of our "Journal," 2nd Series, p. 8, found at Timahoe, in the Queen's County, and here reproduced.



No. 4 is a wristlet of beautifully pure and transparent pale-green glass. It was found in unreclaimed ground near Ballymena, in July, 1862. Our National Museum in the Royal Irish Academy, Dawson-street, Dublin, contains a portion of a similar bracelet.

No. 5 is from the Lough Revel crannoge, county of Antrim. It was probably worn as a pin or brooch-head. A very similar bead has been published by Dr. Wilson, in the "Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," Vol. I., p. 446, Fig. 84. And another is figured in Dr. Keller's "Lake Dwellings," with a fillet encircling the three projections as in this bead.—*Vide* Plate LXXXI., No. 2.

No. 6 is somewhat similar to No. 5, but that the yellow stripeing which forms a raised rope ornament, instead of being fused in the glass and forming an integral part of it, has been produced by laying the colour on the surface, and this gives it a peculiarly rich appearance. It was found in the same crannoge with No. 5.

No. 7 is an ornament of blue and white glass, set with six large pieces of light yellow vitreous paste. It is believed to be unique, and is here represented on the side in order to show more clearly the small bead which it contains. It is open at three sides, so that the smaller bead can be distinctly seen, and is also pierced through for suspension like any ordinary bead. In this, the most interesting example of early glass that has yet been preserved in this country, the outer ornament is perfectly distinct and separate from the bead which it encloses; the one, though made over the other, being yet quite separate from it. This

very curious bead was found at Rosharkin in the county of Antrim.

No. 8 was found in the Spring of 1864, near Newtown Limivaddy, county of Derry, by a labourer who turned it up on his spade. It is of oblong form, perfectly plain at the back, and in front is surrounded with a raised blue and white striated beading. It has a similarly formed central scroll ornament, is set with twelve drops of light vitreous paste, and differs from the rest by being pierced with *two* holes, through which a double cord passed.

Blue appears to have been the favourite colour of these ancient beads; but while this is so, our museums and private collections can show others, in pale green, white, yellow, and red, and with spirals and other ornaments of varied colours; while others have a dark ground-work, and are studded with fragments of red, green, yellow, blue, and white enamel, which are set without any attempt at order in the surface. There is one form of glass ornament which, as far as I can ascertain, is found *only* in Ireland. It is shaped somewhat like a dumb-bell (See Fig. 118, p. 173, "Catalogue," R. I. A.), and is made of green vitrified porcelain, or opaque glass; a small transparent glass bead of similar form is figured as part of a chain in Ackerman's "Pagan Saxondom," but it has not the larger ornament.

I have already cited Keller's "Lake Dwellings," and the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," for recent notices of glass beads. Reference is also made to them in Engelhardt's "Denmark in the early Iron Age," where the prevailing types are figured, and in Sir W. Wilde's valuable "Catalogue" of the Royal Irish Academy.

It has long been an open question, whether these ornaments were made in this country, or imported as objects of barter. I would be led to suppose from the fact of No. 5 having its counterpart in Scotland, and again in the Lake Dwellings of Marin, in Switzerland, which has been called by Dr. Keller, "*the* (Lake) Settlement of the Iron Age," and from some of the beads in my collection resembling both in form, size, and colour, beads figured by Engelhardt, that these beads were imported, and that they may be classed with the antiquities which belong to the late bronze

and early iron period. When found by the peasantry, they are still regarded as possessing a talismanic power, and are sometimes called "gloine-an-druidh," or the "magician's glass." And in Scotland they are termed "adder stones," and "snake stones."

I hope this subject will be continued by my friend Mr. Benn, whose private collection and long experience so far exceed mine, and who contributed an interesting paper on Ancient Glass Beads to the "Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire." See their "Proceedings," Vol. VIII., January, 1855.

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## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July the 21st (by adjournment from the 7th), 1869,

The Rev. C. A. VIGNOLES, in the Chair,

The following new Members were elected :—

His Excellency the Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K. G., Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland; the Rev. John L. Darby, Kells Priory; Gorges Hely, Esq., J. P., Foulks-court; Patrick Kennedy, Esq., Anglesea-street, Dublin; and J. Sinclair Holden, Esq., M. D., Glenarm, county of Antrim: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The Right Rev. Dr. Furlong, Bishop of Ferns: proposed by the Rev. J. Kirwan, P. P.

George T. Clarke, Esq., Dowlais House, Merthyr Tydvil: proposed by the Earl of Dunraven.

Michael Den Keatinge, Esq., J. P., Woodsgift: proposed by Major St. George.

The Rev. Richard Radcliffe Carey, Munfin, Ferns: proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

The Rev. William Healy, R. C. C., Cuffe's-grange, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. Hogan.

Edwin A. Eyre, Esq., Clifden Castle, county of Galway: proposed by R. J. Cruice, Esq.

The Rev. Waller de Montmorency, Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. W. C. Gorman.

J. Paul Rylands, Esq., Heath House, Warrington: proposed by R. Day, Jun., Esq.

John Francis O'Boyle, Esq., Dungarvan: proposed by W. Williams, Esq.

The Auditors brought up the Treasurer's Account for 1867, as follows :—

## CHARGE.

1867.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .	260	5	8½
	„ Annual Subscriptions, . . . . .	207	17	6
	„ Life Composition, . . . . .		5	0 0
	„ One year's Rent of land at Jerpoint, . . . . .		1	0 0
	„ Sale of "Journal" to Members, . . . . .		0	6 0
		£474	9	2½

## 'DISCHARGE.

1867.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Postage of "Journal," . . . . .	14	2	0
	„ „ of circulars and correspondence, . . . . .	14	4	6
	„ Illustrations for "Journal," . . . . .	11	14	6
	„ Printing, paper, &c., of "Journal" for October, 1866, and January, and April, 1867, . . . . .	71	14	3
	„ Indexing Vol. V., . . . . .	3	10	0
	„ General printing and stationery, . . . . .	10	2	6
	„ Sundry expenses, . . . . .	7	18	8
	„ Books purchased, including early volumes of the "Journal," . . . . .	9	10	6
	„ Rent and caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey, . . . . .	2	0	0
	„ Rent and Insurance of Museum, . . . . .	14	12	0
	„ Transcribing original documents, . . . . .	5	4	6
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .	309	15	9½
		£474	9	2½

We have examined the Accounts, with Vouchers, and have found them correct, and that there is a balance of £309 15s. 9½d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

Kilkenny, 8th May, 1869.

J. ROBERTSON, }  
P. A. AYLWARD, } Auditors.

The Rev. J. Graves, Hon. Sec., laid before the meeting a letter which he had received from Mr. Layard, First Commissioner of Public Works. That gentleman having given some indication, in the House of Commons, of a disposition on the part of the Government towards the formation of a State Department of National Antiquities, so far as England was concerned, he (Mr. Graves) had written to him on the part of this Association, pressing the claims of Ireland to be taken into consideration in any arrangement of the kind. The following was the reply :—

*" Office of Works, 12 Whitehall Place, S. W., April 24th, 1869.*

" SIR,—I regret that, owing to constant demands upon my time, I have been unable to send you an earlier answer to your letter of the 15th April. You will have seen by an answer which I gave to Mr. Agar Ellis, on the subject of Irish historical monuments, in the House of Commons, that the Office of Works has no jurisdiction in Ireland, but that the Irish Board of Works is under the Treasury. Such being the case, I am unable to take any steps in the direction that you point out.

" I am entirely of opinion that historical remains of interest and importance should be carefully preserved. They form a part of a nation's history, and should be national property. If at any time hereafter it should be in my power to take any steps towards their preservation in Ireland, I will do my best to have them placed under proper care; and I should be most happy to avail myself of the assistance and advice of gentlemen, like yourself, interested in these matters, and of the Society with which you are connected.

" I am, Sir, your very obedient,

" A. H. LAYARD.

*" The Rev. J. Graves."*

The Members present expressed approval of the step taken by Mr. Graves, and considered the reply received to be very satisfactory, as showing the Government to be favourably disposed in the matter.

The following, received from Mr. George M. Atkinson, was considered by the Meeting, and adopted :—

" At a Meeting held July 9th, 1862, on my suggestion it was resolved :—' That objects of antiquarian interest may be deposited for sale at the owner's risk in the Museum of the Society.' I now beg to propose the following regulations for the practical working of this department of the Association :—

" 1. All objects of an Archæological nature to be received on deposit, subject to the approbation of the managing Committee, and as long as there is room in the Museum.

" 2. The same care to be taken of objects deposited as is taken of the property of the Association; but the Association not to be responsible in any case for depredation, loss, or injury.

" 3. A commission of 10 per cent. to be charged by the Association to the purchaser on all objects sold.

" 4. The highest bidder to be the buyer, and if any dispute arise, the objects to be re-sold.

" 5. The carriage to be paid by the senders of all objects, which are to be forwarded direct to the Honorary Curator, J. G. Robertson, Esq., Kilkenny, and to be accompanied by a letter of advice, stating what the objects are, and how they are packed, to save risk in unpacking.

" The lowest selling price of objects to be mentioned by the sender.

" 6. Payment to be made by the buyer to the Honorary Treasurer before the object is removed from the Museum; and the Honorary Treas-

suror shall, as soon as he conveniently may, remit such sum to the depositor or assignee.

"7. All objects are to be taken away, and paid for, at the buyer's expense and risk, with all faults and errors of description, the Association not being responsible for the correct description, genuineness or authenticity of any object.

"8. No object to be considered sold until it is absolutely paid for.

"9. The Museum of this Association, Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and the British Museum, to have the right of pre-emption. The Members of the Association to have the next choice.

"10. Sales to the general public to be effected through a Member of the Association; this Member to be responsible that the object is not purchased as a mere trade speculation, or for any purpose contrary to the objects of the Association.

"11. A Cheque-book, as per form annexed, to be kept by the Honorary Secretary or Curator of the Association, and the coupons, when properly filled, to be considered sufficient for all purposes connected with this resolution. No. 1, to be kept as a record by the Curator. No. 2, to be given to the buyer. No. 3, to be given to depositor."

No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.	HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.	HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.
— day of — 18	— day of — 18	— day of — 18
Received from —	Received from —	Received from —
Residing at —	Residing at —	Residing at —
The following objects :—	The following objects :—	The following objects :—
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
Date _____	Sold and forwarded to _____	_____
Sold to —	(Name) _____	_____
(Address) —	(Address) _____	_____
Money sent _____	_____ Hon. Curator.	_____ Hon. Curator.
Receipt received _____	All objects are received and sold subject to the conditions adopted by the Association.	All objects are received and sold subject to the conditions adopted by the Association.
_____ Hon. Curator.		

Mr. Graves observed that it would be time, before the season became more advanced, to complete the works for the preservation of the belfry tower of St. Francis' Abbey. They had expended nearly all the subscriptions received last year, in placing the cast-iron props under the south

side of the arch, leaving the reparation of the haunches of the tower yet to be done. The Corporation of Kilkenny, on the motion of Mr. Kenealy, had voted an aid of £10 towards the object, and it was to be hoped that the local public would subscribe the required balance. About £25 might perhaps do all that was necessary as regarded the preserving of the tower ; but if a few pounds more could be obtained, there was now an opportunity of having the choir windows and the sedilia opened, which would be a most desirable thing. Mr. Hayes, the proprietor, was quite satisfied to allow them to do this : he had given up the use of the choir as a racket-court ; he had also intimated that he would lay down a smooth green turf, in place of the present flooring, and do all in his power to keep the place in suitable order. It was to be hoped the means of having so great an improvement effected would be forthcoming by means of a local subscription. In the mean time he (Mr. Graves) moved that thanks be given to the Corporation for the donation of £10 towards the works.

The motion was agreed to.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places,” by P. W. Joyce, A. M., M. R. I. A., Dublin, 1869 : presented by the Author.

“Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland,” Vol. II., Part 1 : presented by the Society.

Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Dublin,” Vol. IV., and Vol. V., Parts 1 and 2 : presented by the Society.

“The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” Nos. 99-102 inclusive : presented by the Institute.

“Archæologia Cantiana,” Vol. VII. : presented by the Kent Archæological Society.

“Archæologia Cambrensis,” third series, No. 59 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

“The Journal of the British Archæological Association,” for June, 1869 : presented by the Association.

"Original Papers, published under the direction of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society," Vol. VII., Part 3 : presented by the Society.

"The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine," Nos. 28–33, inclusive ; also, "Some Account of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury ; the Opening Meeting:" presented by the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

"Proceedings during the year 1867," Vol. XIV.: presented by the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

"Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," No. 10: presented by the Institution.

"The Reliquary," edited by Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., F. S. A., No. 37 : presented by the Editor.

"The Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland," Part 36 : presented by the Society.

"The Quarterly Journal of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History," Vol. I., No. 2: presented by the Institute.

"Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord," Nouvelle Série, 1867 ; "Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," 1868, Parts 3 and 4 ; also, "Tillæg til Aarbroger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," Aargang, 1868: presented by the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

"Report of Proceedings of the British Archæological Society of Rome," No. 3 : presented by the Society.

"Rapport sur l'Activité de la Commission Impériale Archéologique," for the years 1865–1867: presented by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

"A Notice of Some Ancient Tombstones at Movilla, Co. Down," Belfast, 1869: presented by William Hugh Patterson, Esq.

"The Carlow College Magazine," No. 5: presented by the Editor.

"The Register and Magazine of Biography," Nos. 5 and 6: presented by the Publisher.

"The Builder," Nos. 1370–1383, inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 228-231, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"Scientific Opinion," Nos. 1-48: presented by the Publisher.

The iron head of an ancient battleaxe, such as the Irish Gallowglasses are stated to have been armed with. The object had been dug up in a field near Mr. Blake's residence, at Ballynemona, Co. Kilkenny: presented by J. S. Blake, Esq., J. P.

"An encaustic flooring tile from St. Francis' Abbey, Kilkenny: presented by Rev. J. Graves.

A shilling of William III., found at Clonmacnoise: presented by the Chairman.

A silver coin of Edward IV., found at Stoneyford: presented by Mr. R. Pierse.

A halfpenny of William and Mary, dated 1693: presented by Mr. E. Kelly.

A photograph of an ancient carved stone, standing in a field near Stackpole Court, Pembrokeshire, and which had been sent by the Rev. E. S. Campbell, in order that, if possible, some information might be obtained respecting the name EUÍOON, which was plainly carved, in Irish letters of an old form, in the midst of interlacing sculptures of the character usual in the ornamentation of the ancient crosses of Ireland: presented by Rev. C. L. Darby.

A portion of an ancient carving in alabaster, the remaining subject being a representation of a human face, the hair curiously arranged in scallops, surrounded by several figures, apparently of saints and angels, in attitudes of adoration—St. Patrick clearly recognizable amongst the former. The Rev. Mr. Hart—who was anxious for the safe-keeping of this piece of sculpture in the locality, and for that purpose wished to deposit it in the museum—knew nothing more of it than that it had come to him from his predecessor, and that it was supposed to have been handed down from parish priest to parish priest of Freshford for centuries. The impression locally was, that it was connected with the old parish church, and with its patron saint, Lactan, whose head might possibly be intended to be represented in the central figure: presented by Mr. J. Hogan, on the part of the Rev. Mr. Hart, P. P., Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.

Mr. Prim suggested that this was the upper portion of a piece of sculpture which, when completed, had represented the Trinity, the head being intended to indicate God the Father—the portions on which the other two Persons of the Trinity had been typified having been broken away and lost. It seemed older, or, at least, ruder, in execution, than the representation of the Trinity, also carved in alabaster, preserved at the Black Abbey.

Mr. Graves coincided in Mr. Prim's view.

Mr. Graves called the attention of the Members to an ancient bell, found at Foulkscourt, Co. Kilkenny, which Mr. Hely was kind enough to deposit in the Museum for the present. As would be seen by the accompanying plate, it was of the most antique shape, formed of iron bent into the required form and riveted up the sides, the whole having been subsequently coated with molten bronze, to render it sonorous. The bell—a very fine specimen of its class—was  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, and measured  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $6\frac{7}{8}$  inches at the mouth. The dimensions at top were 6 inches by 4. The tongue, unfortunately, had not been found. The discovery of this interesting relic had been reported at their last meeting by the Rev. P. Moore; and, in reply to a letter which he (Mr. Graves) had, in consequence, sent to Mr. Hely, that gentleman wrote:—

“I shall be most happy to send you the bell, and also to allow it to remain for some time in the Museum of the Association, at Kilkenny, as suggested by Mr. Prim at the last Meeting, should it be thought worth a place there. The bell was found by some workmen, whom I employed in enlarging a fish-pond at Foulkscourt, at the depth of two feet six inches from the surface, eighteen inches being bog mould, and a foot sand. In the exact spot in which the bell lay there is now a fine well rushing up. On the rising ground over the fish-pond, and at a distance of about two hundred yards, are the ruins of an old church, of the same age as Foulks-court Castle (about 1400), which is a very short distance from it. There is also a very fine round tower and moat at Fertagh, distant about a mile and quarter, where a tradition still remains that the bell of the round tower and other valuables were thrown into wells at Fertagh moor, at the time of Cromwell's invasion, but could never afterwards be found. The belief here is that this is the bell of the old church of Foulkscourt, and it may have been hid at the same time and in a similar manner as those at Fertagh.”

A special vote of thanks was given to Mr. Hely for permitting the bell to be deposited in the Museum.





ANCIENT IRISH BELL, FOUND AT FOULKSCOURT, CO. KILKENNY.

[From a Photograph.]



Mr. Graves, as serving to illustrate the subject on which they were at the moment, exhibited a portion of an ancient Irish bell-shrine, which belonged to Mr. R. Day, Jun., F. S. A., Cork, and which was to be engraved for the Association's "Journal." It was of cast bronze, richly ornamented, and showed signs of having been heavily gilt, and inlaid with silver or white metal. There was on it an Irish inscription, which yet remained to be fully deciphered. He also wished to place on record the discovery of a bell in all respects similar to the Foulscourt specimen, except that it was only eight inches high, and four by three inches at the base. This bell (at present in the possession of the Rev. Mark O'Farrell, P. P., Ferbane, King's County) was found under the following circumstances, during the drainage works carried on in connexion with the river Brosna, during the year 1849. Close to Ferbane, but on the opposite bank of the Brosna, in the parish of Wheery or Killagally was the site of the ancient Irish monastery of Killwheery. The tradition of the locality always had been, that the bell of the founder of the monastery, St. Rioch, in times of persecution was thrown for safety into a particular pool in the Brosna. In the progress of the drainage works the course of the river was altered, and the pool indicated by the tradition cut off from the main channel. Many people assembled to catch the fish thus left to their mercy; and a boy, who was scooping up the mud in search of eels, found the bell in his dish. The Rev. Mark O'Farrell, to whom they were indebted for this information, secured the precious antique, and still possessed it, but was not so fortunate with regard to the shrine, which originally, no doubt, contained the bell. The side and capping of the shrine, there was every reason to believe, were discovered in the same pool, and were sold at an old iron and rag store in Athlone by the finder. They were described as of white metal, enriched by ornament, and set with amber-coloured beads. The Rev. Mr. O'Farrell had made every inquiry at this store, but without success, as all knowledge of the purchase was denied. He hoped, however, yet to obtain these interesting relics.

Mr. Graves added that the Rev. Dr. Reeves had promised them a paper on Mr. Day's antique.

Mr. G. Henry Kinahan, M.R.I.A., Honorary Provincial Secretary for Connaught, sent the following Report on the state of the ancient remains on the islands off the western coast of Iar-Connaught:—

"During the last few months I have been enabled to visit some of the islands off the coast of Connemara; and, I am sorry to say, found the ruins in a deplorable state.

"*Ardillaun, or High Island.*—The ruins on this island are all shattered and broken; tradition says they were in good preservation when 'The Martin' held the wilds of Connemara; but his enlightened successors allow everything of the kind to go to wreck and ruin—looking more to what can be taken out of the country than what is in it. In the famine years [1846 *et seq.*], many of the most interesting carved stones were allowed to be carried away, while those that were left were tumbled about and broken, and the buildings were pulled about by miscreants hunting rabbits. One cross is in a good state of preservation; while all the rest, and any other carved stones that were found, are more or less injured. Many of the crosses have been removed from the enclosure, and placed at 'stations' or wells in different parts of the island. Your Secretary searched through the *debris* of the building for others, and found two, which he had fixed in upright positions, at two 'stations,' contiguous to the enclosure, in the hope that thereby they may be preserved from further injury.

"*Innishahark.*—On this island, according to the Ordnance Map, there ought to be a church, a cloghaun, and cromleac. The cromleac is broken down, and could scarcely be recognised. However, enough remains to make me believe that it was a real 'cromleac' [i. e. altar]; for it could never have been a 'fosleac,' or flag dwelling-house; and, as there is no earth or stones near it, it could scarcely have been the 'kistvaen' of a tumulus. Of the church, the east wall, with a lancet window, and parts of the north and south walls remain. The window must have been good of its kind; but it and the other parts of the structure are broken down and dilapidated, being in the centre of the village, and the resort of pigs, donkeys, cows, and mischievous men and children. A cross is knocking about in its vicinity, and so defaced that the carving can scarcely be observed. The cloghaun on this island is not better preserved than that on Ardillaun; but, as I hope to give the Society, on a future occasion, its full description, it need not be further referred to.

"*Innishbofin.*—On this island the ancient buildings are all but swept off the face of creation—only a fragment of St. Colman's Abbey remaining of all those buildings the island once possessed. Even Cromwell Barrack is fast disappearing, as it is being dismantled to get the limestones in the structure (which were brought from the Aran Isles), to burn them into lime."

Mr. R. R. Brash wrote to say that, having been staying at Tramore lately, he had visited Ballyquin and Windgap,

in the county of Waterford, and examined the fine Ogham pillars there. The Ogham pillar at Windgap—a very interesting monument—is unfortunately buried head downward, in the excavation made to effect an entrance into the cave of the rath whereon it is situated. A dozen men and a few hours' labour would set it upright. He hoped that some of their Members in that neighbourhood would undertake this work. He had also visited Templeenoch in search of an Ogham described by Mr. (now the Rev.) W. R. Blacket, in our "Journal" (vol. iii., p. 8, 2nd series); but regretted to say that he had been quite unsuccessful in his search, after a very careful scrutiny both inside and outside the fence. He fell in with the owner of the land, and described the stone to him; but the man stated that he had never seen it, or anything like it. From Mr. Blacket's description it undoubtedly was an Ogham, and its disappearance was therefore to be much regretted. Some of the Members of the Association might perhaps throw light on the subject?

Mr. Thomas Stanley sent the following particulars relative to two stones at Meelehans, a townland situated about three miles from Tullamore, to the right of the road to Geashil:—

"The stones at Meelehans consist of two. The 'Nine-hole Stone' is apparently a boulder, and was never disturbed by man. It is a limestone, but is not related directly to any of the four or five kinds of limestone which belong to the country around it. It is a close-grained fossiliferous stone, and its southern edge is depressed about ten inches lower than its northern. The earth is removed from its surface in a circle of six feet diameter; and on this naturally even face circular basins are cut. Four of the basins measure one foot each over the brim; two are of lesser dimensions; all are concave, and their depths are half their diameters. They were dressed smooth, or perhaps polished. The formation of a seventh was only commenced when the workman stayed his hand. Two additional, which go to make up the 'nine,' are natural depressions, and are barely discernible. The basins are seldom or never without being nearly filled with water; for the incline of the stone, and the drip from off the surrounding greensward, throw so much into them, at each rainfall, as the evaporation of dry intervals is able to exhaust. The stone, at the mean level which this water maintains, is eaten horizontally in thin incisions, sometimes to the extent of an inch and a half. Five of the basins are elliptical, their longer diameters exceeding their shorter by about one inch. The stone is in perfect preservation; and, though the land is often in tillage, there is a wide selva of grass which has remained inviolate from time immemorial.

"There is a second stone—a slab—at some yards' distance. Its eastern side and upper surface are exposed: its north end is lowest. It is about nine feet long, and its breadth and depth each one-third of this measure. There is one basin, which is near its south end, and measures fourteen inches in diameter, and six inches deep. It is a calpy limestone, and has fractures which keep its basin dry.

"John Egan, who led me to see these stones, said that they had been shaded with some venerable hawthorns; and that his cousin—a gaunt, craggy, and lichened specimen of our species—lent a hand at pulling them down this last wet winter. He added, that he heard old people say lights used to be moving about here in the darkest nights.

"Whether these stones were devoted to religion, may be questioned. There is Lady Chatterton, who, in her rambles in the South, describes a pair of basins similar to ours, which she discovered in a 'Holy Stone,' in Father Casey's parish, near Dingle. She calls them primitive mills—perhaps she should say mortars, in which corn might be bruised with a pestle. She says they are to be met with in many parts of this country; and another which she mentions—this may be Denmark. I am not disposed to question her Ladyship's conclusion; and, if any other party have a quarrel with her, it will be my care not to mix up myself in it. If she would speculate in 'Irish,' she might be drawing water to her *mill* from the *meleghans*."

The following description of a tumulus, and its contents, at Topping, parish of Inver, county of Antrim, was sent by J. Sinclair Holden, Esq., M. D., Glenarm:—

"The site of this tumulus is about half a mile from the town of Larne, close to an old mountain road, leading to Carrickfergus—elevation about 300 feet above sea level.

"The general appearance of the ground showed little indication of any barrow existing here: a slight and gradual rise of four or five feet above the surrounding level marked its height, with an approximate diameter of thirty feet. The south border had been thrown up into a hedge bank, to separate two fields; and the east edge was cut through by the old road to Carrickfergus. Its surface had been farmed. There were no traces, nor any history in the neighbourhood of there ever having been here either stone circle or fosse.

"On the 10th of June last, while some labourers were cutting a by-path through the centre of the elevation, they came upon some upright stones, forming the walls of a cist, which covered a large urn. Fancying they had found a 'crock of gold,' they broke it all to pieces, but were rather startled to find only bones and ashes.

"Further demolition was prevented by the Rev. T. P. Morgan, Rector of Larne and Inver, who, with the Rev. J. Grainger, Rector of Broughshane, examined what had been done, and stopped the workmen until, together with the Rev. C. Porter and myself, we made a more thorough investigation.

"About three feet from the surface, and near the centre of the mound, was a pavement formed of slabs of basalt, loosely placed, measuring nine to ten feet in length, by four feet wide; it lay north and south. The flat

slabs varied in size from twelve to twenty inches diameter, and were one to two inches thick. Similar stones are still obtainable from a quarry in the neighbourhood.

"On the south end of this pavement lay the cist and urn, which the workmen had broken. We elicited what information we could from them as to the state in which they found them.

"The urn lay inverted on a large slab of the pavement (this slab Mr. Morgan secured, with the impression of lip of urn still upon it). A circle of six slabs, placed on edge, surrounded the urn, and another covered the top. Enclosing this was an outer cist, of a square form, the vertical walls of which first attracted the men's notice. It was built of two rows of the slabs; the upper overlapped the under; but, being carelessly removed, along with the earth and loose boulders which composed the mound, its exact form and dimension could not be accurately determined.

"Beyond the cist, at south end of pavement, was a large terminal stone, oblong and rude—no markings on it.

"At a distance of nine feet to the east side of this interment were three large headstones, placed in line, east and west; and, lying in hollows between them to the north side, were the fragments and *debris* of several urns, and their bone-ash contents. No evidence existed here of any prepared cist: though a number of the slabs lay to north of headstones, yet no definite form was traceable.

"The large headstones looked much like those used in cromleacs; they were much weathered, but, with the exception of some doubtful grooved zigzag lines at the base of the largest, were free of any Ogham or other carving.

"The earth around these stones was black and unctuous—doubtless indicating that the bodies had been burnt on the spot, and the clay impregnated with the oily decomposed animal matter. We picked up many bits of urns, with this clay and bone ashes adhering to the inside.

"In the black mould we found the following:—

"One blue glass bead, small size.

"One flint semicircular saw, finely toothed.

"One do., not toothed.

"Many flint flakes, unworked.

"One fossil echinoderm—from the greensand formation at coast—species *Ananchytes oratus*—probably used as charm.

"Two fragments of bones—probably of an ox—a portion of rib, and six inches of long bone, split for marrow.

"Of the small urns there were at least seven or eight, judging from the difference in the ornamentations on the fragments.

"The large urn contained in the cist measured twelve inches and a half across the lip, as ascertained from its impression on the slab where it lay inverted. Though we have secured all the pieces, we have not yet been able to restore its form. It is made of roughly baked clay; and the ornamentation is rudely linear, with an angular zigzag band in relief surrounding the neck.

"The contents of the urn were imperfectly burnt human bones, apparently much broken and split by force before being charred.

"The condition of the bones was brittle and earthy, crumbling into dust with slight pressure.

"It is much to be regretted that the bones of the cranium were so greatly comminuted as to render it impossible to come to any accurate conclusion as to race and type. From some fragments a few characters can be determined.

"One piece—the largest—showed the junction of the sagittal and lambdoid sutures, with portions of parietal and occipital bones. An inch and a half of sagittal suture was quite obliterated by synostosis; and, where denticulations existed, the parietal bones were deeply eroded.

"A fragment of occipital bone—2 × 2 inches—showed on its inner surface the crucial ridge prominent, with the fossæ for lobes of cerebellum deeply marked.

"An orbital portion of frontal bone showed entire arch of right side; roof of orbit vaulted; the frontal bone, in its rise from arch, shows no projection of superciliary ridges, nor any disposition to abrupt retro-cedence.

"Another piece, belonging to outside of left orbit, was confirmatory of the last with respect to frontal region.

"The right malar bone was found, showing facial surface full and prominent.

"The jaw was found nearly perfect; very small size; ramus at right angles to body; mental process prominent—strictly orthognathic.

"My conclusions from these few characters are—that the bones belonged to an individual of very small stature; and, from the decided markings on the bones, probably to a man.

"The obliteration of suture, and right angle of jaw, indicate old age. The general curve of the cranial fragments gives the appearance of forming a brachycephalic skull; while the rise of forehead without prominence of brow ridges, or abrupt retrocedent slope, along with the orthognathic jaw, would show that the skull belonged to a higher type of race than the rudeness and poverty of the fashioned contents of tumulus would alone indicate.

"From the entire absence of metal, these remains would, strictly speaking, be placed in the Neolithic period; but do not the glass bead and the urn ornamentation point to the Pelasgic origin of the race—to a people not unacquainted with some arts and the use of bronze, though among the poorer tribes of the North metal implements would likely long remain rare?"

The following Papers were submitted to the meeting:—







FRONT.



BACK.

ANCIENT IRISH INSCRIBED ARCH OF SHRINE, FOUND NEAR BALLYMENA.





PROJECTION OF UPPER SURFACE OF ANCIENT IRISH ARCH OF SHRINE, TO SHOW INSCRIPTION.

## ON AN ANCIENT INSCRIBED SHRINE-ARCH.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D.

THE very curious antiquarian fragment which forms the subject of the accompanying plates was the summit of an Irish shrine, most probably of one enclosing, or fastened down upon, an ancient ecclesiastical bell. In form it is an arch, from the upper convex surface of which rises a crest of uniform height, and which follows the whole curve. The substance of the article is bronze, and cast in one piece, except so far as the superficial ornamentation of gold, silver, and composition, which overlaid it.

The front of the arch is divided into three segmental panels, having inlaid plates of gold foil—the middle of interlaced, and the end ones of longitudinal patterns. The margins are of silver in relief, of a corded ridge carried round at the ends in alternating knots, and at the two middle stages crossing in like manner.

The ornamentation on the back is less elaborate, consisting of three parallel curved lines of ribbon pattern slightly in relief, in four compartments, interrupted by single check exchanges of the outside and middle lines. The thin silver strips which form this ornament are laid down on the bronze substance.

The crest is of open work of regular but nondescript design, formed in the casting. The rim is thick, and was ornamented by zigzag work of white, formed of delicate silver wire bent to the pattern, and then embedded in a green enamel paste, which became quite hard and retained it in its place, while it encased the bead of the rim. In the middle of the crest is an acorn-shaped tubercle, also formed in the casting, and hollow underneath, presenting in front a human head with large curved moustache, and square beard on chin, a good deal corroded at the forehead, nose, and mouth. The back is of uncertain design, and somewhat resembles a headless body in a sitting posture.

The upper surface of the arch is divided into two fields by the crest. The front portion was ornamented by some

interrupted pattern in green lacker, now scarcely distinguishable; on the posterior portion runs the inscription which invests this article with so much interest, and of which anon.

The ends of the arch rest on flat expansions of the plate, on either side of each of which is a hole for the rivet which fastened the arch on the body of the reliquary which it surmounted.

The dimensions are:—

Total breadth (including crest),  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Breadth (without crest), 3 inches.

Total height of arch, 2 inches.

Height of arch in the clear,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch.

Thickness in middle,  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch.

Thickness near ends,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

Height of crest,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

The inscription, which, agreeably to the general rule, is on the *back*, and in the *silver* department, is a very remarkable feature, being in relief, in a very unusual situation, and, what is without a known parallel, formed in the casting. It begins at one end of the arch, and runs on, except where interrupted by the tubercle, to the other end. Some of the letters are rather obscure, and part of one word is to me still uncertain; but, with the exception of it, the rest has been read with certainty. The inscription, interrupted in the middle by the human head, runs thus:—

opbomaelbrıgbelarınb [head] epnaoııbōıerıgđorıgne

which, subdivided into words, with the contractions resolved, is—

Opıot do maelbrıgde lar ı n-depnab ocup don rı [...]  
do rıgne.

"A prayer for Maelbrigde through whom [it] was made, and for the king of . . . who made it."

Opıot, an ecclesiastical loan word from the Latin *oratio*. do, the preposition "for." Maelbrıgde, an ecclesiastical name of very frequent occurrence, signifying "servant of Brigid." Lar, now leıı, "through." l, now a, "whom." n-depnab, "was made," past tense, subjunct. passive of the verb deanam, "I make." Ocup, "and." Don, contracted

from *doan*, "for the." *R*<sub>1</sub> (if the reading be right), "king." The next word may denote the lordship, but I am unable to explain it.

*Do pigne*, "made," the past tense indicative active of *deanam*, "I make."

I may add that this inscription is worded agreeably to the formula which prevails, *mutatis mutandis*, on most of our inscribed reliquaries, and for examples of which the reader may be referred to O'Donovan's "Irish Grammar," pp. 228, 233, 234 ; Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture," pp. 270, 283, 311 ; Reeves's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities," p. 370 ; Reeves's "Adamnan's Vit. S. Columbæ," pp. 319, 327 ; Todd's "Stowe Missal," in Transactions Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxiii. Antiquities, pp. 9-15.

Unfortunately, in the present instance, the name Maelbride, which, as the principal one, is most likely to be on record, is of very common occurrence, and affords little or no help towards ascertaining the date or place of the article ; while the name of the artificer, if perfectly legible, would, as is usual in such cases, be not of sufficient importance to be noticed in the Annals. Or, if the second member of the inscription commemorates a secular chieftain, as the first probably does an ecclesiastical superior, his name is not given, and his principality is uncertain. Thus we are left to the style of the work and of the letter to form our conjectures as to what is always in antiquities the first thought, the age of the article. The history of the find is likewise unsatisfactory in the extreme, and does little more than fix the home of the relique to the north-east of Ulster. I am informed by Mr. Robert Day, Jun., the owner, that he obtained it in the town of Ballymena, from a dealer, who stated that it was found, together with a golden bulla (partly broken), on the Bann shore. From the circumstance that the article was disposed of at Ballymena, we may reasonably suppose that the Lower Bann was the portion of this long river beside which it was found, and thus guess-work has its field amongst the old churches of the counties of Antrim and Londonderry, which, at a moderate distance, line this river on either side,

as, on the east, Duneane, Ahoghill, and Coleraine ; and, on the west, Church Island, Aghadowey, and Camus.

Among the twenty-two examples of the name Maelbrighde in O'Donovan's Index to the Four Masters there is only one to which the subject of the present inscription can be locally referred ; namely, Maelbrighde, son of Redan, successor of Mac Nisse and Colman Ela, that is, bishop of Connor, and abbot of the churches of Muckamore and Ahoghill, who died in the year 954. But that date is too early for the styles of ornament and letter which characterize this article, and seem rather to indicate two centuries later.

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#### UNPUBLISHED GERALDINE DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, B. A.

##### NO. I.—RUSSELL'S "RELATION OF THE FITZGERALDS OF IRELAND."

AMONG the *desiderata* of literature, histories of our great Houses may be specified. Goodly tomes, devoted to this species of research, appear from time to time in the chief cities of Continental Europe ; and our transatlantic brethren, of late years, have exhibited their characteristic energy in supplying us with genealogical publications of no common merit. Nationally, we are lagging behind. Should we desire the story of some old race, we may open a "Peerage," or a "Landed Gentry," and find—what the industrious compilers only professed to offer—dim tracings of the Family's annals and achievements. But these shadowy outlines fail to supply our curiosity. We ask for more than an array of names and dates. We require, not the dry anatomy, but the living restoration of the Departed. We sigh for what remains to be done, yet what cannot be accomplished, until the sealed muniment-chest give up its treasures, and the silent record-chamber admit the laborious student into an exploration of its mystic recesses.

To most rules exceptions may be found. The piety of a few individuals has done much towards rolling away our reproach about Family Histories. Good and gifted men



occasionally have entered this field of labour, and their z has been crowned with no unmeet reward. Honour their ancestors, they have achieved honour for themselves. The brilliant books with which they have favoured us may be likened to Valhallas, in which we find the *Imagi Majorum*, each in its place, shedding grace and beauty the scene around them. As representative writers of the specialties, we may name the late Mr. Drummond, England; the Earl of Lindsey, for Scotland; and the Marquis of Kildare, for Ireland. Well have they laboured, affording to others of rank and station the most engaging precedents to follow their footsteps.

In his valuable compilation,<sup>1</sup> Lord Kildare restricted himself to that branch of his princely house with which he was immediately connected; and to others he left the compilation of materials for the Desmond history. The task is onerous, yet inviting; and, with unfeigned diffidence, is now attempted. Herewith we commence a series of articles that will prove (as we expect) of national importance. Inedited Geraldine papers, obtained from the Public Record Office, London, from the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and from private collections, will be presented successively to our readers. These will comprise pedigrees of the Fitz Gerald, both by Irish *seannachies* and English genealogists; original letters; extracts from wills and deeds; and a variety of other unpublished evidences. The incidents of the title, from its creation to its extinction, will be followed; and much curious information, hitherto unknown, respecting collateral branches—such as the house of Dromana, and that of Fitz Gibbon, known as the White Knight—will be supplied. Lithographs and woodcuts will occasionally illustrate our articles; and annotations where they are deemed necessary, will be subjoined to the text.

We have taken, for our opening paper, Thomas Jones's important "Relation of the Fitz Gerald of Ireland." We learn from its title, that this compilation was made

<sup>1</sup> "The Earls of Kildare, and their Ancestors, from 1057 to 1773. By the Marquis of Kildare." Third edition. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co., 1858.

<sup>2</sup> By reason of the great length to which

our materials for illustration in some instances extend, foot-notes are not given with each article; but they will appear at the end of the text of this and subsequent papers.

the year 1638; and, from the body of the treatise, it appears to have been intended for one of the nobility, whose name has not come down to us. Of the author very little is known. He was probably of English blood; for his sympathies were, on the whole, with the English administration. His father (he tells us) served the *Ingens rebellibus exemplar*, Garrett, the unhappy sixteenth Earl of Desmond; and the "Relation" is valuable, because the author not only gleaned from books and manuscripts, but wrote down events as detailed to him by men who had participated in them. Some of his portraitures were limned for him by those who had personal acquaintance with the individuals described; and characteristics of mien and manner in the Geraldine leaders, that would have been long since forgotten, are thus preserved to us. The morbid state of the great rebel Earl's mind, induced by his lengthened captivity in the Tower, and amounting (as our author shows) to fatuity, throws a strong clear light on his eventful history. Russell's sketch of the gallant, though misguided, James Fitz Maurice, is calculated highly to exalt him in our appreciation; and his account of the other chieftains is fraught with interest.

In the "Historic Doubts," Horace Walpole succeeded in his untiring quest after the identification of the long-lived Countess of Desmond. For help in clearing up the mystery, he expressed his obligations to a correspondent, who supplied him with a remarkable extract from a then "recently published, but unnamed work." It was soon after ascertained that this book was Dr. Charles Smith's well-known "Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork," the first edition of which was published in 1750; and in which the passage referred to by Walpole's informant occurs in volume ii., page 37. As a Geraldine authority, Smith yet occupies a foremost place. His statements have been in every instance corroborated. In foot notes he referred to "Russel;" "Russel's MS.;" "House of Desmond MSS.;" and, in one place (vol. i., pp. 48, 49, note), where he dissented from Sir John Davis's statement about the decapitation, A.D. 1467, at Drogheda, of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, he gave another account, "according to Russel's history of this house, which I have in manuscript." Antiquaries were perplexed by these references

of Dr. Smith. The more astute deemed the "MS Russell only an anticipation of Sir Walter Scott's enigmatical "Old Play." Others, less distrustful, assigned the Boyle collections preserved at Lismore Castle.<sup>1</sup> last, we are enabled to solve the problem, and to print *extenso* this excellent contribution to the history of illustrious Fitz Gerald's.

We derive it from a fair transcript, made about close of the seventeenth or commencement of the eighteenth century, and placed at the disposal of the Association through the courtesy of its possessor, the Earl of Berrough, by the Rev. James Graves, the unwearied Secretary of this Society. The "Relation" forms portion of a manuscript 8vo volume, bound in calf, of which the first is a philosophical treatise, from a Parisian edition of 1 pp. 119, with Index of three pages.<sup>2</sup> Then follow genealogical transcripts, of which we give the titles:—

I. Mr. Thomas Russell's "Relation of the Gerald's of Ireland. Written in the County of Clare, 22<sup>o</sup> die Octobris, Ann<sup>o</sup> Dom. 16 (pp. 87.)

II. "The Pedegree of the Geraldines of Desmond: Oterus of Windsor to Maurice Fitz Gerald, first came to the Conquest off [*sic*] Ireland Richard Earle Strongbow in y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> year the Reigne of Henry 2<sup>d</sup> King of England. from the sayd Maurice to James Fitzgarrett last Earle of Desmond of that name: toges with some other branches and families

<sup>1</sup> Among the latter is to be placed the late Archdeacon Rowan. In his "Olde Countesse of Desmonde," pp. 10 and 11, our accomplished friend mentioned the authenticated information about this wondrous personage, obtained by Horace Walpole from an "unnamed work;" and he proceeded in this manner;—

"This authority we now trace to be Dr. Smith, the historian of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, who, in his 'History of Cork,' gives the passage transcribed for Walpole, and, as voucher for his statement, refers in a foot note to the 'Russell MSS.,' but without telling us where these MSS. are preserved, or from what source derived. The probability is, that they form part of the collections at Lismore, to which Smith often refers, and to which,

while compiling his County History was granted a free access. At all the further and full investigation subject has quite sustained the as of the 'Russell MSS.' on this point

Our readers will see that this plausible conjecture was without foundation, we are to suppose that the original graph of Russell may have been in Smith amongst the Lismore MSS.

<sup>2</sup> "Totivs Philosophiæ: Hoc e gicæ, Moralis, Physicæ et Metaph capta claraque Compendia. Auctor D'ABRA DE RACONIS, Almæ fac Theologicæ Parisiensis Doctore Nau Comienatore et Elemosynario Regi risiis: Apud Fransiscvm PIOT, prop tem Sancti Benedicti et in Conuent trum Minorum, M. DC. LI."

descended from y<sup>e</sup> said Maurice in Ireland." (pp. 10.)

- III. "The Pedegree of y<sup>e</sup> Whyte Knight, togeather with some Passages, relating to y<sup>e</sup> Kn<sup>t</sup> of the Glinne or Valley, formerly called the black Kn<sup>t</sup>, and y<sup>e</sup> Kni<sup>t</sup> of Kerry, who was also called y<sup>e</sup> Greene Kn<sup>t</sup>, and y<sup>e</sup> younger brother who was y<sup>e</sup> Lord of Clenlish." (pp. 41.)

- IV. "The Pedegree of the Fitzgeralds of Dromany in y<sup>e</sup> County of Waterford, comonly called Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Decies; Sprung from the Earles of Desmond, & are a Branch of y<sup>e</sup> Family: Written to satisfiye the curiosity of some persons; & likewise to show the various pretensions to that Estate, by w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> right title may be distinguished." (pp. 30.)

- V. "The Pedegree of the Most Noble House of Ormond. By Richard Lawlesse, of Killkenny, Gentl." (pp. 76.)

Of the history of this interesting volume it is only known that it at one time belonged, about the first quarter of this century, to the late Peter Walsh, Esq., of Balline, near Besborough, Co. Kilkenny, an untiring collector of manuscripts and antiquities relating to Ireland,<sup>1</sup> from whom it probably passed into the possession of the then Earl of Besborough, to whose estates Mr. Walsh for many years filled the post of "Agent."

It remains to give honour to whom honour is due. With a munificence worthy the race whence they are sprung, two brothers (Maurice Fitz Gibbon, Esq., of Crobana House, county of Kilkenny, and A. Fitz Gibbon, Esq., C. E., of London), have undertaken to supply the charges attendant on the publication of these papers. Nay! even beyond this, they have made journeys to Geraldine localities, explored the arcana of Prerogative Courts, and met the heavy outlay attendant on the transcription of documents. As we reflect on their disinterestedness, shining the more brightly in contrast with the general apathy, we can only exclaim, "*O! si sic omnes!*"

<sup>1</sup> These collections have been hopelessly dispersed; most part having passed into the hands of the late Mr. Anthony, of

Piltown, county of Kilkenny, whose museum was sold by auction in London several years ago.

**M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Russell's Relation**  
of the fitz Gerald's of Ireland,  
written in the County of Clare  
22<sup>o</sup> die Octobris Ann<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1638.

*Particularly and Principally  
relateing to the Noble and Auncient  
house of the Earles of Desmond, who  
sprang from Maurice fz Gerald,  
the same Noble Auncestor of this  
family, as well as of that illus-  
trious family of the Earles of  
Kildare.*

THE FITZ GERALDS of Ireland, men of approued valour, were without question descended from the auncient Trojans, when, that famous city of Pergamus beeing vtterly layd waste after ten yeares seidge, all her Princes slayne in battailes, Prince Æneas only survineing; who beeing the close concealement of Poliscena, Priam's most beautiful daughter, was banished by the Greekes, and followed by a gallant and warlike crewe of martiall youths, who surviued theyre native cuntryes destruction.

The Auncestors of o<sup>r</sup> Fitz Gerald's were of them who followed him in his exile. Æneas, after haueing slayne King Turnus in battaile in Italy, where after many yeares tedious and perillous trauell he arriued, and married Lauina, King Latinus his daughter, he became the sole monarch of Italy: and his posterity many yeares and ages enioyed that kingdome. Part of the land he assigned to the rest of the Trojans to inhabit. Amongst others, the Auncestor of the Fitz Gerald's did sett downe his rest in that part of Tuscany where now the noble city of Florence stands. Dureing his owne and his posterityes abode in Italy they boare not the surname of Geraldine, for that name they assumed after their arriual in England. For William, Duke of Normandy, pretending to haue a better title to the Crowne of England then King Harold had, haueing made sundry requests to the said Harold to restore to him y<sup>e</sup> kingdome, but not obtayneing it, he began to leauy forces to gett the same by force of Armes, which beeing generally knowne, diuerse braue men out of all parts of Europe resorted to the sayd Duke; among which number a younger brother of this House from which our Fitz Gerald's are descended was one; who, beeing well followed, was accepted by the said Duke, and charge giuen him in the Army. All things beeing ready, they tooke shipping, and landed in England in the yeare of our Lord 1067. And a bloody battell was fought att Battell Abbey, in the county of Sussex, betweene y<sup>e</sup> sayd Duke and King Harold, in the which, notwithstanding the English did behaue themselues very valiantly, King Harold was slayne, and the kingdome absolutely conquered by Duke William, who quietly seized and possessed the same, and liberally rewarded his valliant followers with ample and large possessions.

Thus farre haue I followed the sundry opinions of severall authors concerning the originall of the Geraldines, who in this diuision made by the Conqueror, had giuen vnto them the Castle and Lordship of Windsor,

which they enjoyed vntil the tyme of Walter, the son of Otterus. This Walter had issue three sons. The eldest was named William, from whom the Lord Windsors are descended. His second son, Robert, from whom Robert Devereux, now Earle of Essex, is descended; and Gerald of Windsor for his third son; w<sup>th</sup> Gerald, being married to the daughter of Rice, y<sup>e</sup> greate Prince of Wales, had issue by her Maurice Fitz Gerald, from whom descended, in the right lyne, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Lord Justice of Ireland, buried att Tralee, in the County of Kerry, haueing issue John, his eldest son, the first Earle of Kildare, 1316; and Maurice, his second son, the first Earle of Desmond, 1328, 2 Edw. 3. Now, for the manner of theyre coming into Ireland in anno 1169, thus it was.

Dermott Mac Muroghoe, in those dayes called King of Leinster (one of the five Prouinces of Ireland as it stood then deuided), haueing stolne away the marryed wife of O Melaghlin, King of Meath, weaued y<sup>e</sup> webb of the destruction of the other Kings of Ireland, and of his owne alsoe, to beare the rest company. The King of Meath craueing aide from the other Irish Lords, as well to recouer his Lady, as to reuenge the wronge done to him, haueing theyre assistance, made sharpe and cruell warres against King Dermott, whō not beeing able to withstand theyre ioynt forces, his owne followers, & complices (to auoyd the danger of ciuill warre) did vtterly forsake; and he beeing at last forced to flye, forsooke the country, goes for England, hopeing to receiue succour and ayde from the King of England, Henry y<sup>e</sup> Second, then engaged in the warres of France, Dermott M<sup>c</sup>Muroghoe repaires vnto him, whom the King both courteously and gratically receiued, pittied his cause, and promised ayde and assistance.

The fugitiue Prince desires to be restored to his former estate, promiseing a yearly tribute. King Henry, then vnable to spare him any out of the Army of France, writes letters w<sup>th</sup> Dermott ouer into England to Richard Strongbow, Earle of Chepstow, willing and comāding him out of hand with all the forces he could make to repayre for Ireland, and by force of Armes to restore to King Dermot his former estate, with a reseruatiō of the rest of the kingdome to his Majesty. The Earle of Chepstowe, sir-named Strangbow, being a haughty minded man, and haueing spent and consumed the greatest part of his substance and inheritance, as well in prodigall housekeepeing as other royotous disorders; and glad howsoeuer to fynde out some course to rayse his fortunes, accepted of the charge, and prepared with all celerity possible for the Irish warre a gallant number of right worthy men, armed them well, haueing shipping and all things ready for such an enterpryse.

The cheife leaders of this vndertakeing were S<sup>r</sup> Maurice Fitz Gerald, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Barry, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Fitz Stephens, Myles Coggan, Redmond de La Groze, ancestor to the Lord of Kerry and Lixnawe, and diuerse others—all men worthy to be registered in the booke of fame. To be breife (my intent and purpose being not to write a history), here in Ireland they landed neere Wexford, where many bloody conflicts & skirmishes past betwene them and the Natiues of the land. Soone after arriued the Earle Strangbow, to whose command the rest are obedient. The cheifest cittyes, as Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Limericke, were wonne, with a good part of y<sup>e</sup> kingdome alsoe victoriously conquered, & King Dermot in his kingdom re-established. King Henry the 2<sup>d</sup>, then acknoleged for Lord of Ireland, who beeing myndfull of ye good service done by the right worthy gentlemen, did very bountiffully reward every one of those

noble leaders and cheiftanes according to their deserts with ample and large possessions, whereof some of their posterity at this day doe enjoye and possesse some parte.

Maurice Fitz Gerald, as he was in years the eldest of these vndertakers, the rest being neerely allyed vnto him in bloud and consanguinity; so was he next the Earle (I speake it without envy) the cheifest in estimation, as by their following acts may appeare, being rewarded by King Henry w<sup>th</sup> sufficient lands to maintayne his state, wherevnto he himselfe added by his valour and purchase, and after left a good expectation to his posterity for seaven descents, both for wealth, honor, and reputation, boare the whole sway in the prouince of Munster; whose aspiring greatnesse being much feared by the Clan Capte and the rest of the Irish Lords; in secrett wise they consulted how to worke the ouerthrow of Thomas Fitz Gerald, then L<sup>d</sup> Justice of Ireland; who beeing with his sonne and heyre, John Fitz Thomas, with some small forces vpon some peice of service for the King, and passeing from Kerry into the fastnesse of Desmond, an ambush was layed by M<sup>c</sup>Cartye-more and the rest of his confederates to take them vpon advantage. Thomas Fitz Gerald seeing himselfe betrayed, and noe meanes of escape left him, hee encounters the enemy, and there after too much tryed valour, with the slaughter of a greate number of their aduersaries, both the ffather and the sonne fell by the swords of their trayterous and frindlye foes; for this M<sup>c</sup>Cartye More was son in law to Thomas Fitz Gerald, Lord Justice of Ireland. At this tyme the whole Race of the Geraldines of Munster were vtterly destroyed, an infant of one yeare old only remaineing. This young child was called Thomas, the only son of John Fitz Thomas, both beeing slayne (as you haue heard) by the Irish. This young babe at the tyme of his father's death, beeing nursed and fostered at Traley; the report and rumor of this ouerthrow comeing thither, suddainly the nurses running forth cryeing and lamenting, the childe was left all alone, when a monkey that was kept in the house tooke him out of the cradle, carryed him to the topp of the castle, there vnrapped him out of the swadling cloathes, licked and lapped the childe, and folded y<sup>e</sup> child vp in the cloathes againe, and (contrary to the expectation of such as beheld them) brought him down againe in safety, and left the sayd child where first he found him, and finding the nurse setting by the cradle, gaue her a sound boxe on the eare, as it is thought thereby warneing and admonishing her to looke better hereafter to her charge. You may be sure this is noe fable; for he euer after, during his life tyme, boare the name of Thomas an Appa. Thomas, growing to age, was a uery noble man, and very fortunate in pursueing reuenge for the death of his parents, and rayseing his house to greate honours, it beeing almost vtterly extinguished: when he dyed, he left issue Maurice Fitz Thomas, the first Earle of Desmond.

1. Maurice Fitz Thomas was created Earle of Desmond by King Edward the thirde, in An<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1328, in the second yeare of that king's Raigne: he was marryed to the daughter of Geoffry Morryson, then Lord Justice of Ireland, with whom he had in dower the Island of Kierry and the whole Seigniory therevnto belonging. This Earle was feared of his enemies, and well beloued of his freinds; and, haueing charge from the King, he went with an Army to the kingdome of Scotland, where haueing committed an infinite harme, and loaden with the spoyle, he returned,

bringing from thence greate bootyes. The Earle Maurice Fitz Thomas, haueing from the King y<sup>e</sup> supream command of a flete at sea, scowred the Irish sea or Ocean, at that tyme much infested with mercyllesse pyrates, and dureing his lyfe kept the Irish in due subiection to the Crowne of England. He liued a greate age in greate wealth, honor, and reputation, he standing allwayes in good grace and fauour with the Kings of England. He was Earle of Desmond two and fifty yeares, and dyeing left his Earldome of Desmond to his sonne, Maurice Oge Gerald, Anno 1380.

2. This Maurice Oge, the son and heyre of the above Maurice, succeeded his father in the Earldome of Desmond, of whose Acts there is small mention or relation made, in regard he liued but two yeares after the death of his father.

3. John Fitz Morrice, brother to the last Earle, Maurice Fitz Maurice, (who dyeing without issue), was Earle of Desmond for 12 yeares; A most worthy braue man, who dureing his life had much to doe with the Irish Lords, who would not well brooke to see theyre auncient patrymonies in y<sup>e</sup> hands of outlandish men, so tearing the sept of the Geraldines; And, dyeing, left a legitimate son, named Garrett, Anno 1394.

4. Garrett, son and heyre to the last Earle (as is sayed), was Earle of Desmond full thirty yeares, who was alsoe dureing that tyme a very powerful, wise man. And some would haue it believed that he had some skill in magicke; he was one of a proper stature and proportion of Body. Beeing very old, he payed nature its ineuitable debt, leauing issue behind him three sonnes—Maurice, John, and James Fitz Garrett, Anno 1424. This Maurice Fitz Gerald was indeed Earle of Desmond in 1425, not fully one yeare, and dyed without issue (so that he is hardly reckoned in the number of the Earles of Desmond). He left the Earldome to his brother, John Fitz Garrett, as good a pennyworth as he receiued from his father.

5. John of Desmond, second son of Garrett, succeeded as heyre to his Brother Maurice, lately then deceased, beeing a gallant, resolute, and braue gentleman; but, before there was any greate occasion offerd him to performe any braue actions, he was vnfortunatly drowned, passeing over the Riuer Suire goeing to Clonmell, the first yeare of his Earldome, Anno 1426, haueing issue Thomas Fitz John Gerald, in whom the pernitiuous disease that infested his posterity (though not all of them), euen to the last Act of the most tragicall ending of Garrett, beheaded, first tooke rooteing.

6. This Thomas, the son of John, succeeded his father and vnckle, his noble and illustrious progenitors in the Earldome of Desmond; but not in theyre noble qualities and behauiour; for he fell into a forgetfullnesse of his duty and allegiance to the Crowne of England; and, being held by the State a dangerous man, he was apprehended, and compelled to enter very good and sufficient security for his future loyalty, wherevpon twelve Lords of the English pale became bound for him and his forthcoming. With him it happened according to the generall rule of Physitians; That a hott ague is dangerous; The relapse thereof after critical dayes too pernitiuous, and the second relapse irrecoverable. For he beeing the second tyme suspected and accused openly for Rebellion, and not daring to appeare to iustifye himselfe, the Bonds were forfeited—yea, and estreated too to the vttermost—to the generall undoeing of most of those Lords who were bound for his appearance. The Earle himselfe, after many windings and turneings vp and downe the Realme, and wanting both friends and meanes, at last hee left the Land, and fledd to France, where he dyed in



banishment, Anno 1446. His lands, goods, liueings, and Seigniories were by Act of Parliament reuerted to the Crowne of England; and this was the first spott and y<sup>e</sup> first misfortune of this kynde that befell the Fitz Gerald since theyre arrivall in Ireland. Soe that the foolish Earle lost most vnhappily all that for which his renowned Ancestors brauely fought. Hee ruled the Earledome of Desmond full twenty yeares.

7. James Fitz Garrett, third sonne of Garrett the Earle, *alias* Garrett Idony, vnckle to the last Earle [and (as I haue seene it in auncient writings belonging to S<sup>r</sup> John Fitz Gerald of the Decea, who sprung from this Earle), the seauenth Earle of Desmond], was by the King of England restored to his former honors, dignities, estates, and blood, and succeeded his nephew, Thomas, who dyed in France. I fynd it as well recorded in writings, as commonly spoken by men, that this man was an excellent Earle, both for martiall discipline and ciuill government. During fve yeares space hee ruled his Country as Earle of Desmond; and at length, when he dyed, A<sup>o</sup> 1457, left the Earledome whole and entire to his eldest son, Thomas Fitz James (haueing noe other issue saue Garrett Fitz James of the Decea).

8. This Thomas Fitz James immediately after his fathers death succeeded him in all his lands, dignities, Lordships, and happy fortune, vntill about the latter end of his age; for then ineuitable fortune played with him as with many others of his qualite and greatnesse. This Earle was marryed to the Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, his daughter, by whom he had a good issue. Alsoe he was called most commonly the greate Earle of Desmond, and was fauoured by King Edward the fourth, in whose tyme he lined and flourished, haueing followed the fortune of the said King dureing those long and bloody warres which past betwixt the two Princely houses of Yorke and Lancaster. The Earle beeing an actor in those nyne battailes which were fought between King Henry the Sixth and Edward, Earle of March; the victory at last falling to Edward by the death of all the Princes of the house of Lancaster, Henry the Seauenth only excepted. The winning of y<sup>e</sup> Crowne cost King Edward much blood; haueing lost his father, Richard, Duke of Yorke, and his brother, the Earle of Rutland, with diuerse others, brave and gallant men. Among whom Richard Neuill, the greate Earl of Warwick, is worthily accounted the cheife. He was slayne at Barnett feild, beeing in his dayes the setter vp and puller downe of kings. Finally King Henry the Sixth, after he had raigned thirty-eight yeares Kinge of England and France, lost both life and Crowne, beeing cruelly murdered in the Tower of London by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, King Edwards brother. The whole race of the house of Lancaster beeing vtterly rooted out, the young Earle of Richmond only excepted. King Edward, of that name the fourth, heyre of the house of Yorke, being in quiett possession of the Realme of England, and not vmindfull of the good service done for him dureing those Ciuill Warrs by Thomas, Earle of Desmond, in reward whereof he makes him Lord Deputy of Ireland, with many other gifts and favours, he sent him to his gouernment. The Earle being ready to take leaue of his Majestye, the King tooke him aside, and, by way of friendship and secrecy, demanded of him what fault worthy of reprehension the people found in his new begun gouernment, that he himselfe knowing it, the error might bee amended. The Earle demanded libertye to speake his mind freely; which being granted, hee told the King; The greatest fault any man would lay to his Majestye

was the vnequall and too low match hee made when he married Elizabeth Gray, late wife to S<sup>r</sup> John Gray, Kn<sup>t</sup>., slayne at the first battaile of St. Albans, beeing too vnfitt a match for his Majesty, shee being his subiect; adding farther, His best course was to cast her off, and to ioyn and linke himselfe to some greate and powerfull Prince, w<sup>th</sup> whose assistance hee might be able to maintaine his newly conquered kingdome, and to leaue an assured estate thereof to his posterity. The King, knowing well the loyall disposition of the Earle of Desmond, and that what hee spake in that private conference was in loue and loyalty to his Majesty, gave him thanks; adding, furthermore, That he was full glad that that fault of his did hurt to noe man in particular, but to himselfe only. Desmond, thus haueing had his dispatch, and alsoe haueing a great desire as well to come home as to come to his gouernment of the kingdome of Ireland, tooke his last leave of his Majesty, came for Ireland, tooke vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome, which, for seauen yeares space, hee both nobly and discretely managed, and discharged his command; and after countermand hee came home to his country, where pleasantly he liued and ruled for a long continuance of time, vntil his most tragicall death happened in manner following:—

King Edward, vpon some discontent, grew angry with the Queene, Elizabeth Gray, his wyfe; and shee, beeing a proud Lady, replies to the King's words with bitter speeches. His Majesty, therevpon growing into further choler and anger, vttered these following words:—Well (sayd hee), had I followed my Cosen Desmonds aduice, your pride had bin abated long since; which speech the Queene observeing, gaue way (if not wisely, yet craftily) to the King's displeasure, imagined and thought thereby that the Earle of Desmond meant towards her noe assured good will. Nott very long after the sayd King and Queene beeing reconciled, the Queene would needes know what aduice the Earle of Desmond had giuen his Majesty concerning her. King Edward thinkeing it lay not in her power any way to endanger Desmond, told her what past in conference betweene him and the sayd Earl touching her. The Queene, a spightfull woeman, sought and studyed out meanes how to bee reuenged vpon the Earle, which to bring to passe she stole the King's priuy seale, and then directed a warrant or command formaly therewith sealed to ye Earle of Worcester, who then was Lord Deputy of Ireland, commanding him upon sight thereof to putt the Earle to death. The warrant was noe sooner come to the Lord Deputyes hands, but hee sent for the sayd Earle of Desmond to come to him to the Towne of Droghedagh, a place somewhat remote from Munster, and whither the sayd Earles freinds and allyes could not easily come. As soon as the Earle of Desmond came, without any kind of examination, or layeing any certaine criminall offence to his charge, he was made shorter by the head, to the greate astonishment of the whole nobility of Ireland, beeing att that tyme there presente. This Earle Thomas, att the tyme of his death, left issue fife braue sonns, who hearing of theyre father's death, or rather most tragicall and vunexpected end, tooke it very impatiently, and with Banners displayed sought and intended to be reuenged. Now King Edward himselfe hearing of this most tragicall death of the most worthy and illustrious subiect, was herewith wonderfully offended. The Queene, from whome the whole mischeife proceeded, fledd and tooke sanctuary. The Lord Deputy was sent for out of England, and appeareing before y<sup>e</sup> King and Councell in his owne de-

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fence, shewes his commission for the execution of the Earle of Desmond yett all his excuses would not serue the turne; off goes his head from neck to make satisfaction to the angry Ghost of Desmond. Thus yett this nobleman came to his death by the deceit and malicious worke of the Queene Elizabeth Gray. His five sonns in pursuing reuenge by and spoyled the country, not only in the prouince of Munster, but also the prouince of Leinster, euen to the gates of Dublin, none daring and being able to resist theyre martiall strength. King Edward heareing things past and were in Ireland, wrote ouer to the sonns of the sayd mond his Majesties letters in kind manner, aduiseing them not to blot and infect theyre noble and auncient houses with the infamous N Rebellion; protesting for his owne parte that he was most sorry for noe wayes guilty of theyre fathers death, askeing them to submitt to and accept of theyre generall pardon, which he sent them for what past. The sonns of Desmond immediately vpon receipt of his Maj letters embraced ye motion, accepted the pardon, came in, and quietted. The King did grant at that tyme vnto James Fitz Thomas the Earle's eldest son, the full and entyre libertye of County Pallat Kerry, bestowed the castle and towne of Dungarvan on him and his for euer, with diuerse and sundry other large and ample priueleges which his posterity enioyed, vntill such tyme as all was lost, as you hereafter learne.

I told (your Lords<sup>sh</sup>) that this Earle Thomas, who lost his head at Droghedagh, had issue five sonns, begotten on the Lord Barry's daughter, all being right valiant men, and four of them were successores Earles of Desmond; the fifth son, being the youngest, whose name was Garrett, had the Lordship of Coshbreedy assigned him for his patriament. This Earle Thomas hee likewise had a brother called Garrett, from whom the Lords of Deses are rightly descended. His eldest son was James Fitz Thomas, his second son Maurice Fitz Thomas, his third son Thomas Moyle, als. bald, the fourth son John, and the fifth was George the heyre of Maccollop and all Coshbreedy, part of whose posterity are liueing, and the suruiueing heyre of Maurice Fitz Gerald (if it were possible). This noble Earle, of whom I haue made this long discourse, was Earle of Desmond twenty-foure yeares, and ruled his country with vertue and manlike vallour, being vnworthily cutt off for his tryed loyalty to his Prince and King, and not for any kind of extortion and Coyne or Livery as it pleased S<sup>r</sup> John Dauers to write downe in his booke of Ireland that this Earle by an Act of Parliament, held att Droghedagh, was beheaded for extortion of Coyne and Livery.

9. James Fitz Thomas succeeded his father in the Earledome of Desmond, being reconciled to King Edward for his former offence in the execution of his fathers death. This Earle was wyse and polliticke, and got by the Irish, but in the heighth of his prosperity he was by the treachery of some of his vnfaithfull followers murdered, An<sup>o</sup> 1480, in his owne house at Raghkealy, and (as some haue sayd) not without the priuity of his brother John. The sayd James was Earle five whole yeares.

10. Maurice F<sup>r</sup> Thomas after his brother's death, who dyed without any lawfull issue, came to the Earledome, and for his tryed and approved vallour had the sirname of Morris the Warrelike comonly giuen. During his tyme, he was euer a scourge to the disobedient Irish, by enlarging and augmenting his terretories to the losse of his neighbour.

alsoe persisted during his tyme, and stedfastly continued in his duty of allegiance to the Crowne of England, and at last dyed in much honor, fame, and reputation, and was worthily esteemed of both by his freinds and foes, having comanded as Earle of Desmond full thirty yeares. This Earle he tooke the Lord of Muscry prisoner, whose whole generation did still inwardly greiue to heare or see the prosperitie of ye Geraldines groweing to soe lofty a heighth of greatnesse as then they came vnto; but notwithstanding it lay not in theyre power to preuent or crosse it.

11. James Fitzmaurice, son and heyre to the aforesaid Maurice, was openly acknowledged for Earle of Desmond after his father's death. This Earle was a uery noble and a braue warriour, haueing in his dayes performed seuerall and sundry explotes. But once in his tyme intending to come to the country called Muscry, to make hauecock and spoyle of that country, according to the iniquity of those tymes, he was mett by the way of Monnemore, betweene the towne of Moyalloe (now called Mallogh), and the Citty of Corke, by Cormock oge Ladir Carthy, Lord of Muscry, M'Carthy Reagh, Lord of Carbry, and diuerse others Lords and Cheifetaines, with theyre forces and complices, all of them vnder the leading of the sayd Cormock. You may here vnderstand that the sayd James Fitz Maurice, his own vnckle, Thomas Moyle Fitz Gerald, was then aydeing the sayd Lord of Muscry (to whose sister he was married) against the Earle his nephew. This Thomas Moyle, the day of ye battell, commanding in cheife ouer the horsemen, with a violent and resolute charge, he broke the Earle's mayne battell of foot and galloghglasses, whereby the daye was lost, the Earle haueing in the fury and heate of the daye shewed incredible proofs of his vndaunted courage; but being surmounted by the multitude of his enemyes, was at last forced to yeild to necessity, leaueing the feild and victory together—Anno. 1521—with Cormock oge Ladir: of which overthrow the Irish to this day doe bragg, not remembering how often both before and after they receiued the like measure from the Geraldines. This was the only cloud that thundered to his disgrace, haueing alwayes had prosperous and fortunate success in all his other attempts. He dyed, haueing ruled his country eleaven yeares, leaueing noe issue male lawfully begotten behynd him. He had one daughter named Joane ni James, who was marryed to James Earle of Ormond, and shee was mother to the last most worthy Thomas Earle of Ormond, Count Pallatyn of Tipperary, Kn<sup>t</sup> of the most honorable Order of the Garter, and the greatesse ffavorite of Queen Elizabeth. This Earle, James Fitz Maurice, held secret intelligence and correspondency (as was thought and commonly reported) with Charles the Fifth, King of Spayne and Emperour of Germany, and messengers past to and fro between them; the Earle (as was supposed) intending to draw in forraigne inuasion, whereof beeing accused to King Henry the Eighth by Cardinall Woolsey, a proud and most ambitious prelate, who then bare the whole sway in England, and indeed a man who generally hated all nobility, and more especially the Fitz Gerald of Ireland, the Earle being sent for to answer the accusation, and the Articles of High Treason wherew<sup>th</sup> hee was charged, durst not appeare to iustify his actions, being loath (without any question) to putt himselfe within the Cardinalls compasse. The King herevpon sent command to the Earle of Kildare, who at that tyme was Lord Deputy of Ireland, for to apprehend the Earle of Desmond, and without any delay to send him prisoner to England. Vpon receipt thereof the Earle of Kildare, with the greatest forces

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hee could make, comes with speed to the prouince of Munster, to haue ye Earle of Desmond; and haueing done in y<sup>e</sup> seruice what laye power, hee went his way as wise as he came; but whether willingly wittingly hee omitted the opportunitie, as being loath to bee the meane of his cosen Desmond's ruine, or that it lay not in his power and hadoe him hurt or harme, he missed the mark at which hee aimed. Cardinall Woolsey, beeing glad to fynd occasion and fitt opportunity to worke the Earle of Kildare mischeife, makes the King beleieve that the sayd Earle of Kildare willingly suffered the Earle of Desmond to escape, who (to say the truth) was well able to resist, if the Earle of Killdare had done his endeauour. King Henry giueing credit to the Cardinall's information the Earle of Kildare was sent for to appeare before the King and Councell there to iustify his proceedings ag<sup>st</sup> Desmond. The Lord Deputy being ready to take shipping, left the gouernment of the kingdome in with his son and heyre, the Lord Thomas; and being come to the Court presents himselfe to his Majesty, the Lords of the Councell being sitting. The proud and ambitious Cardinall charged the sayd Earle of Killdare with High Treason with much bitterness and learning, and charged the Earle, with all his generation, Traytors. The Earle of Kildare being a haughty-minded man, and scorning the Cardinalls base birth and base conditions, with an eloquent speech confuted the Cardinalls oration and beeing both pittied and fauoured by the Lords of the Councell, who well knew that the Cardinall did rather accuse the Earl of Killdare out of malice, then for any crime by him committed, soe wrought in his Majesty mercy, that the sayd Earle of Kildare was but only sent to the Tower of London, not receiving any further harme. Soone after his committment Cardinall Woolsey, altogeth<sup>r</sup> vnknowne to the King, sent a warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower to cutt off ye Earle of Kildares head; who much greined att the receipt thereof, but more to execute the same alseoe full well knowing that to disobey the Cardinall was present death made then Kildare himselfe acquainted with the same charge sent to him by the Cardinall. The noble Earle, noething at all dismayed, with a secure cleere, and vndaunted courage, reade the warrant, and gaue it to his s<sup>r</sup> again; and then storming against the Cardinall, he desired ye Lieutenant to payre with speede to the Kings Majesty, to know if that were his pleasure, for he was well assured the Cardinall did it of his owne authoritie. The Lieutenant, although he well knew the danger hee ranne in cross the Cardinall, was notwithstanding verry desirous to saue ye noble Earle and presently goeing from ye Tower to Whytehall, where the Court laye, about ten of the clock at night, he acquainted his Majesty with the command sent by Cardinall Woolsey for the execution of the Earle of Kildare. Whereat ye King in greate anger began to chaffe & curse the Cardinall, and commands the Lieutenant not to obey the Cardinall, vntill hee seene it vnder his owne hand; adding withall that he would make the saucy and ouer-officious preist repent him for meddling soe farre with the Earle of Kildare. The Lieutenant came back againe to the Tower, and immediately made a full and effectuell relation to the Earl of Kildare of all that past betweene the King and himselfe concerning him the sayd Earle. Notwithstanding all this the sayd Earle of Kildare neuer afterwarde his libertie; but, according to that authentique sayeing, That greates sinne appeares from little fyre, and that verry often the shadowe of sinne is farre farther then the substance, to which it ought to bee propor-

and is taken very often for the substance, euen soe the report of the Earle's death coming out of England, spread and giuen out by malicious tounge, did soe farre incense and furiously enflame the heart of his son and heyre, ye L<sup>d</sup> Thomas Gerald, then L<sup>d</sup> Deputy of Ireland in his father's absence, that he very inconsiderately and too rashly and without farther examineing the truth of the matter, or ye cause thereof, and alsoe by the guilefull and deceitfull instigation of the Archbishop of the Citty of Dublin, and others of the Councell who boare him ill-will, deliuered up the sword, gaue ouer the gouernment; and in hostile manner soone after invaded the English Pale; burned the Citty of Dublin, euen to the Castle gates, leaueing nothing vndone, or at least vnattempted, to worke his owne ruine, and to make himselfe an Arch Traytor to the Crowne. When those stirres and insurrectiones made by the Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald were assuredly knowne in England, the King sent ouer a new Lord Deputy, who, coming w<sup>th</sup> sufficient force, layed seidge to ye Castle of Maynooth, the Earle of Kildare's cheife mannor-house, and the L<sup>d</sup> Thomas F<sup>r</sup> Gerald then (as he thought), haueing strongly & sufficiently both mannd and victualled the same, and it beeing by strength and acituation of itselfe strong enough, gaue the guard and command thereof to one of his principall followers named Paresius, in whome hee reposed the greatest trust and confidence, and the rather for that he was his foster brother. Hee himselfe, to make his owne party strong enough, tooke his iourney to the north parts of Ireland, to procure and bring aydes from thence, to raise ye seidge, and to fight with the L<sup>d</sup> Deputy; but in the meane whyle the Castle was yeelded up to the L<sup>d</sup> Deputy, and the English, beeing betrayed by him who had it from the L<sup>d</sup> Thomas in guard, it being otherwise not to be wonn. The L<sup>d</sup> Thomas, after the losse of his Castle of Maynoth, bids the Lord Deputy battaile; who, not refusing the same, both armyes came to blowes hand to hand; the battaile was manfully and w<sup>th</sup> greate courage & resolution fought out. The victory (as farr forth as I finde it written, and crediblye reported) not inclineing to either syde vntil it grew late; and then both armyes parted through the darkness of the night. The next day there was an agreement made and concluded on betweene the L<sup>d</sup> Deputy and the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Gerald to this effect: That an act of obliuion should bee made for what was done in that insurrection; a generall pardon to be giuen to the sayd Lord Thomas and all those that followed and abetted him in that action, with a promise of all farther fauour from y<sup>e</sup> King. Notwithstanding all this agreem<sup>t</sup> and absolute couenante, soone after reconcilem<sup>t</sup>, the sayd Lord Thomas beeing in the Citty of Dublin, he was arrested, taken & comitted to the Castle, and fues of his vnckles that were then in the country abroad were alsoe apprehended, who mistrusting noe such matter, haueing, as they thought, theyre pardons, they were all in one ship sent into England, which ship was called the Cow, wherein an auncient prophesy was fulfilled, That it should be too pernicious to the blood of Kildare to enter a cowe's belly. For they being once arrived in London, that prophesy tooke its effect, for they neuer returned thence afterward, being all putt to death at the Tower-Hill or Tiborne the third day of February, 1536. And dureing those alterations and troubles in Ireland, the old Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earle of Kildare, and father to the L<sup>d</sup> Thomas, dyed in the Tower of London. After his death, the Lord Thomas being in possession of the Earldome, and alsoe

attainted for Treason (as you haue heard), the lands fell to the Crowne. All the race of the old Earle being extinct, two brothers to the s<sup>d</sup> Lord Thomas, Gerald and Edward—the which Gerrald or Garret was afterwards Earle of Kildare—who by good fortune was restored to his blood and honor by Queene Mary, but not to the third part of his former estate and greatnesse. I haue made this long digression from the subject I had in hand only to lett yo<sup>r</sup> Lordsh<sup>p</sup> see how that the Geraldines of Munster were the occasion of the first stepp to the overthrow of the noble and most auntient house of Kildare, which (without question) was not inferior to any other in this kingdome for greatnesse of estate, nobleness of blood, wealth, and reputation; yett, thanks be to God, that house is not vtterly or altogether decayed. But now I must end this digression, and come to my former matter.

12. Thomas Meale, als. Moyle, the bald, vnkle to James F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, the last Earle, who dyed without issue, and third son to Thomas, the Earle that lost his head at Droghedagh, succeeded his nephew, James. This man was very fortunate and a greate warriour, & alwayes gott the victory, haueing bin an actor in nyne fought Battailles. He was Generall of the horsemen in that greate battell which was fought out betweene the Earle of Kildare, then L<sup>d</sup> Deputy, and Generall of the whole kingdome of Ireland, and y<sup>e</sup> greate O'Brien of Twomond; which battaile was valliantly and resolutely fought out by both partyes, and the victory stood doubtfull. This Earle Thomas Meale had the honor to giue two severall ouerthrowes to two Lords of Muscry, and the killing of them, one of them beeing his father-in-law. Many other valliant feats and acts, worth ample relation, were by him manfully vndertaken and performed, both before and after y<sup>e</sup> hee came to the Earldome. Hee had issue Maurice F<sup>r</sup> Thomas, begotten vpon the foresayd L<sup>d</sup> Muscryes daughter. This his son Maurice dyed before his father, leauing one sonne behind him, called James F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, who att the tyme of his fathers and grandfathers deaths was resident in England, serueing as page to King Henry the Eighth. The old Earle Thomas Meale dyed after he was Earle of Desmond full fifty fve yeares.

13. This James F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, grandchild to the sayd Thomas Moyle, succeeded him in the Earledome of Desmond; who beeing then in England, and heareing of his ffathers death, humbly desired the King's Majesty to giue him leaue to come to Ireland to take possession of the lands and territories, and quietly to settle his affayres, which request was presently granted him by the King, who of his owne Royall bounty had sufficiently furnished the young Earle of Desmond w<sup>th</sup> all things fitting and necessary for such a iourney and enterprise. And, knowing full well that there were in Ireland some of the Earle's kinsmen that would seeke to withstand him, His Ma<sup>y</sup> sent a sufficient power of armed men to settle the sayd Earle of Desmond in his estate. The s<sup>d</sup> young Earle being landed in Corcke harbour, he then tooke his vnfortunate iourney to the county of Limmerick; & passing through the Lord Roch, Viscount of Fermoy, his country, there was an ambush layed by S<sup>r</sup> Maurice of Desmond, his own kinsman, to entrapp him; into which snare falling vnawares, he was presently slayne by certaine horsemen, and not one man else of the whole army lost but he alone. And this happened in the yeare 1542 of humane saluation. This most wicked and abominable murder of the L<sup>d</sup> and Earle of Desmond, James F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, being thus committed by S<sup>r</sup> Maurice of

Desmond, was the first stepp to the ouerthrowe of this honorable house of Desmond—God, in reuenge thereof of his iustice infinite and deuine, not leauing one of the race of S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, the sayd S<sup>r</sup> Maurice his father, aliue vpon the face of the earth, as by and in the following discourse yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup> may very plainely perceiue. This S<sup>r</sup> Maurice of Desmond, who acted his sayd kinsman's bloody tragedy, was the second son to S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, brother to Thomas Meale, and the fourth son of Thomas, Earle of Desmond, who lost his head at the towne of Droghedagh. And to speake indifferently of the sayd S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, without immoderate passion of loue, or enuious malice and hatred, I doe say and alleadge that he was a stout warriour, very valliant & bountifull, a good house-keeper and liberall withall, according to those tymes. But all those good and commendable parts and qualities wherewith he was endued were much blemished and made obscure by his vnnaturall cruellty; soe as both friends and foes were all alike to him, if they might any way withstand his aduantage. And, to giue a true report of him, he was a man w<sup>th</sup>out faith in his promise, or truth in his word, cruell, severe, mercyesse, and very bloody. The Earle, this Maurice elder brother, named James Fitz John, after his coming to be Earle, very aduisedly (feareing his sayd brother, S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, his ill will, & too apparent badd condition, might reach to the ouerthrow of his house), thought it the surest way to gratifye him, and for his owne safety to assigne to his brother, S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, a competent liueing or patrimony farre from the limitts and confynes of the Earldome of Desmond; and, in hope his destruction and vtter ruin would soone ensue, gave him the Barrony of Kerrycurry, that in soe placeing him amongst his mortal enemyes he might haue much to doe w<sup>th</sup> & between them; that he might not haue or enjoy any leasure to practise any mischeife against him. S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, haueing gott the sayd Barrony of Kierrycurry of his brother, the Earle, was well pleased therewith, and alsoe contented to vndergoe all eminent dangers y<sup>t</sup> might bee incident to his sayd estate; and afterwards, notwithstanding his sundry aduersaries, did soe gallantly behaue himselfe for full thirty yeares space, he held play against all those that did oppose him. At last, beeing eighty yeares of age, and yett neuertheless of an able body, he went to the canthred of Muscry, to bring from thence by strong hand w<sup>th</sup> him a prey of cowes; and beeing then persued by S<sup>r</sup> Dermott M<sup>c</sup>Teige Carthy (Ann<sup>o</sup> 1565), L<sup>d</sup> of that country, and son in law to S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, and then being ouerthrowne in feild, hee was taken prisoner, and left by S<sup>r</sup> Dermott in the keepeing of foure horsemen, whilst he himselfe followed and persued the flying enemyes. In the meane tyme these mercilesse rogues, who were left to guard and keepe safe S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, fell vpon him, and inhumanly murderd him in cold blood—Allmighty and omnipotent God in his secrett judgement haueing soe ordayned, that the sayd Sir Maurice in his old age should taste of the same cupp w<sup>th</sup> in former tymes he often forced and constraynd others to drink of, in murdering such as were his prisoners. When he dyed he had issue two sonns, and three daughters. The eldest was married to M<sup>c</sup>Carthy Reagh; the second, to the Lord Roch; and the third, to S<sup>r</sup> Dermod M<sup>c</sup>Teigue, the aforesayd Lord of Muscry. Thomas, the eldest sonn of S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, dyed soone after his murdered fathers death, leauing issue extant behind him Thomas Oge (or the younger), who was alsoe slayne in the last warres of Desmond. But James Fitz Maurice, his second son, liued long after to become the fatall scourge and punishment, to worke the finall ouerthrowe



and last downefall of this famous house of the Giraldines of Muns as I intend forthwith to declare particularly.

14. Sir John of Desmond, fourth son to him that at Droghedagh beheaded, after that his son, S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, committed, or at least caused be committed, that wicked murder of the true and lawfull heyre of Earledome, or rather vpon the Earle himselfe, came to haue the acti possession of the whole and entyre Earledome of Desmond, and enjoyed same but one yeare; the Omnipotent Maj<sup>ty</sup> of God not permitting him enioy it longer; for, comeing to it as King Ahab gott Naboth vineyard he begunne in blood, and ended in blood. Hee left issue diuerse son whereof the eldest was called James, the second Maurice (who committed the afores<sup>d</sup> murder), and John Oge. They all had issue, & were lost the Earle Garretts last Rebellion, saueing Maurice Fitz John, the son John Oge, who dyed in Spaine.

15. James Fitz John succeeded his enterred father in ye Earledome who soone after he was possessed of the same went for England, beeing and decently (as was fitting) attended by worthy gentlemen and of servants of his, and came to the Court, where beeing admitted to the presence of King Henry the Eighth, then King of England, he submitted himselfe to his Majesty, surrendred all his lands, excuseing himselfe from murdering the lawfull Earle, sent ouer for Ireland by his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, with a ciuill grace and eloquent speeche, casting ye whole blame and ascription of ye s<sup>d</sup> odious murder from himselfe vpon his brother Maurice. The Kinge, beeing at that tyme engaged in the warres of France, & loath or vnwilling to leaue any faction in Ireland, receiued the Earle James very gratusly, bestowes back vpon him the whole Earledome, restores him and his Bretheren to theyre blood and dignities; more made him L<sup>d</sup> Treasurer of Ireland, and Gouverno<sup>r</sup> of the Prouince of Munster, sends him ouer into Ireland againe with much honor, where he liued long a happy age, beloued of his freinds, and mightily feared of foes & enemyes. Hee was Earle of Desmond for twenty yeares space when hee dyed hee left three sonns borne in lawful wedlocke, namely Garrett the eldest, John the second, and James the youngest. Hee had an elder sonn, named Thomas Roe Gerald, begotten on the L<sup>d</sup> Roches daughter; but it was commonly alleadged that shee was not the Earles lawful wife, and therefore Thomas Roe, being not legitimate, was not capable of the Earldome, which afterwards was the cause of much trouble and mischeife betweene these brothers.

16. Garrett Fitz James is now a rippening to enter on the stage of his parte of this most miserable Tragedy. This man beeing but young his father then liueing, had greate hopes of himselfe, and performed braue and valliant exploits. His first action was against M<sup>c</sup> Carragh, L<sup>d</sup> of Carbry, into whose country he entered, and brought thence greate bootyes; And soone after that he had performed valliant exploits, he beganne with Muscry, intending there also to do the lyke as he had done in Carbry; butt there he was met by all the forces of the whole countrye, beeing ledd by their cheifetaine Dermot M<sup>c</sup> Teige Carthy, son to the L<sup>d</sup> of Muscry, and theyre both meeting togeather, a feild was fought fiercelye and valliantly between them, where S<sup>r</sup> Dermot M<sup>c</sup> Teige, notwithstanding his valliant and resistance, was ouerthrowne, his men defeated and slayne, and himselfe although fiercelye resisting in his owne person, was taken prisoner.

carried captiue into the County of Limerick, and kept at the Castle of Askeaton a yeare and a halfe in captiuitie, vntill meanes were wrought att length by his wife, the daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Maurice of Desmond, to obtayne her husbands liberty and enlargemen<sup>t</sup> from her cosen Garrett, who haueing done what is even now related in the south partes of Munster, had alsoe some other occasion presented him to perpetrate something in the north parts of the same, as followeth. A confederate of his, by name Teige M<sup>c</sup>Murragh O'Brien, L<sup>d</sup> of Inchequin, by both the Earles of Thomond and Clanrickard beeing closely besidged, hee sent a messenger to the sayd Garrett to signifie to him in what perill and danger he himselfe then stood, craueing and pittifully imploreing his speedy succour, which Garrett speedily consented to doe, and by the messengers sent him word hee would not faile to releiue him by a certaine day, in despite of all those that would offerre to oppose or withstand him. And immediately gathered together out of his terrytories some forces, with whome passieng ouer the Riuer of Shanon, neere to Castle Connell, marched up to Inchequin to fight with both the Earles or to force them to rays the seidge. His forces consisted of fife hundred foote and sixty horse, over whom his brother Thomas Roe commanded as capitaine. The sayd two Earles heareing of Garretts approach, forsooke the seidge, and with all speede prepare to gather more forces together to bee the better able to fight with him, esteemeing him to haue a greater multitude of men then he had—want of sure intelligence soe much deceiued them—and soe to giue a bloody farewell in his reatreate. In the meane time the Castle is releived, and left strongly manned and victualled; and the L<sup>d</sup> Garrett intending to return back, his men beeing heauily loden with spoyle and booty gotten from the enemyes. But then vpon a suddaine both those Earles of Thomond and Clanrickard offerre him battayle in his reatreate, to which purpose they ordered and martialled theyre companyes. Hee in ye meane tyme, considering that there was noe other way that lay to his safetie but to stand to it manfully, and to endure whateuer might happen, most eloquently and effectually encouraged his small troopes to bee glad, and to giue God thanks for presenting them with such an occasion to eternize theyre fames and reputation, and not to be dismayd, or the leaste jott terrified with the cowardly multitude of theyre enemyes, but rather stoutly to play the part of valiant men, and all should vndoubtedly bee theyres. With this & other speeches to the like effect, beeing mightily encouraged, they went on cheerefully, and fought with theyre enemyes w<sup>th</sup> such resolution, as both those Earles were ouerthrowne in open feild, and the sayd Garrett remayned victor, to his greate renowne, (the sayd Earles reposing all the safety of theyre lives in open flight), he brought back his troopes without any hurt or detriment receiued. These, and many other valourous acts worthy of ample relation, were by him performed, which I doe pass over for breuity sake.

Not long after his ffather dyed, and hee begann with his vnhappy Earleshipe, and soone after his ffather's death the Earle Garrett with a willing mynd and intention went for England to doe his duty to the Queenes Majesty, hee being well attended on by one hundred prime gentlemen, wayteing and attending vpon him; presenting himself before the Queenes Royall Majesty. She very gratusly receiued him, confirmed to him and his heyres by Letters patents all the lands, iurisdictions, seigniories, and priueledges that were held in tymes past by his predecessors, and soe haueing his dispatch in all his matters, and taken his leave of her Ma-

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jeasty, he came for Ireland, beeing in quiett possession of his Earle. The worne of ambition, and the damnable sparke of enuy mir matter of discord and discontent abundantly to draw out at large dis and debate betweene him and the Lord Thomas Buttlr, Earle of C and Ossory, and Count Palatine of Tipperary, whose mother th Joane was married to the sayd Garrett. These two noblemen we lusty, haughty, and courageous, and likewise uery powerful in r friends, and followers, and both well countenanced in the Court c land. The Earle of Ormond being the wyser, and more politicke o wrought his owne ends somewhat subtile and closely. The Earle c mond farre otherwise, rashly and plainely, without any pretences to dow his meaneing. Her Majesty (I confesse) did always fauour th of Ormond in regard it tooke parte with the house of Lancaster ciuill warres. And the house of Desmond tooke the fortune of the of Yorke; Her sayd Ma<sup>ty</sup> being by the ffather's syde descended the lyne of Lancaster. Now, to shew the grounds and materiall r of the discord and disagreement that was betweene those two e peeres, lett this following discourse suffice. The occasion of the disco that which throughly enflamed the ambitious minds of those Earls for mutual takeing of preyes, and also concerning meareing and bo theyr seuerall patrimonyes and seignioryes, which lay partly t bordering vpon the others; soe that at length theyre discontent g that heighth as noething could, or at leaste would pacifye the quar the sword, to whose sole arbitrement they, by consent, left it to l cided, to which purpose a day was by them appoynted for tryall of controuersy. The place appoynted for theyre meeteing was at Bohe just betweene the countyes of Limerick and Tipperary, where botl Earles mett together with a choise number of gallant and well pr followers.

Desmond (as my father told mee, who was then present serueing him) brought vnto the field at that tyme 4000 ffoote, and 750 all which number for the most parte were his owne ffollowers, and cheife Lords and prime gentlemen, or most of them, in the provi Munster. The Earle of Ormond came also thither with noe les parations, equalling the other in number of men and furniture, b greate ordinance with other warlike instruments of warre with hin pulse and force back the violence of his ouerdareing enemyes. Those competitors, for the space of fourteene dayes, confronted one an c open feild, and yett came not to battaille, contrary to both theyre c but were by the discretion and mediation of certayne greate Lorc in both the armyes, and especially by the intercession and proct of the Countesse of Desmond, who was also mother to Ormond, re and made freinds at that tyme, at least in outward show; the art agreement noething sounding to Desmond's reproach. In which le friendship they continued not long, for acts and surest purposes of men cannot boast of perpetuity. And here it happened unto ther as the Poet Lucan setts downe in his first Booke of the Ciuill called Pharsalia, betweene Pompey the Greate and Caius Julius where the poet by way of simile setts downe: That the Ionian Se breake ouer and ouerwhelme the Ægean Sea; but only that th thian peninsula seated indifferently between them, hinders theyre v the which, if it were once taken away, would giue way to the one

flow the other. Soe Cressus liueing had limitted the ambitious aspiring mynds of Pompey and Cæsar, but he once dead, they endeaoured to vndoe one an other, and at last Cæsar ruined Pompey. Soe likewise it happened with these Earles, whilst the Countesse lived she wrought meanes to keepe them from doing one another mischeife, but now taking her last leane of the world, she could noe more command or intreate the sayd Desmond, her husband, or Ormond her son; noe body beeing left of sufficient authority to cherrish or vphold the late renewed peace or attone-ment, the two Earles, much like thunder, broake out into farre worse tearmes of hostillity then ever they had done before.

The Lord of Deasey, cosen to the s<sup>d</sup> Earle, had some arreares of rentes or services which the Earle pretended to bee due to him, wherevpon hee gathered togeather some forces, and therewith enterred the sayd country of Deasey in all kynd of hostility. The s<sup>d</sup> Lord Maurice Fitzgerald, Viscount Dessey and Barron of Dromanny, finding himselfe vnable at all to resist Desmond without the assistance of some other powerfull men, craued ayde of the Earle of Ormond his neere cosen, who of himselfe was most willing to doe Desmond all the mischeife that lay in his power, and thereupon embracing the opportunity then presented, makes ready greats forces to meete with the Earle of Desmond vnawares, and in his returne to fight with him. Thus hee and the L<sup>d</sup> Deassy, beeing ioined togeather, pursue Desmond, who at that tyme was weakely accompanied, not dreaming at all that the Earle of Ormond would have meddled in the quarrell of Deassy. They ouertooke the Earle of Desmond at the Riuer of Blackwater, neere Aghjvane, where Desmond, contrary to the wyse advice of those that followed and accompanied and discretely perswaded him to giue place to necessity for the present time, and to consider the strength of his powerfull and mortall enemyes, and to make an honorable retreat, But he uery rashly and indiscreetly—and rather like a Terentius Varro than a Paulus Æmilius—by any meanes would not be perswaded from fighting, chooiseing rather to dye in the feild then to turn his back to Ormond. Both armyes met togeather, and both fought togeather very resolutely, needeing noe other exhortation to invite them to fight more then malice and mutuall hatred one to the other. And truly the skirmish was valiantly fought by the few that were with Desmond, and performed what resolute and courageous men in the very heigth of extremity ought and would doe, both for obtaining the victory and preservation of Desmond. But multitude rather prevailed than true valour or vertue. Desmond, seeing the day lost, gaue a violent charge into Ormond's battayle of horse, whereinto beeing farre entered, and haueing fewe about him, hee was ouerthrowne from his horse by S<sup>r</sup> Edmond Butler, Ormond's brother, who brake his thigh with a shott from his pistoll, and was there taken prisoner. His small company were likewise, for the most part, cutt in peices. This ouerthrowe fell upon him for rejecting the wise counsaile of those who perswaded him not to fight. The fight beeing ended, Desmond was ledd from the place where the battayle was fought by Ormond to Clonmell in the quallity of a prisoner; and, beeing cured of his wounds, he was sent into England by the Earle of Ormond's procurement, where, for the space of full seauen yeares he remained prisoner in the Tower of London, from whence (soe it were God's pleasure) I could wish he had neuer returned. In the meane tyme, dureing the Earle's imprisonment, his elder brother Thomas Roe Gerald (who, as I told you already, was begotten on the Lord Roche's daughter and, as most men of Munster

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then liueing thoughte, for some reasonable causes was not reputed the Earle's legitimate son and heyre), takeing aduantage of his brother's fortunes (I meane the Earle's), tooke upon him to command in cheif the Earldome of Desmond; beeing therein mightily countenanced and furt by the Earle of Ormond (although hee boare neither of them both any will) and by those who were then appoynted for the gouernment of M<sup>ty</sup> for her Majesty.

To prevent these insolent proceedings of Tho. Roe, James Fitzmaurice second son to Sir Maurice of Desmond, stepps on the stage, who, during these alterations and troubles, was slayne by S<sup>r</sup> Dermot M<sup>ty</sup> Teigue C<sup>ty</sup> Lord of Muskry, notwithstanding that hee was father-in-law to the S<sup>r</sup> Dermot. This Sr. Maurice of Desmond, in my opinion, receiued punishment in the decree of God for the wilfull killing (if not murd<sup>r</sup>) of his cosen, James Fitzmaurice, the true and lawfull heyre of the Earle of Desmond, in doing and committing of which wicked act hee soe prouoked the powerfullnesse of the wrath of Almighty God against the whole generation of his father's house, as not one of them liues vpon the face of the earth at this day, but were all destroyed in the s<sup>d</sup>. Gallicke last rebellion against the Crowne of England. This James Fitzmaurice scorning the bold attempts and insolencies of the sayd Thomas Roe and John of Desmond, the Earles brother, beeing then alsoe a prisoner in London, hee, then, to maintaine the s<sup>d</sup>. Earles titles and rights, leaped the listes, challenging any man that durst presume to question the right, which, for the space of full seauen yeares, hee as gallantly performed as hee valiantly vndertooke it. To bee breife, my intent not to write a historye of his acts at full, hee and the English fforges often met, they being led by Sr. John Perrott, then Lord President of Munster, and alsoe by diuerse braue captains, in all which encounters the James Fitzmaurice lost neither ground nor reputation, but rather commonly went off with the wining hand, and held all his aduersaries which were too many, at the swordes poynt, dureing the Earle's imprisonment in England, drawing to his part diuerse cheiftaines and gentlemen in all the prouinces of Ireland; and sometymes, also, he would kill some Scotts.

This James Fitzmaurice was (rightly for to describe him) a brave gallant gentleman, witty, learned, impassionate, circumspect, active, valiant, deuoute, subtile, and quick of apprehension, elloquent, of a high aduenturous polliticke and dissembling mind; too forward and apt to vaile, to take greate paynes, and to endure thirst, cold, and hunger much giuen to the pleasure of Bacchus or Venus, as Dr. Meacy at large saith of him. And truly hee was well worthy of an Earldom, had hee been answerable to maintayne the course hee held; as by the strange and stratagems by him acted dureing those troubles you may easily perceiue. Hee, therefore, as well by the assistance of those of his owne sept as by the continuall skirmishes held with her Majesty's fforges, as alsoe by her Majesty's most bountifull mercy and clemency, granted him pardon, received him in after acting those greate troubles. Furthermore by her Majesty, out of her Royall Clemency and disposition, was willing to pardon the Earle of Desmond, whom she received to fauour after long and general imprisonment of seauen yeares; first released him out of the Tower, and him and S<sup>r</sup> John, his brother, back for Ireland along with Fittis, who beeing come to Dublin, the sayd Fittis imprisoned them, and after

they were enlarged; and an Act of Oblivion made, forgiueing and forgetting all former faults and offences. The Queene, when the Earle of Desmond tooke his leaue of her Maj<sup>ty</sup>, did putt him in mind of the honors bestowed by her predecessors, kings of England, vpon the race of Maurice Fitzgerald, and her owne bounty extended at all tymes to him, aduiseing him inuolably to keepe his loyalty to the Crowne of England, from whom he was to expect both fauour and rewarde, and not by his owne faults to blemish the long continued honor of his honorable auncient House, with the foule and contagious spott of a second reuolt from his allegiance, in doing which she should alwayes remayne his good Lady and thankfull friend. The Earle of Desmond humbly thanked her Majesty, and with solemne protestation promised, dureing his lyfe, to remayne her true subiect, and soe haueing his dispatch, tooke his leave, and came for Ireland in the company of Fitton as I haue already told, and after an easy restraunte for a little tyme came to his Lordships, lands, and seigniories, where, notwithstanding any insolent possessions of his Brother thereof taken before, hee was with full applause and greate ioy of his tenants and followers, receiued and restored to the full & plenary possession of the Earledome.

James Fitz Maurice, of whom I made mention before, who had broake out into rebellion, at the first to oppose Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald (of whom I alsoe spoke before), afterwards stood out to re-establish allsoe the Roman Religion in Ireland, which then began to bee mightily suppressed; which hee did by combineing himselfe with certaine gentlemen out of Conaught. Edward & Pierce Butler, Brothers to the Earle of Ormond, who seuerally vsed them of the Countyes of Killkenny, Crosse, and Tipperary, and other places nere them. And with the Seneschall of Imokilly, and others who had negotiated with the Pope and King of Spayne to re-establish Religion. Now, within a little while after the Earle's returne, James F<sup>z</sup> Maurice was sent for, brought in and pardoned, to draw from the Rebels some of theyre forces, for the s<sup>d</sup> rebels were then growne very insolent in all parts of ye kingdome. For the Bourkes in Conaught raysed rebellion, gathered together greate numbers to oppose Fitton's tyranny, passed ouer the Shynnan and made cruill incursions vpon the inhabitants of Westmeathe, and pilladged the same and other places. The Buttlers alsoe haueing made vp greate numbers of men & galloghglasses, beleaugred the City of Killkenny, summoned the same to yeeld, and to deliuer them Warham St. Ledger's wife. But finding the place well furnished, and the inhabitants, with the assistance of the Garrison Souldiers, issueing out against them; they raysed seidge and miserably foradged the country round about. Cnogh O'Bryen Earle of Thomond (vnable to endure Edward fitton, the s<sup>d</sup>. Gouvernor of Conaughts austere Gouvernement), retyred to ffrance, and, as was feared, might bring trouble that way; but he was soone after diuerted in ffrance alsoe by Norris, then ambassadour in France, and was brought home, pardoned, and restored to his lands and seigniories. The Sept of O'Moores, in Leinster, being strong, haughty, fierce, and seditious people, about this tyme stirred new troubles and rebellion, and finally it was thought by many that the Cardinall of Lorraine practised with the Spaniards and Irish against England, in fauour of the Queene of Scotland. James Fitz Maurice beeing so received and pardoned, alleadged for colour of his actions, that what he did or intended to doe was to hasten the Earles enlargement out of England. And now the sayd Earle beeing quietly established in full seisin and possession of all his lands, he had accomplished

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his end. This James Fitz Maurice, the Earles neere kinsman that was soe much to defend his territoryes from beeing usurped by his Father Thomas Roe, as alsoe for his enlargement out of restraints, repayred him, desires his Lordship to assigne for him some sufficient portion of land to liue upon, thereby afterwards quietly to maintayne his estate. To obtaine his request he made noe question, as well for his neereness in blood as alsoe for his desertes. But see what mischeife sprung from y<sup>e</sup> marriage of a woeman. For Dame Elleynor Butler, Countesse of Desmond, and the mother of one only sonne, opposed herselfe against this James Fitz Maurice, and with reasons, perswasions, teares, and implorings, perswaded the Earle, her husband, not to dismember his patrimony, but rather to leaue it whole and entire to his only son, James Fitz Garrett, who was then a young child. It often falls out that woemen in theyre requests prevail with men, and even as the soft waue of the sea cleaueth and pierceth the hardest rock, not by force, but by continuall falling thereon, soe the Earle of Desmond beeing incessantly aduised or rather conjured by his wife or rather (as I beleue it) not well established in his witts, without consideration or respect had of his owne cosens greates meritts and seruises done for him, or the expectation of future seruises, vtterly refused his suite, giues him nothing, soe as it ended in an absolute denyall.

James Fitz Maurice perceiusing and pondering inwardly in himselfe the ingratitude of his cosen, from whom hee expected to haue better success, haueing for his sake soe farre engaged himselfe and his fortune, and beeing extreemely greiued in hearte for this vnkynd or rather vnreasonable refusall, his ambitious thoughts grewe to that heigh of discontent that he afterwards studyed noething day or night but how to procure stirre both heauen, earth, and Hell to doe the Earle mischeife, and soe to make all meanes a foundation whereon to leuele his resolute and dangerous designes, and to follow the aduise and counsell of y<sup>e</sup> chiefe counsellors he had, in whom he reposed greatest trust and confidence, who were Edmond Fitz Gibbon, the Whyte Knight; John, Seneschall of Imole, and M<sup>r</sup> Philip Roch, a gentleman of Kinsale. To these (he beeing troubled with greife and sorrow) he shewed what repulse and denyall was giuen him, how his fortune fayled him, and that he thought fitt to take theyre advice what were best for him to doe; for he expected noething from the Earle and was diffident in the State. They aduised him to employ himselfe endeauour to perswade forraigne Kings, Princes, and Potentates to vnder take and fauour his Quarrell, and to drawe in forraigne powers; and they themselves would ioin with them in the sayd designes. Beeing resolved, they all fledd the kingdome, & sailed ouer into France, where James Fitz Maurice presented himselfe before King Henry the Second, King of France, who was by him courteously receiued. To him he complained how hardly the Gouern<sup>r</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> English in Ireland vsed the Irish, some takeing away theyre lands, some theyre liues, and from all the Irish Religion, if other princes did not help them. Whereupon he offered his seruice for the conquest of Ireland, and to restore there againe the Catholique Roman Religion. The King was willing to embrace y<sup>e</sup> offer but was otherwise perswaded by his Councill, who therein were more than theyre master. James Fitz Maurice, finding by his long delay that the Councillis speech, that he could not speede there in what he excee expected, tooke his leaue; and, beeing dismissed thence, hee directed his course for Spayne, where beeing arriued, hee makes the like offers to

Philip as he did to the ffrench King. King Philip haueing hearde his motions and profferre, and being loath to breake the peace concluded between him and the Queene of England, after haueing bountyfully rewarded him, wrote for him his letters of commendation to the Pope of Rome, perswading him to vndertake the warrs of Ireland. Gregorius the xiii<sup>th</sup>, then sitting pope in the see of Rome, who of his owne will and inclination, in regard of the difference in Religion, was full glad to find any fitt occasion to molest the Queene of England, did ioyfully receiue James F<sup>r</sup> Maurice with greate honor and much respect, haueing then in his company Thomas Stukeley, who mett him in Spayne. This Thomas Stukeley was an English Gentleman of greate and haughty resolutions and high aspiereing thoughts, but withall was a Ryotous prodigall and vayne-glorious person; and after that he had consumed all his estate vnthrifely in England, hee retired into Ireland, haueing lost all hope of ouergetting the Marshallship of Wexford, whom he thought to obtaine, and perceiueing himselfe also vnable to raise any commotions, after belching forth vnworthy aspersions and Reproaches of his Princesse, who had done for him many fauours, was glad to find occasion soe fittly presented him againe to rayse his decayed fortunes, offerra his service to James Fitz Maurice, who fully knowing & considering the sufficiency of the man, declares to his Holynesse by way of discourse, That M<sup>r</sup> Stukeley was able to doe much in this expedition for the Irish warre, intreating his Holynesse that this Stukeley might haue a place of command in the Army amongst the principall leaders. The Pope, willing to graunt James Fitz Maurice any thing that lay in him to giue, creates the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Stukeley Marquesse of Leinster, Earle of Wexford and Catherlagh, Viscount Moroghoe, and Baron of Rosse—all of them remarkable places in Ireland—and freely then created him Lieutenant Generall of 800 Italians, to be furnished and payed by the s<sup>d</sup> Pope and King of Spayne, vnder the command of James Fitzmaurice, for the Irish Warrs. And thereupon the sd. Pope caused presently with all celerity to bee mustered out of the Territories of the Church 2000 Italians. The Pope, notwithstanding that he held good correspondence with the Spaniards at this tyme for their own profit, and vnder collour of restoreing the Catholique Religion, held secrett counsell how at one tyme to inuade both Ireland and England, and to disposesse Queene Elizabeth, who was the surest defence to the Religion Reformed. The sd. Pope intended to conquer Ireland for his Nephew, surnamed Bon Compagnion, Marquesse Diergnoles. The Spaniards succoured and aided the Irish Rebels as the Queene succored the Hollanders against him. Upon these motives and considerations, the Pope was perswaded to give the s<sup>d</sup> forces to F<sup>r</sup> Maurice and the sayd Thomas Stukely, by his notable subtilty and the s<sup>d</sup> Stukeleys greate and monstrous ostentation and shew, and the promises hee made with the s<sup>d</sup> Fitz Maurice, his counsell of the Kingdome of Ireland from the s<sup>d</sup> Pope, soone haueing won the fauor of this Pope, beeing an ambitious old man (if I may lawfully tearme him soe), that hee honored him with the creations and titles before mentioned, and furnished him with the sayd forces and all other necessities fitt for such an expedition. Whilst these preparations were makeing ready for theyre voyage vnto the Kingdome of Ireland, Fitz Maurice, impatient of all delays, and to come according to his promise into Ireland to succour those that were of his party, and to draw as many others as he could to hold with him, tooke his leaue of the Pope, leauing Marquesse Stukeley fully authorized in his place to bring



those forces after him by sea; soe beeing intended to come for Ireland to rayse more helpe, and be in a readynesse againste theyre coming; he posted through France and Spayne, and came to Portugall, from whence with all expedition hee tooke shipping for Ireland, with three shippes, some Spanish souldiers, mony, and Doctor Saunders the Diuine, with the authority of the Popes Legate and consecrated Ensigne, and arriued in Ireland at Smerwick, in the County of Kerry, the first day of July, A° 1579, where haueing landed, the preist consecrated the place.

Hee raysed a Fort in the Peninsula, and brought the shippes neere. Mr. Thomas Courtney, an English gentleman, with a ship of Warre, which at that tyme lay furnished in the Roade neere unto them, by and by to assault them, and intended to barre the sayd Fitz Maurice and his Spaniards from the benefit of the sea. But the suddaine & vnexpected arriual of Fitz Maurice, it brought noe small terror and feare upon y<sup>e</sup> whole Kingdome, imagining that his forces were greater indeed than they were, and alsoe for that they knew him to bee a verry dangerous and resolute man. Wherefore a while I must leaue him, & returne to the order of tyme to declare w<sup>h</sup> became of those forces which the Pope gaue him, and that hee left w<sup>th</sup> Stukeley to come after him. Marquesse Stukeley haueing all things in readynesse, with those Italian forces, haueing weighed Anchor from the City Civita Vecchia, a place in the Roman territoryes, passed through the Mediterranean Sea and Hercules Straight, and in the end safely arriued in Portugall, at the entry of the Tagus, in the harbour of Lisbon, just at the verry instant time when Don Sebastianus, the young and willfull King of Portugall, was verry busy in makeing ready greate preparations for that unfortunate expedition for Barbary. This titular Marquesse Stukeley landed his sea-sick souldiers, to refresh them after theyre tedious and long voyage full in the face and view of Don Sebastian<sup>s</sup>, who was then alsoe in Lisbon; whom, when the s<sup>d</sup> king saw, he sent to know what they were, from whence they came, and whither they were bound; which being by the generall particularly related, immediately after Stukeley was sent for by the king, & much made of by him. The s<sup>d</sup> King Sebastian<sup>s</sup> falling into priuate conference with the s<sup>d</sup> Marquesse importunately desired him to goe along with him for the expedition of Barbary, for Don Sebastianus, to whom y<sup>e</sup> whole expedition of Barbary did concerne, because in the heate of his youth & ambition hee had promised the Pope to make two expeditions in behalfe of the Roman Church; that is, to goe against the Turkes and Protestants with all his power; and beeing then invited into Africa by Mahomet, the son of Abdalla, against Muly Moluck, king of Morocco, by greate promises treates with Stukeley to goe with him to the kingdome of Mauritania before he should come for Ireland, with those Italians under his command. And the Marquesse being easily wonne to that, knowing full well y<sup>e</sup> the Spaniards disdaineing that y<sup>e</sup> nephew of a Pope should bee designed king of Ireland, had consented to doe it. And grounding much vpon the Kings word, who solemnely promised him at theyre returne to reward him well and to send him more ayd for his intended conquest of Ireland. Now, the s<sup>d</sup> Stukeley forgetting his promise to the Pope, and not at all respecting his oath taken to James Fitz Maurice not to betray the trust reposed in him, and (it may be) beeing vnwilling to turne Traytor to his Prince and country, and beeing a haughty-minded man, and glad to haue meanes and occasions to aduance his owne estate, accepts of the King's offerrs and yelded to his Request, and sayled along with him for Barbary.

where a battayle was fought betweene Don Sebastianus and the said Muley Molucke, in which vnfortunate battaile three Kings perished. Muley Molucke dyed in the heighth of the fight, haueing dranke in the morning a good quantity of mare's milke, beeing weake enough before. Mahomett, who ledd Don Sebastian to that vnhappy iourney, was drowned in passeing ouer a riuier. The feild being thus lost, Don Sebastian was taken aliuie by the Moors, who, knowing him by the richnesse of his armour, in striving betweene themselues who should take him for his prisoner, was out of hand smothered in his uery armour; in whom ended the race of the auntient Kings of Portugall. To beare him company (wanting all other refuge) our Marquesse of Leinster, with all his Italian forces, were slayne, after an incredible and manlike valour shewen. The s<sup>d</sup> Marquesse had his iust rewarde for deceiueing him who reposed soe greate trust and confidence in him, haueing noe greate need of him. In respect of other considerations, Marquesse Stukeley is not to be blamed, for hee could neuer doe Queene Elizabeth better seruice than to hinder the landing of those Italians in Ireland; for, if the s<sup>d</sup> Stukeley had lead them on hither, according to directions from the Pope, and landed them in Ireland while James F<sup>o</sup> Maurice liued, certainly the rooting out of them, beeing commanded by such a politique and tryed commander as the s<sup>d</sup> James Fitz Maurice was, vndoubtedly would haue cost the losse of much bloud and an inexhaustible quantity of mony. But thanks bee to God, it is farre better as it is. And thus came the Marquesse Stukeley to the period of his life, which should haue been one of y<sup>e</sup> cheifest instruments to ruin Ireland. But now to my former matter where I left. Lett this be observed, that few yeares before Sebastianus his ouerthrow in Affrica, where Stukeley and his Italians perished, and that long and miserable warre begun by James Fitz Maurice and continued by the Earle of Desmond; a strange starre, commonly called a comett—or rather that you call it soe Apinoment in the Chayre of Cassiopeas Constellation—appeared in Nouember, 1573.

James Fitz Maurice beeing arriued on the coast of Ireland as aforesayd, not knowing of the losse of the Marquesse, soone after his landing began to bring to passe his designs (if God had not prevented him). Vpon his arriuall, S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, the Earle of Desmond's brother, made his repaire vnto him, vpon what intencion or notion I know not. This S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond bare a priuate grudge and hatred to y<sup>e</sup> Countesse of Desmond, his brother's wyfe; for, after that she became the mother of that young son, the L<sup>d</sup> James, S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond was out of all hopes to enjoy or inherite the Earledome after his brother's death; whereas before the birth of that child he conceived otherwise. But whatsoeuer y<sup>e</sup> reason was that made him disloyall, truly he was a plague sent from God to bee the actor of the vtter ruine of this greate house, which stood for soe many descents in honor and estimation. This S<sup>r</sup> John's liueinge was greate, and himself well bredd and brought vp; a man of good witt if hee had putt it to good vses; but employing it about pernicious matters was the contagious plague that killed him and all his generation, as, sayes the famous poett (*Nor anything so pestilential as misapplied Witt*). To bee the better wellcome to Fitz Maurice and the Spaniards, he thought to performe some peice of seruice whereby hee might giue them assurance of his faithfull meaning to doe them seruice, and not to leaue any after meanes to recant or shrink back. He thought therefore effectually to performe what hee aimed at. On a suddaint, associates with him his brother, S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, and with all haste drawes

together some Irish souldiers and galloghlasses to ioine with theyre confederates Fitz Maurice and the Spaniards. The Earle himselfe calld togeather his friends, and made some shewe, as though he would goe against them, whereupon the Earle of Clanrickard, with a competent number of souldiers, draws neere the enemy, but at last (as it is reported) was by the sayd Earle of Desmond diuerted, and sent home againe.

The Lord Deputy beeing aduertised by Henry Daus of Fitz Maurice and the Spaniards arriuall, forthwith sent strict comands to the Earle of Desmond and his Bretheren ioyntly to assaile the fort, and dissipate ye enemy and Rebelles that held the same. They received the s<sup>d</sup> comand, gathered togeather theyre members, talked and considered upon the matter, and haueing found it full of danger and perrill, refused to hazzard themselves headlong to the danger thereof. There was then an English gentleman, called Henry Daus, before mentioned, High Sheriffe of the County of Corke, who was alsoe Gossip to S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, who tooke his iourney to the County of Kerrey, within a while after the arriuall of these Spaniards, as Justice Meade did alsoe. And hee the s<sup>d</sup> Daus, being one night at Traly (one of the Earles cheife Mann<sup>r</sup> Houses), the s<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, accompanied with diuerse others, not regarding y<sup>e</sup> feare of God, his duty of allegiance, the ouerthrow of his House, nor what a monstrous & inhumane a thing it was before the Royall throne of heauen, and odious wrath to murder his Goeship, but rather beeing ledd by deuilish fury, entered about midnight the Lodging where Daus lay, and murdered him in his bedd, with one Arture Charter, Prouost Marshall of Munster, and all theyre people that were with them. This foule murther, when it came to the heareing of Fitz Maurice, it greatly displeased him, as one whose noble nature and free condition deadlily hated & abhorred such wicked acts. S<sup>r</sup> John now alledged for iustification the seuerall abuses offered to him by Mr. Daus in former tymes, and that the cleargy told him it was a meritorius act to kill a Hereticke. But James Fiz Maurice reprobued the manner of it, wishing rather it had bin done in the way then in Bedd; And when it came to the Earles ears, hee condemned it with all his hearte as a thing most detestable, and in deede this most wicked act did blemish his reputation both with freinds and foes, and noething after committing thereof did prosper with him. Notwithstanding, he ioynes with Fitz Maurice, and both, w<sup>th</sup> Banners displayed, marched out of Kerry into the County of Limericke without any resistance, none beeing there to stoppe theyre passadge. Where both of them being in the campe an vnhappy accident fell out in this manner. One of S<sup>r</sup> Johns men rauished a woeman w<sup>th</sup> followed the campe, which beeing complained of to Fitz Maurice, to doe iustice and obserue martiall discipline therein, hee comanded the offender presently to bee put to death, wherevnto S<sup>r</sup> John would by no meanes consent. This man surely lost his witts, if ever hee had any, not respecting Murther or Rape. When Fitz Maurice saw hee could not haue his will to punish malefactors, and doe justice on soe heynous offences, hee thought good to yeele to necessity, and for auoyding of ciuill discord, to part company with his cosen, and to expect the company of Stukeley, of whose losse he knew nothing; and in the meane tyme hee determined to goe ouer into Conaught, to draw from thence S<sup>r</sup> John Bourke, Clanricards Brother, of whose assistance he was sure, and in his goeing thither hee purposed to goe to the

Abbey of Holy Crosse, in the County of Tipperary, to performe a vow which hee made beyond seas. But in passeing thither through the lands of Theobald Bourke (his neere cosen, and whose son William was with him in the last Rebellion), hee haueing notice of F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, his goeing that way, persued him with all the fforces hee could make, adioyning to his company the Sherriffe of the County, who ouertooke theyre enemy in the feild. F<sup>r</sup> Maurice seeing himselfe persued by him, by whom he expected noe danger, sent one of his men to entreate his cosen to desiste from further persute, assuring him hee meant him noe hurt. But the s<sup>d</sup> Bourke either feareing his owne danger in suffering him to escape, haueing the aduantage of the day, haueing more men than his aduersary by halfe, or rather being desirous (as I beleine) to aduance himselfe and his posterity in doing so notable a peice of seruice, sends him word to prepare for his defence. James F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, therefore, perceueing that he must of necessity fight, encouraged his men to the combatt, he beeing followed by lesse then a hundred footemen, and some fewe horsemen, not thinking before of any such surprise in his iourney. To fight they went on both sydes, and on both sydes it was manfully fought out, Bourke farre exceeding him in number. In the heate of this fight a base Boy from the aduerse party, shooteing out of a fowling peice, and aimeing full at James F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, who was easily knowne by his yellow doublett, shott him in the Breast farre into the body. This hurt hee concealed from his followers, for feare that the knowing it might discomfirt his party; and although hee was then full of greife, payne, and soarenesse, yett remembering his owne fame and renowne spread soe farre throughout the most parts of Europe, left noething vnattempted as well to reuenge his owne death as also gloriously to obtayne the victory. This beeing his last act, and in that desperate resolution, hee gaue in with greate violence amongst his enemyes, where meeting with Theobald Bourke, with one blow hee claue his head, and perceiueing the s<sup>d</sup> Theobalds Brother, William Bourke, not farre from him, hee ran at him, and with the second stroake slew him. The enemy beeing thus overthrowne, Fitz Maurice, feeeling himselfe wounded to death, made it knowne vnto Doctor Allen, an English preist, who still boare him company, as well in Italy as alsoe in Ireland. His wound was found to be mortall, and past all cure, which was noe small greife to those that beheld him, who pittifully bewaylled and lamented the vntimely loss of so brave a leader, whose equall they were sure neuer again to meete of his own Race. Well, there was noe remedy—God's will must be done, punishing the sins of the Father in the death of the son. Fitz Maurice made a godly end of his lyfe (only that he boare Arms ag<sup>t</sup> his Sovereigne Princesse, the Queene of England), and within an houre after receiueing his wound gaue up the ghost, to the lamentable greife of all those of his Faction. The death of James Fitz Maurice was the beginning of the decay of this honorable House of Desmond, out of which neuer issued so braue a man in all perfection, both for qualities of the mind and body; besides the league betweene him and others for defence of Religion. Hee was forced against his will to runn that course hee did, by the malice of the Countesse of Desmond, and the ingratitude of the Earle, who most vnkindly reiected his suite. Notwithstanding, the condition of mortall man is not like to bee capeable of a greater benefitt then the Earle received by the hands of F<sup>r</sup> Maurice, defending him and his right valiantly, and procureing his enlargement beyond all expectation, after

seauen yeares imprisonment. This Fitz Maurice was well worthy to serue any Prince in Christendome, both for his Manhood, Pollicy, and Good Direction; hee was a noble and gallant Gentleman—grauely, affable, wise, learned, and religious; a man of a farre-reaching witt, of a voluble, sweete tounge, and have a comely behaueiour; and if his meanes had bin able to second the plott he layed, out of all question hee would haue performed much in that last action. But all his haughty designes died with his lyfe, and the downfall of his house presently ensued. The English through his death tooke heart and courage; and the Irish were daunted, haueing lost theyre cheife Leader, beeing neuer like to fynde such another. Lett noe man bee offended, if I give him his due praise; for I hold it lawfull to commend worth euen in an enemy, for what I haue deliuered of him I speake without passion or partiality.

Now, as soone as James Fitz Maurice was dead, his cozen, Maurice Fitz John, caused his head to bee cut of from his body; and, haueing noe leasure to bury the body, left it wrappt in a caddowe vnder an old oake, where beeing soone after found by an huntsman, the body without head was brought to Killmallock, and there hanged on a Gibbett, and shott by the English souldiers, that were glad to see him dead whom they soe much feared liueing, as they durst not looke him in the face. You haue heard the end of the cheifest actor in this remarkeable tragedy: wee will now proceed on to shew what became of y<sup>e</sup> rest.

S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, after the death of Fitz Maurice, commanded the Rebels in cheife, the Earle all this whyle not intermeddling with the matter, but outwardly shewed greife and sorrow for the course that his cozen Fitz Maurice and his owne Brethren tooke; and came unto the Lord Deputy of Ireland, when he came into the county of Limericke, neere to Killmallocke; and, comeing before y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Lord Deputy, hee playnely and cleerely quitted himselfe from all imputations and blemishes that hee was charged with concerning the Rebellion of S<sup>r</sup> John and others his followers. And before the s<sup>d</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Deputy promised to remaine and persist still in his faith and obedience to the Queene, and bound himselfe by oath that hee and his would warre againste the Rebelles. Whereupon hee was desired to gather together his men, and to returne to the Deputy. In the meane time the Queene, as shee was still a grations, louing, and bountifull Princesse, at this tyme she so shewed herselfe to William Bourke, vnto whom she wrote comfortable letters, full of loue and sorrow for the losse of his sons and people, and created him Baron of Castle Connell, and bountifully rewarded him with an annuall pension; but, notwithstanding all this, his greife gaue an overthrowe to his joy, so as soone after hee dyed.

S<sup>r</sup> John, being constituted in F<sup>r</sup> Maurice his place, marched through the country; mett w<sup>th</sup> the English forces, ledd by Captayne Porke, Captayne Herbert, Captaine Prince, and others; fought with them, and overthrowed them in a playne feild, at a place called Moneouan, in the county of Limericke, and happily had the killing of themselues and theyre whole companies; which made him soe arrogant and proud, that soone after hee dared with banners displayed in open feild to meete and oppose her Majestys Forces wholly. The Queene, still to keepe on foote the whole number of the Companies of her Army, and to supply this losse, sent hither fye hundred souldiers out of Deuonshire; and Perrott alsoe was sent ouer out of England, with sixe greate shippes of warre to defend the mouth and entry of the

harbours, for that Stukeley with the Spaniards and Italians were dayly expected. At which tyme the Deputy, beeing vehemently sick, goes to Waterford for his healths sake, and left his place to Captayne Nicholas Malby, President of Conaught, and Gouvern<sup>r</sup> of Munster; who upon his returne back from the Deputy, beeing a greates enemy to the whole house of Desmond, for Mr. Henry DAVIS his murther, and (as the Irish saye) thought to reuenge the same more then by his office hee ought to haue done. The Countesse of Desmond offerres him her only son and heyre, in hostage for the Father; for after hee departed from Killmalocke from the Deputy, hee appeared not, least he should bee taken and imprisoned as he was before, beeing his counsellors and followers aduised him soe to doe, as well as his owne mistrust of Captayne Malby. This Cap<sup>m</sup> Malby often tymes by letters admonished him of his duty and promises, and desired him not to delay. The Gouvernor himselfe remoued to Connilloe against the Rebelles. This country of Connilloe is a large and woody yett fertile country, and was part of the sayd Earle of Desmonds patrimony. There the s<sup>d</sup> Gouvernor almost vsed the subiects euen as he did the Rebelles, whereunto the insolencies of the souldiers beeing added, gaue occasion to the Earle to suspect Malby. S<sup>r</sup> John drawes his forces there together to entertayne Malby in the feild, putt his men in array, offerres battaile, displayes the Popes consecrated Banner, and exhorts his men to the fight. The Gouvernor Malby entertaines it, and signes giuen, they ioine battaile, when both armies fought it furiously. But S<sup>r</sup> John retyred, suffering more losse than the Queen's army did, and Doctor Allen the deuine was killed encouraging them to fight, and promysing them victory. The Earle himselfe, who was a spectator from some neere hill, the same night writes (whither dissemblingly or not) letters congratulatory to Malby, and vnder collour of freindship, warnes him to remoue his camp from thence. Malby sends back the messenger, commanding him to come to him and ioine his forces, whom when in vayne hee had expected foure days, hee then remoued to Raghkeale, a towne belonging to the s<sup>d</sup> Desmond. Now the Earle, who had egregiously continued his dissimulation, both in countenance and word (as the Gouvernour thought), leaues to bee the same man, and playnely putts on a Rebelles mynd; and the same night, it being darke, the Rebelles inuaded Mallbyes camp, which beeing well fortified, they retired back, doing noe greates hurt to it; S<sup>r</sup> John beeing daunted in his spirit by Malbyes courage, policy, and conduct shewed in these two skirmishes, was soe cowed, as he neuer afterwards durst meete her Majesty's forces in plaine feild, but kept himselfe in woods & places of strength. In the first beginning he shewed himselfe very forward, but when it came often to blows he proved not soe forward. Afterwards the English Armye beeing at Raghkeale, suspected the Earle had a hand in his Brothers quarrell, and sent to him to appeare before them to iustifye himselfe. But hee beeing ill aduised, and (as I thinke) not well established in his witts, not daring to committ the custody of his body into theyre hands (haueing in his Remembrance his long imprisonment in England), sent his Countesse to excuse him, haueing giuen the Earles son, the Lord James, who was then but of seaven yeares of age, as a pledge for his fathers future loyalty. The excuse beeing not accepted, the Gou<sup>n</sup>or, thinking that place to bee fitt to disioyne the Rebels forces, putt a Garrison there, and from thence marched to Askeaton, a Castle of the Earles, standing upon a hill enuironed with the River Ashketton, which was guarded by souldiers. But

before hee would lay seidge to it, he wrote againe to the Earle, presenting to him the Queenes mercy, the auncient dignity of the house of Desmond, the glory of his ancestors, and the infamy he should bring to his posterity, and exhorted him not to be tainted with the name of a Rebell, but to return to his duty. But he to the contrary arms his mynd with obstinacy, and his Castle of all sydes with Spanish and Irish. The Lord Deputy Drury in the meane tyme dyed at Waterford, and by his death, dyed Malbyes authority in Munster, who when hee had put his men in Garrison, went to Conaught, the prouince of his Gouvernment. The Rebells tooke hearte by the death of the Deputy, and bethought how they might draw themselves from the English comand, and were of opinion to block up the Garrisons on all sydes, and starue them. S<sup>r</sup> James of Desmond besieged Ahdare, where Mr. Stanley and George Carew were in Garrison; but the Besieged apprehending famine as the extremity of all evils, wearyed the Besieiders with often eruptions, soe that they raised the Seidge, James beeing wounded. The Earle of Ormonde sends the Earl of Desmond's son to Dublin, to bee kept for Hostage. Pelham, the Lord Justice of Ireland came up to Munster, sends for Desmond, but he excuses himselfe by letters sent by his wife; and for that cause the Earle of Ormond is sent to him to warne him to send away Saunders the Deuine and the souldiers y<sup>e</sup> were strangers, and to deliuer up into his hands the Castles of Carrigifoyle, and of Ahskeaton; to submit himselfe absolutly, and to turne his forces against his Brethren and the other Rebelles; assuring him of Grace of hee did; if not, to be declared a Traytor and an enemy to the Country. But his diffidence and distrust preuailed with him before reason, soe that he stiffly refused to appeare, preferring the immaginary safety of his owne person before the safety of his house and posterity: and soe dallyed with them vntill the first day of Nouember, and the same day hee was proclaimed Traytor, with sound of Trumpett, soe as it seemes he was forced for his owne safety to run that course against his will; and seeing noe other remedy ioynes with his Brethren and the rest of the Confederates, when he heard he was proclaymed Traytor, and guilty Criminis Lössæ Majestatis, these accusations beeing sent him; First, that hee dealt with forraigne Princes for subdueing the Kingdome; Secondly, for that hee entertained James Fitz Maurice, Dr. Sanders, Doctor Allen, and cherished the Spanyards that were in the fort; Thirdly, that hee caused faithfull subiects to bee hanged; Fourthly, that hee displayed againste the Queene the Popes Ensignes; Fifthly, that hee brought strangers into the Kingdome. Thus, the Earle shows himselfe now an open Rebelle, whereas his best course had bin, to haue gone for England, or to haue made his repaire to the Counsell in Ireland, and all had bin well, but God deprived him of both good Counsellors, good vnderstanding, and good fortune. The Declaration beeing published, the Cheife Justice sends his Commission to the Earle of Ormond to proceede on with the warrs. Desmond thought to draw to his party as many as hee might, and turned his designes to another part of the country, passeth from the county of Limerick to the county of Corke, drawes some to hold with him: Sacked Yoghill, being a Sea Towne, whilst Ormond entered Conniloe (being the greatest refuge and strength the Rebells had), and tooke away some cattle the Rebbells had, which he bestowed on his souldiers: passeth thence after Desmond into Youghill, where hee caused the Mayor to bee hanged

before his owne doore, for refusing the English Garrison; fortified the Towne, and after prepares himselfe to besidge the Spaniards within Sroane Cally. But they beforehand withdrew themselves from an eminent danger, and hee had the killing of many of them, and molested the Rebbells in all parts of the Prouince of Munster.

Desmond and his Brother protracted time, fortifyeing themselves in such stronge places as were of difficult accesse to, writes long letters to the L<sup>a</sup> Cheife Justice to excuse himselfe, and to declare vnto him that he was enforced to doe what hee did for the safety of his body, ouer whom his aduersaryes sought noething soe much as to insult upon. And that hee and his Brother had vndertaken the protection of the Catholique faith in Ireland by the Popes authority, and the aduise of the King of Spaine, therefore they warned him loueingly and courteously, that in soe pious and soe meritorious a cause hee would ioine with them for the salvation of his soule. The Cheife Justice pleasantly iested att those things, returnes in hast to Munster, calls there before him the nobility of the same, detaynes them with him, not suffering them to depart without giueing hostages and promises to employ all theyre power and ayde with him and Ormond against the Rebelles. This hee did very politickly to hinder them from entering into any leauge with Desmond and the Spaniards. And soe speedily he & Ormond diuideing themselves, made head in many places against the Rebelles, and brought the Lord of Lixnaw to yeild, and soe began to besidge the Castle of Carrigfoyle, which was then commanded by an Italian, Captayne Jules, with some few Spanish souldiers, who held the place as long as they could. The English with theyre greate Ordinance, haueing made a greate breach in the walls, which were built but of drye stones, entered the same, killd part of the Garrison, hanged the rest and Jules himselfe. Then the castles of Ballylogh and Askeaton, perceiuing the Army to approach, sett them on fire, and forsooke them. Peter Carew and George, his brother, are made Gouvernors of Askeaton, with a new Garrison of the English, and wasted the lands of M<sup>a</sup>Awliffe. And from thence the Cheife Justice tooke his iourney by a wett and watery country, or mountaine, called Slew Logher, and entered into Kerry, brings away greate quantity of cattle, and defeates many Rebelles. James, the Earle of Desmond's Brother, bearing hatred to Muskry, and because the Lord of Muskry would not ioine with them in that league, with competent forces to depopulate and prey the county of Muskry, and haueing pilladged the same, and taken a greate prey, and goeing of with the same, Daniell Cormock M<sup>a</sup>Teige, the Lord of Muskrys Brother, with the whole forces of the country, pursued him, ouertooke him, killd some of his men, recouered the spoyle, and tooke James prisoner, beeing wounded to death. And Cormock deliuered the s<sup>a</sup> James to Warham St. Leger, then Marshall of Munster, and to Captaine Walter Rawleigh, a new commander. This S<sup>r</sup> Cormock M<sup>a</sup>Teige, Lord of Muskry, was a worthy and noble gentleman, and much fauored by Queene Elizabeth, from whom he had receiued greate gifts; yet I doe believe he would wish that seruice had bin performed by some other, yet it laye not in his power to helpe it, vnlesse hee would turne Traytor, which very wisely hee would not doe. When hee was delivered to the sayd Marshall and Captaine Rawleigh, they proceeded againste him in Justice, and beeing condemned, executed him as a Traytor, and set his head upon the gate at Corke. The Earle of Desmond himselfe, beeing ouerwhelmed with misery and greife, and nowhere safe, re-



mones euery houre, sends his wife to the Lord Cheife Justice to aske pardon, & employd his freinds to Capt<sup>n</sup> Winter (who, with an annuall army, watched the Spaniards in the mouth of the Hauen), that hee might bee transported into England to begge pardon of the Queene. The Lord Cheife Justice heareing that Arthur Gray, who was apoynted Lord Deputy of Ireland, was landed, leauing the comand of the Army with Mr. George Bowchier, son to the Earle of Bath, by easy iournyes returned to Dublin, to deliuer up the Government of ye kingdom to his successor; hereby some ease was procured for those Rebells of Munster. For noe sooner this Lord Gray was arriued, beeing informed that some Rebellas were in Leinster, conducted by Fitz Eustace and Feogh M'Hue, the cheifest of that house of O'Birnes, who, after theyre spoyles and robberyes, made theire retreate to a place called Glamullury. He, to win reputatione, and to strike terrour in his enemyes att his beginning, calles the captaines from all partes with theyre Troopes to goe with him, to sett upon the Rebells, who were retired, as aforesayd, to Glamullury, w<sup>ch</sup> is a valley full of grasse, the most parte of it fertill and fitt to feede cattle, scituate at the foote of a steepe rocke full of springes, and soe environed with thick Trees and Bushes, that the very inhabitants of the country knew not the wayes in it. When they were come to the place, Crosby, the Leader of the Light Irish Army, who was well acquainted with the scituation of the place, aduertised the others of the danger in entering into the valley, it beeing a fitt place for Ambuscades. Notwithstanding this aduise, they must vndertake it, and exhorted them to behaue themselves valliantly, and himselfe being 70 years of age marched in the Front, and the reste followed him. But beeing by the Rebelles suffered to come downe, they were shrowded with shotte & arrowes, like haile driuen with a tempest, from the bushes and strong places, where the Rebells were aduantageously placed; wherewith, and with the furious onsett of the enemyes, the most parte of them were slayne. Then the rest, retyreing and climbing up the Rocks and craggy places and wayes, and in greate distresse, came to the L<sup>d</sup> Deputy, who stood upon a Hill expecting the euent, with the Earle of Kildare and S<sup>r</sup> John Winkfeild, Master of y<sup>e</sup> Greate Ordinance, who seeing and knowing the danger wherein they were, would not suffer George Carewe, one of his nephewes, to goe thither to succour them; but (reserueing him for greater Honors) Mr. Peter Carew, the younger, George Moore, and Crosby himselfe, were killed there. This affronte giuen to the Lord Deputy in Leinster, caused him to turne his designes to the prouinces of Munster, as ye shall shortly heare.

S<sup>r</sup> James of Desmond, beeing thus cutt of, there remaines the old Earle and his Brother, S<sup>r</sup> John, with others of the name yett in being. The warres growing hott in Munster, sometimes giueing and takeing blowes to & fro, the Queene sends out of England ye Earle of Ormond, with sufficient forces to prosecute the warre; made him Gouvernor of Munster, knowing none soe fitt as hee, in respect of his loue to her Majesty, and because of his actuall hatred to Desmond. In the meane time, Philip King of Spayne, heareing how things rested in Ireland, and willing to send ayd to Desmond and his complices, sent hither 7 or 800 Spaniards & Italians, ledd and commanded by sufficient commanders, but it proved farre otherwise. The commanders name was San Joseph, an Italian by country. And besides comeing to ayde

Desmond, theyre cheife pretext was for to re-establish the Roman Religion, and cause Queene Elizabeth to diuert her forces, and to call them home out of the Low Countryes, where shee maintayned them to helpe the Netherlanders. These Spanish souldiers landed in the County of Kerry at Smerwicke, before-mentioned, without any resistance. In regard that Cap<sup>m</sup> Winter, who had wayted for them in that place a good while, seeing the Æquinox of Autumne past, returned for England. They fortified the place with Bulwarks; but as soone as they had knowne that the Earle of Ormond was on his way coming towards them, they, by the aduice of the Irishmen, quitted the fort, and went to the valley of Glannegaule, w<sup>th</sup> was a place by nature strong, and of a difficult accesse vnto, by reason of the mountaines and woods which enuironed them; but they could not soe soone come thither, but the Gouvernour tooke some of them, who beeing examined of w<sup>t</sup> number they were, and what designes they had, confessed that they were seauen or eight hundred, and that they brought Armes for fives thousand, and looked dayly for greater numbers out of Spayne; that the Pope and King of Spayne were resolved to driue the English out of Ireland, and to effect the same had sent stoare of Treasure to Saunders, the Popes nuntio, to the Earle of Desmond, and to his Brother. And y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards, not knowing how to turne themselues (in regard they could but would not remaine in the caues, haueing noe experience of the Irish warres), by the benefitt of the darke night, returned againe to the fort. The Earle of Ormond came and encamped before it, but wanting Cannon and other things fitt for battery, and the besiedged denyeing to yield, he was constrained to attend the L<sup>d</sup> Deputyes coming, who was speedily there, and with him John Zouch, Cap<sup>m</sup> Rawleigh, Denny, Manworth, Achin, and diuerse others. At the same tyme Cap<sup>m</sup> Winter being reproued for his coming away from thence, returned from England with his shippes of warre. The Lord Deputy sent a Trumpett to the Fort to aske those who kept it who brought them to Ireland, by whom they were sent, and wherefore they built a Fort in the Queene's kingdom, and commanded them presently to quitt itt. Whereunto they boldly and peremptorily answered, That they were sent some from the Holy Father the Pope, and the rest from the King of Spayne, to whom the sayd Father had giuen Ireland, Queene Elizabeth being fallen from it by reason of her Heresy; and, therefore, they would keepe what they had, and get more if they could. Whereupon the Deputy and Winter haueing consulted how they should besiedge it, caused the souldiers by night to bring some culverings from y<sup>e</sup> shippes, and haueing made the Bulwarke upon the shoare, drew them easily forward, and conueniently planted them for battery. The land souldiers bent theyre greatest Ordnance to the other syde, and soe both on both sydes played upon the house incessantly for 4 dayes together (though ye place in ye opinion of all martiall men was held impregnable). In the meane time the Spaniards made many salleys, but in vayne, they noething proffitting thereby. The English looseing thereby but some few souldiers, and S<sup>r</sup> John Cheeke. San Joseph, that commanded the Fort, a very coward and vnfit for the warre, beeing affrighted with the continuall Battery, thinkes presently vpon rendering it; and knowing Hercules Pisano and the other Captaines vnder his command strong to dissuade him from it, as an vnworthy thing to bee done by souldiers, and to insist that by theyre cowardly-

nesse they should not deminish the courage of the Irish, who were comeing to theyre succour with all speede, but to endure the Assault. The Gouvernour, vnwilling to hold out the seidge, with a remarkeable cowardlynesse, sounds out ye intentions of ye souldiers, and threatning the sayd Captaines, in the end brought them to condisceind to yeeld the Fort, notwithstanding the perswasions of Hercules Pisano, a man for his resolution & courage truly worthy to bear that name. Soe, not expecting releife out of Spayne, or from the Earle of Desmond, who, with all hast, was gathering sufficient forces to succor them; the place, by the cowardise of the sayd Gouvernour, was yeelded to the Lord Deputy and to Ormond, who, quite contrary to his promise and faith past to them for the safety of theyre lives upon composition, put all the souldiers in cold blood to the sword, reserueing only the Captaines, for which breache of promise and bloody act her Majesty gaue him but small thanks, who alwayes abhorred and detested such cruell acts, shee beeing the most mercifull Princesse that liued in her tyme.

The warrs of Munster are thus goeing forward betweene the Deputy and Desmond, sometymes with losse on either syde. And now in the second yeare of this warre and Rebellion, Mr. John Zouch, beeing Gouvernour of Munster, polittickly layd a snare to entrappe S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, the Earle's Brother, and Actor of all these troubles, and thus it happened. S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond haueing appointed to meete with David Barry, son and heyre to the Lord Barry, then alsoe in action with them, neere Castle Lyons, one of the Barryes Mannor Houses, with whom Mr. Patrick Condon and the Senneschall of Imokilly, were to meete. Att the meeteing-place, the plott was revealed by some back freind vnto S<sup>r</sup> John, who, not willing to ommit soe good an opportunity, had left Corke at the shutting of the gate at night time, and appeared neere Castle Lyons the next morning. And, as fortune would haue, S<sup>r</sup> John, accompanied with one horseman, James Fitz John, the heyre of Sroanecally, appeared at the meeteing place, thinkeing to find Mr. David Barry and the rest of the Confederates, who were not as yett come thither. S<sup>r</sup> John beeing seene by the Gouvernours horsemen, and knowing him to bee theyre enemy, gaue a charge vpon him. S<sup>r</sup> John was then aduised by his sayd cosen to leaue his horse, and to take the next wood for his safety. But (see the iust vengeance and judgement of God), hee had not the power to stirre hand nor foote, nor once to moue out of the place where hee then stode, but, turning back when the horsemen came neere him, hee was runn with a lance, and (as some thinke) shott with a pistoll full in the throate by one Thomas Fleming (as was thought), who in former times had bin his owne servant. The Gouvernour presently came to the place where he lay, hopeing to haue taken him alive, but the speares head was noe sooner drawne but hee presently dyed. His head was cutt of from the body and brought to Corke. His cosen, that stayd with him, and might have escaped from them but for shame, would not leaue him alone, was brought to Corke, and there put to death. The body of S<sup>r</sup> John was hanged in chaynes ouer the citty gates, where it hanged up for 3 or foure yeares together as a spectacle to all the Beholders to looke on, vntil at length a greate storme of wynd blew it off, but the head was sent to Dublin, and there fastened to a pole, and set ouer the castle wall. The iust judgement of God lighting vpon him (as I verily beleieue), for the foule and inhumane murther of Henry Dauid. Garrett, the old Earle, outliueing both his Brothers (who

were, as you haue hearde, cutt off), for the space of two yeares held indifferent play with the English Army, giueing and receiueing ouerthrowes by light skirmishes, meeteing once with threes of the Earle of Ormond's Brethren, they farre surmounting the s<sup>d</sup>. Earle in number of foote and horse, and being glad to have such an aduantage and opportunity beyond expectation presented them to take him the s<sup>d</sup> Earle either alive or dead, triumphed in theire imaginations, and furiously sett upon him, but (according to report) the Earle's troopes being ledd by the Seneschall of Imokilly, a right valiant gentleman, gaue soe violent a charge to coole the heate of ye enemy, that a good number of them were soone enough washed with the cold water of slaughter. At length they, finding themselves thus discomfitted with noe small losse, they speedily retired. I judge by true relation, as alsoe by writeings, that the Seneschall of Imokilly hath bin a Good Leader, as well dureing the former Warrs of James Fitz Maurice, as alsoe in this last Warre of Desmond; for I find not his equall in that troublesome action, of his owne Ranke and Quality. At 4 yeares end her Majesty sends over from England a generall Pardon, with an Act of Obliuion to all such as were partners, complices, and adhearants to the Earle of Desmond, in this warr or rebellion, that should come in and submitt themselves, and take the benefit thereof. This Act of Obliuion was granted very wisely, only to draw from the s<sup>d</sup> Earle of Desmonds party as many of those prime peeres as would submitt and accept of the benefit of that remission, graciously granted by her Majesty, beeing ye most Gracious and Mercifull Princesse that lived in her tyme. This generall pardon was openly proclaimed in all Cityyes, Markett Townes, and Corporations throughout the precinct of Ireland, and especially in Munster, and the benefitt thereof generally extended to euery of those in Rebellion, that would submitt & accept thereof. When this Proclamation and Act of Obliuion was generally knowne to those whom it might concerne, they considered and consulted of y<sup>e</sup> matter, and saw how her Majesty, of her bountifullnesse and clemency, was willing to grant them theyre pardons contrary to theyre deserts, after theyre disloyall Rebellion against the Crowne of England; And they being loath to be attainted, and theyre Lands sequestered, for such, and diuerse other considerations and motives they submitted, and accepted of theyre pardons. As Mr. Dauid Barry, the Lord Barrymores Son; Mr. Patrick Condon; the Seneschall of Imokilly, and many others which now I omitt for breuity sake, who accepted of the benefitt of the Articles, then concludet betweene them and those in Command from her Majesty. But Mr. Dauid Barry aforementioned, who after his father's death succeeded him in the Lordship of Barrymore, went for England, presented himselfe before her Majesty, who most bountifully receiued him, restored him and his posterity to theyre former Lordships, Seigniories, dignities, and priueledges, & all those his dependancies were also remitted. Now to my former matter.

The Earle of Desmonde outliued his Brethren as forementioned, and on a tyme encampeing himselfe in a Country called Mogouilly, at a place called Aghadoe, and with him was the s<sup>d</sup> Barry with many others vnrehearsed. But Mr. John Barry, the s<sup>d</sup> Dauid's Brother, beeing a haughty minded man, a braue warrior, and a man of high warlike resolute vnderstanding, of liberall good Quality, very prodigall in house-keeping, and one very desirous to haue his fame spread in many places, bestirrs himselfe from the Earles Camp, and marches to the country called Iuera-

ghigh, a place of its nature very strong, and the most part thereof fertill, enuironed round about with watery mountaynes and lofty hills of a difficult accesse unto, intending to bring from thence greate Bootyes, which hee as gallantly performed as he gallantly vndertooke it, and returned from thence with greate preyes, his men loaden with the spoyles of the Country; in the meane tyme the Earle still remayning at Aghadoe as aforesayd; and Mr. John Zouch, the Gouvernor of Munster, kept his Garrison at Dingle, a place some thirty myles from the Earles Campe, and beeing informed by some back freind of the dismembring of ye Earles party, thereby intending to assaile him, marches from Dingle at the fall of the night, and all the way long through Castlemayne, and entered the Earles Camp unawares at sun-rising next morning; dispersed theyre Companies, defeated theyre nobility, with the killing many Souldiers, putt them all to flight, and returned victor, his men being loaden with the spoyles of his enemyes. Not long after this, Dauid Barry, Mr. Patrick Condon, the Seneschall of Imokilly, submitted themselves and accepted theyre pardons as aforesayd.

The Earle, now disappointyd of most part of those that held with him, was forced to keepe himselfe in woods and mountaynes, where his best refuge was, sometymes giueing and receiveing light skirmishes, vntill at last being discomfited of all his forces, he was then constrainyd to yeeld vnto necessity, and to shelter himselfe up and downe in wild and desolate places, beeing attended by a small company, contrary to his wonted custome. At last, growing uery feeble and weake, by reason of his ouermuch labour, and extreemly falling sick, was lodged by some of his men at the wood called Glannindinghigh. Where beeing espyed by one Owen Morierty, the Earles Foster, in whom the Earle reposed soe much confidence, that he was priuate to all his secretts, he informs the English Garrison then held att Castlemayne of the Earles abode in that valley, who were extreame glad to entrapp the Earle; they comeing from Castlemayne in the night tyme, the sayd Owen Morierty leading them to the place where the Earle lay asleep in his bed, out of which they tooke him, and immediately cutt off his head (Nou<sup>r</sup>. 11, 1583), which they carried to Corke, and it was afterwarde sent into England, where it was hung on a pole. And by Act of Parliament made in Ireland, Anno 28 Elizabeth, his honors, seigniories, Manors, Lands, Tenem<sup>ts</sup>, & hereditamenta, were made forfeited to the Crowne.

After this manner this Earle, as well by the Diuellish instigation of others, as alsoe by his owne irrationall & playne qualities, and the malicious Acts and murders comitted by his Brother, S<sup>r</sup> John of Desmond, came to loose that w<sup>ch</sup> his predecessors had soe valliantly obtained, and for soe many successions enioyed.

## NOTES.

PAGE 376, LINE 24.—*Nære Aghvane.*

Now Affane—famous also as the place where the first cherries grown in Ireland were planted by Sir Walter Raleigh. O'Donovan, in his note to the Four Masters' account of the fray (A. D. 1565, vol. v., p. 1602, note \*) says—"The situation of this ford is still well known, and vivid traditions of this battle are preserved in the neighbourhood of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford. The place is still called *Ct mēdōam*, *Anglice* Affane. It is now the name of a townland and parish, in the barony of Decies without Drum, but the locality originally so called was a ford on the River Nemh, now the Blackwater, and situated about two miles to the south of Cappoquin. The Life of St. Carthach of Lismore gives the exact situation and a curious description of this ford, under the name of *Ath-medhoin*, which is translated *Vadum alvei*." Joyce ("Irish Names of Places," pp. 326-7) gives the orthography as *Ath-mheadhon*, Middle-ford. Smith's "Waterford," second edition, p. 64, states that "Affane was formerly called Arthmean, or Aghmean, from Agh, a ford, the Black-water being fordable hereabouts. In the year 1564 [new style, 1565], on the first of February, was fought a bloody conflict at this place, between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, where the latter had three hundred men killed. . . . It is said, that Desmond was wounded in the battle, and being taken up by one of Ormond's men, who carried him on his back, one of his people asked him, how he found himself? he answered, nothing could hurt him, since he had the pleasure of riding the Butlers." Desmond's thigh was broken by a pistol shot fired by Sir Edmond Butler, and O'Sullivan Beare ("Hist. Cath." Lib. II., cap. viii.) says, that he was somewhat lame ever after. The battle was fought in an outlying portion of the parish of Affane, situated on the highway between Cappoquin and Dromana. (See Ord. Survey, Co. Waterford, sheet 29, six inch-scale). Ormonde had marched southwards over the mountains from Clonmel, and Desmond had intended to encamp that night at Whitechurch, a short distance east of Dromana; but when he heard of Ormonde's approach, he decided on attacking him, hoping to find that Earle's party in disorder and tired after their long journey: to do so he was obliged to cross Ormonde's line of march, and thus brought on the conflict, in opposition to the counsel of Lord Power, who advised him to retire into his (Power's) country. These facts are brought out clearly in the following State Papers, which Mr. A. Fitzgibbon has munificently enabled us to lay before the Association:—

THE EARL OF ORMONDE TO CECIL. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., NO. 28.

"Mr Secretarie, After my right hartly comendations, I have thought good to advertise yo<sup>r</sup>, that traouelling at the request of my cousen Sr Morishe Fitz Geralde into his countrey called the Decies, w<sup>thin</sup> the Qwenes Ma<sup>ty</sup> countre of Waterforde, to bryng his goods hith<sup>r</sup> under my saufe conduct, he then fearing the enuasion of Th<sup>e</sup>erle of Desmonde, who at that time was in campe w<sup>thin</sup> the said Sr Morishes countrey, after he had taken parte of the said Sr Morishes cattell; Th<sup>e</sup>erle, hering of my comyng towards Sr Morishes cheif house called Drommany, came from the place where he encamped fyve miles of, and made spede towards me. And in the playne fieldes w<sup>thout</sup> messadge or oth<sup>r</sup> further circumstance gave chardg uppon me, where uppon I was, for my owne defence, dryven to do whate I coude; so as in the fight the said erle was ouerthrowen and taken, w<sup>th</sup> some of his men that had don grete spoiles and murders uppon the Qwenes Ma<sup>ty</sup> subjects under my rule, and others slayne also. It is thought that Lisaghe M<sup>r</sup> Morro O'Connor and Arte O'Connor, two Captens of the proclaymed traitors of the O'Connors, were slayne at this tyme in the said erles company also, but the veray certaintie is as yet unknown for that dyuers toke the water. Ther wer taken two captens of his galleglas, w<sup>ch</sup> he sent ouer into Thomonde to ayde those of the O'bryens that were proclaymed traytors. I haue weghtie matters of hiegh treason to chardge the Erle towching the state of this realme, whiche I proposee not holly to disclose here till

I may com befor the Qwenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> and her honorable Councell there. Therfor I beseeche yo<sup>r</sup> to be a meane to her highnes to write to me her cōandement to repayer w<sup>th</sup> all spede theth<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the said Erle, to disclose to her highnes suche furth<sup>r</sup> matter as I haue to chardge this erle w<sup>th</sup>all, not a litle towching the saufegarde and suerty of this her Hieghnes realme. I haue thought it my duetie to kepe him safe, and to aduertise yo<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup>shipp of the same. M<sup>r</sup> Secretary, I wolde be lothe to delyuer him to my L. Justice, but that I wolde obey his auctoritie in any thing he shall cōande me, considering he hathe but one of the Inglish Councell beside the Marshall and veray fewe of the nobilitie. I feare that my L. Justice woll when I shall delyuer him suffro dyuers to haue conference w<sup>th</sup> him whiche I thinke wer not fytt for many consideracions. The sonner this matter be broght to the hering of the Qwenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> and youe that be of her heighnes moste honorable Councell the better it will be. Letting furth<sup>r</sup> to disco<sup>r</sup> till myn awne repayer theth<sup>r</sup>, I take my leave.

"From Waterford, this viii of February,

"Your most assured,

"THOMAS ORMONDE Oss'.

"To the right Honorable Sr. Willyam Ciccill, knight,  
cheife Secretary to the Qwenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

*Dorso*: "8 Feb. 1564. Erle of Ormond to M<sup>r</sup>. Secr."

SIR WILLIAM FITZ WYLLIAMS TO CECIL. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., No. 29.

"May It pleas you Sr, the x<sup>th</sup> of February, after mydnyght, I resevyd a letter from Th<sup>r</sup> erle of Ormond wherin he requestyd me for the more suerty sacke of sped to wryght unto the Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> my L. of Lessyter and yo<sup>r</sup>selfe that th<sup>r</sup> erle of Desmond myght not be tacken from hym or put under the keypyng of eny other then of hys L. owne trusty men untill he had braught hym before the Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> or heer Hyghnes consell in England, wher hys L. wold charge hym w<sup>th</sup> such matter as shold be very wayghty and for the saufegard of the realme and state, and so to me the rather it semyth to be, for hys L. wrytyth that he dar not commyt it to eny w<sup>th</sup> out heer Ma<sup>tie</sup> speysall commandymnt, nether to Incke nor paper, Ther hath ben by all lyklyod som fowll devysys in hand w<sup>ch</sup> is partly burst owt by some now tecken w<sup>th</sup> hys L. and suerly if eny meane can worcke the stoppyng of it from commyng further abrode it shall be sauft w<sup>th</sup> all the helpe that may be, for he is not smally fryndyd in Irland and thos not in lytell credyt as thys tyme goyth. Cayer Orayle contyneueth styll in burnyng and spoylyng of the Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> subjects. Of Th<sup>r</sup> Erles tackyng and the rest of that jorney, if my L. of Ormonds letters be com unto you, I am suer is at large therin openyd, and for my part I kno not the mannar therof, wherfor I woll not w<sup>th</sup> eny part of it now trouble you, but humbly seace w<sup>th</sup> the remembrance of my duty, and to God leve you, who long in helth with increace of honor macke yo<sup>r</sup> lyfe to be I pray. From Dublin the xi<sup>th</sup> of February, 1564.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> duryng lyfe humble  
to command,

"W. FITZ WYLLIAMS.

"To the ryght honorable Sr Wylliam Cecill, knyght,  
prynspall secretary to the Q. Mat<sup>r</sup>.

*Dorso*: "xi Febr. 1564.

S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Fitz W<sup>m</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Secr.  
for Th<sup>r</sup> erle of Ormond."

THE ARTICLES ON WHICH THE EARLS OF ORMONDE AND DESMOND WERE EXAMINED. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., No. 30.

"By the L. Justice and Counsell.

"For that we meane presently to procede to th<sup>r</sup> examinacion of all matters in controuersie betwene your L. and Th<sup>r</sup> erle of Desmounde, but chieffie to th<sup>r</sup> examynacion of this late conflicte had betwene youe, This is to desier your L. and nevertheles in the Queens Ma<sup>tie</sup> name streightlye to chardge and commaunde youe, that ymmediately

upponn the sighte hereof, yowe make or cause to be made and delyvered unto us in wrytyng a perfit booke severally and distynctly sett forthe in articles as folowithe.

"First, to declare the severall names of all suche of the nobilitie and other gentlemen or freholders whatsoever they were, that were in your company at the foresaid conflicte, the first day of this present monneth of Februarye.

"Item, howe many horsemen, how many gallowglasses and other fotemen, stragglers and others, yowe had then in yo<sup>r</sup> company.

"Item, to what intente yowe did assemble yourself with all that company at that tyme, and whie yowe brought them to that place where the fighte was.

"Item, wheare and uppon whose lande yowe did mete.

"Item, whether Th'erle of Desmonde were betwene yowe and your passage to retourne backe, or yowe betwene him and his contrey at the tyme of the chardge geven betwene you.

"Item, whether yowe gave the first chardge on him or no, and if yowe did chardge him first, to declare why ye so did, w<sup>th</sup> th' ordre and manner of yo<sup>r</sup> chardge geven. At Waterford the xviii<sup>th</sup> of Februarye 1564.

*Dorso*: "The Articles ministred to bothe Th'erles.  
xviii of February 1564."

DESMOND'S ANSWER. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND,  
ELIZ., VOL. XII., NO. 31.

"Th' aunswer of Gerrott Erle of Desmonde to certeyn articles delyuered unto him from the L. Justice and counsell, dated the xviii<sup>th</sup> of February 1564. At Waterforde.

"To the first article, he saithe there were with him those whose names doo ensue.

"First, the L. Power, Thomas of Desmonde, Mac Donoghe, Macawlye, Diarmed O Kallaghane and his son Derbye Oge, James Barode gent., John Fitz Edmond of Martinston gent, the White knights sonne Maurice, Edmonde Fitz David gent, James Rolley gent, Thomas Fitz Johnn gent, Mac Thomas gent.

"To the seconde article, he had lvi horsemen, iii<sup>xx</sup> galliglasses whereof xxxi were harnished, of whiche nombre of iii<sup>xx</sup> there were of Clane Donels the Queene's galloglassys xv<sup>lxxx</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> came into the countrey the nighte before, and of fotemen kyerne about the nombre of iii<sup>xx</sup>, besides horseboys and other stragglers whose nombre he dothe not knowe.

"To the thirde he saithe, that he was (as your L. knowith) apoynced to repayre to the citie of Waterforde, for to attende uppon yo<sup>r</sup> L. pleasure, where upon he repayed to the borders of his contrey with no other number then in manner he custumabelie trayveled and beeyng there abiding the comminge of your L. to Waterford, dyverse of the forenamed gent. repayed unto him for occasions and matters of coutrouersie happened in their contreys, and then (as dyverse tymes before) many complayntes were made of dyverse robberies stelthes and other disorders against S<sup>r</sup> Morrice Fitz Geralde and his men, w<sup>ch</sup> (not withstanding severall admoncions geven by the said Erle) S<sup>r</sup> Morrice neglected to redresse. And for that the saide contrey of the Deasies is and alweies hathe been, nexte under her ma<sup>tie</sup> and her noble auncestors, in the rule and governance of the howse of Desmounde, as the rest of the Geraldines in those parties have hitherto ever bene, wherefore the saide Erle accordinge the usadge and custome of his said auncestors came with so muche as then were with him to the said contree of the Deassyes, entending only to have the malefactors into his hands and in defaulte thereof to take a sufficient distresse for the said iniureys for satisfaction of the parties grevid. And after his repayre to the said countrey S<sup>r</sup> Maurice, intendyng (as it well appered after) to suffer nether nother, fayned and dissembled w<sup>th</sup> the said Erle and would not delyver any of the parties, or satisfaction, nor yet anny pledge for assurance of the same, where uppon Th'erle distreyned, and in his retourne towards his contrey he marched to the place where the fighte was, which is the directe and only way for his passage, where he was mett by Th'erle of Ormounde with amayne hoste.

"To the iiiii<sup>th</sup> Th'erle saith, they mett in the contree of the Deasies w<sup>ch</sup> is and alwaye hathe bene a member of the howse of Desmounde, and in the rule and governance of the saide Erle and his auncestors, w<sup>th</sup> whiche Th'erle of Ormounde hathe nothinge to doo.

"To the v<sup>th</sup> he saith Th'erle of Ormonds force and power was betwene him and his passage to retourne to his owne contrey, &c.

"To the vi<sup>th</sup> article he saithe, that the said Erle of Ormounde, with all the mayne force he had, made towards the fotemen of the said Erle of Desmound beeng by the saide Erle sent afore homeward, and himself and his horsemen abode behinde to the



intente that no spoille shold be committed in the contrey by eny straglers; w<sup>ch</sup> approche Th' erle of Desmounde perceiving (beeng then a longe space distante from his saide fotemen) marched w<sup>th</sup> his horsemen to reskue his fotemen with all the spede he could, where upon Th' erle of Ormounde gave over his chardge from the fotemen and bente his force uppon the said Erle of Desmounde, whereuppon Th' erle of Desmound beeng in greate extremyte, hauinge no place of refuge, but hoped to strengthen himself by th'aide of his fotemen (the same beeng also his highe waye and passadge home), was enforced to incounter w<sup>th</sup> the said Erle of Ormounde both for saulf garde of himself and those that were w<sup>th</sup> him, and by that only meane as many of the horsemen as eskaped had there flighte by that way to their contrey, having no other way but only that.

*Dorso*: "Copy of Th'erle of Desmoundes answer to th' articles ministered to him at Waterford. xviii of February 1564."

THE EARL OF ORMONDE'S ANSWER. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 34.

"xxiii<sup>do</sup> Februarii 1564 apud Waterford. Th' aunswer of the Righte honorable Th' erle of Ormounde and Osserie L. Threasourer of Irelande to Th' articles then ministered to his L.

"To the first his L. affirmith, that he had not auny Lorde in company there, or knights but Sr. Edmonde Butler his brother, and of gentlemen his brethern James and Edward, withe their men and company of horsemen and fotemen.

"To the seconde his L. saithe, to his knowledge that there were the number of an c<sup>th</sup> horsemen, and of gallowglasse and kerne the number of ccc<sup>th</sup>, of Stragglers he knowith not certeynly the number.

"To the thirde and fourthe his L. saithe that the cause why he assembled that company with him was for the defence of the contrey of Tipperarie beeng aduertised from the west that the L. of Desmound had a greate hoste in redynes theare. The assemblie was at Knocklonghte a hill three myles distant from Clonmell, and beeng theare a servante of Sr Morrice Fitzgeralds came unto his L. geving him aduertisements that his M<sup>r</sup> had gathered to gethers the cattell of his contrey aboute Drone-managhe and besoughte his L. to fetche them away and to salf kepe them for him in his L. contrey. The place where the fighte was, was by a towne called Athmano within the countye of Waterforde in the high way to Dronemanaghe towards Sr. Morrice Fitzgerald's howse.

"To the v<sup>th</sup> and vi<sup>th</sup> his L. saithe he was goeng forward to Dronemanaghe afore-said and so mett with Th' erle of Desmond in his way, who gave the first chardge, whiche Erle was before encamped at a place called Temple Garthe otherwise called Whitchurche where Th' erle of Desmounde had gathered parte of the cattell of the contrey and for his victels that nighte killed thre skore beeifs or there aboute and had sente for wyne and other necessities to Dongervan, determyninge to have encamped theare that nighte, tyll one Donoghe O Begge came on horseback in haste to the said Erle and tolde him of my commynge into the contrye and offered Th' Erle of Desmound to guyde him the nexte way to the mountayns where they did not dowte he should uppon the suddayn take my horses grasing and my men at rest skattered by reson of their longe trayvell, which the said Erle was willing to followe but that he was perswaded by others in his company that he sholde not goe to the mownteynes, and then Th' erle commaunded his men to horsebacke and sett forwards as faste as he coulde to Athemane aforesaide where he and his fotemen ioyned to gether and sett uppon me withe banner displayed. At which tyme in my owne defence I toke him and led him away as prysoner for the Queens Matie; and your L.L. shall further understand that his fotemen passed hard by the highe way where I trayveled, and wytnes to all men that I mighte, if I had liked to have begonne the quarrell, have overthrowen them, Th' erle of Desmounde beeng a myle distante from them. Th' erls fotemen marched by me backe agayne and thwarted the way where I rode, which I was contente to suffre, and sons after Th' erle and they ioyned to gether and sett uppon mee bothe with the force of horsemen and fotemen. Their harquebuziers shott of at me afore any stroke was stryken. More I haue not to say but that I kepte hym as the Queens Ma<sup>ty</sup> prysoner hauing chardged him w<sup>th</sup> matter of Treason tyll by your L. streight commaundement uppon myne allegiance I deluyered him to yowe, protesting that I am yett redy to avowe farther treason against him, when it shall please the Queens Ma<sup>ty</sup> to commaunde me;

beseching your LL. I may haue your concordatum testifieng in what maner I deliuered him to your LL.

"THOMAS ORMOUND & Oss'.

*Dorso* : "23 Februar 1564.

"Copy of Th' erle of Ormoundes Aunswer to th' articles ministred to him at Waterford."

THE EARL OF ORMONDE'S CHARGE OF TREASON AGAINST THE EARL OF DESMOND. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 37.

"M<sup>e</sup> that I Thomas Erle of Ormounde and of Ossory do lay to the chardge of Gerrote nowe Erle of Desmounde before yowe S<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Arnold Knighte L. Justice of Irelande and the Counsell of the same, at Waterforde the xxvi<sup>th</sup> day February 1564, that he the saide Erle of Desmounde, his brother Thomas of Desmounde, Capten M<sup>c</sup> Doneghe, Richard Condon Capyteyn and chief of his name, John Fitz Edmonde Seneschall and Capyteyn of Imokelly, Mac Awley Capytyn of the contrey called Clanawley, Donell Mac Arte Mac Oen Okyne capten and chief of his name, Rory Mac Sheane M<sup>c</sup> Creagh capten, Mac Thomas called Thomas Fitz Richard of the Pallayce, the White Knights sonne and heire called Morishe, Edmond Fitz Davidd of Ballygeillaghan in the countie of Limericke gent., the traytor Liaaghe Mac Moroughe O Connor with his trayne, and others to the number of a thowsand persons, the first day of February in the seuenthe yeare of the raigne of o<sup>r</sup> soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth came to Beuliewe and Ballynemonteraghe in the countie of Waterforde and then and theare with force and armes and with banners displayed bourned twoo howses, price every of them xl<sup>s</sup>, in Ballynemonteraghe aforesaid and the value of xx<sup>s</sup> of hous holde stuff and other goods in the said howses then beeng, of the goods of Edmonde Fitz Wylliams and Rory Fitz David of the same husbandmen, and in Beauliewe three howses, price every of them xl<sup>s</sup>, and the value of xx<sup>s</sup> of howsehold stuff and other goods of the goods and cattell of S<sup>r</sup> Morishe Fitz Geralde Knighte, feloniously and traytorously contrary to the Queens Ma<sup>t</sup>s peax her crowne and dignytie, and contrary to the statute in that case provided. And thoughte to haue burned the rest of the said townes and of the whole contrey if they had not been lettred of the same.

"Item that the saide Erle of Desmounde the said day and yeare, to gether with his said company came to the townes of Ballygrewly, Ballyntlec, Ballynecortie, Ballyncurryne, Ballynemony, Ballynemyaleghe, Ballyore, Whitechurche, Keappaghe, Kylmolassy, Curreghroche, Lareghe, Ballylonyne, Collegane and Athmaine in the county of Waterforde, and then and theare w<sup>th</sup> banners displayed, and w<sup>th</sup> force and armes toke from the said townes the number of thre hondreth fortie kyne, vii<sup>xxii</sup> plowe horses, and to the value of iiii<sup>or</sup> or v<sup>cl</sup> of shepe swyne and howsehold stuff<sup>1</sup> of the goods and cattell of th' inhabitants of the said townes, traytorously and contrary to the Queens Ma<sup>t</sup>s peace her crowne and dignytie and the statute in that case provided.

"Item I haue the bornying of certyne howses at Kilficle to lay to his chardge when he came thither and assaulted my howse there himself in proper person, and spoiled the moost parte of the towne and woulde haue bourned the whole towne, if it had not been rescued by th' inhabitants and the garryson of the castle there, And other heinowse hieghe treasons I haue to chardge him with all when I shall understande the Queens Ma<sup>t</sup>s further pleas<sup>r</sup> whose hignes I haue advertised of the same.

"THOMAS ORMOND & Oss'.

*Dorso* : "Copy of Th' erle of Ormoundes writing chardging Treason spon Th' erle of Desmond & others. 26th of Februar 1564."

INTERROGATORIES MINISTERED TO SIR MAURICE FITZGERALD OF DROMANA. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 51.

"At Waterford the last of February 1564. Interrogatories mynystred to S<sup>r</sup>. Morrice Fitzgerald, Knighte.

"1. Howe often he sente to th'erle of Ormounde for savings his cattell, and the tyme or day, and for whate cause th'erle came thither.

"2. Whate aunswere the said Erle made.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Sheep, cattle, and household stuff to the value of four or five hundred pounds.

- "3. Where he was the tyme of the conflicte.  
 "4. When he knewe th'erle of Desmond wold come to the Deffye [Desseye], and whate the cause was of his thither commyng.  
 "5. What he knowith as towching the circumstance and order of the meting of the said Erles.  
 "6. What he knoweth as towching the contynuanne and ende of the said conflicte, and what namber th'erle of Desmounde had of horsemen, fotemen and Raakalles.  
 "7. Whether there was Burnynge, by whome, and by whose commaundments.  
 "8. Whither Banner or Banners was displayed of eny side.  
 "9. Whither he knewe of eny greater force or company loked for by eny the said Erles."

THE ANSWER OF SIR MAURICE FITZGERALD. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 52.

"Apud Waterford ultimo Februari 1564.

"The depoeicon of Sr. Morrice Fitz Gerald, knight, upon suche Interrogatories or articles as were mynystred unto him by the L. Justice and Counsell, the day and yere abovesaid.

"To the firste he deposith and saithe, that aboute vi or vii dayes afore the late conflict betwene Th'erles of Desmond and Ormound the same Sr. Morrice hering tell that Th'erle of Desmond wold come into his contrey, he sent a letter to Th'erle of Ormounde requiring his L. according to his old frendeshipp formerly extended towards him to come and carry away his cattell into the same Erle of Ormonds contrey to be saif kepte. And after hering for more certeyntie that Th'erle of Desmond would come into his country indede, then the same Sr. Morrice sent a speciall messenger called Shane Tobyn, *alias* Brega, to the said Erle of Ormounde for the cause aforesaid and thereupon the same Erle came to the said Sr. Morrice.

"To the second he saith, Th'erle of Ormounde wrote for aunswer that he woulde with as muche speede as he could comme to receive his cattell, accordinge to the request of the same Sr. Morrice by his saide letter.

"To the thirde he saith, he was at his owne howse at Dromanaghe at the tyme of the conflicte.

"To the iiii<sup>th</sup> he can not otherwise depose then he hath afore deposed to the firste.

"To the v<sup>th</sup> he saith, Th'erle of Desmounde came to Bowley in the mornynge aboute viii or ix of the clocke on the first day of February last, on wich day the L. Power and one of the Captens of the gallowglass of Th'erle of Desmounde came from Th'erle of Desmounde to this deponente to make demaundes of hym to do service to the saide Erle, to the whiche this deponent aunswered that what soever clayme or chalenge the said Erle woulde challenge of hym he would therein abide the L. Justice and counsels order, or geue the same Erle suche right touchinge his demaundes as ever eny of his auncestors haue before tyme donne unto him, or els woulde be contented that twoo of his learned counsell by him to be chosen with twoo also on Th'erles parte, should se their evidences on bothe sides, and he, the same Sr. Morrice, would thereapon geve Th'erle suche Righte as the said twoo learned men on bothe sides would order. And thereapon this deponent apou request made by the said L. Power went with him to Bowley<sup>1</sup> to haue spoken with the said Erle, who refused to speke with the said Sr. Morrice as the L. Power related to this deponente from the saide Erle, onles Sr. Morrice would stande to the Judgemente of Th'erles owne Judge<sup>2</sup>, wch this deponente refusinge he was willed by the said L. Powre to repayre backe home agayne, and so he did.

"To the vi<sup>th</sup>, he saithe that on the first day of February last, it happened a man of this deponents beeng on the topp of his owne dwellinge castell, to espie Th'erle of Desmonds hoste, aboute a myle or more of, comminge towards this deponents castell and semed to settle his campe a myle of, that first nighte, at a place called Whitchurche, wher apou this deponente withe twoo horsemen and a dosen fotemen issued out of his saide castell to a certayne hill distant a quarter of a myle from Th'erle of Desmonds

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of the Abbey of Beau-lieu (Bewley) are situated in the parish of Kilmalash, close to Dromana.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl's "owne Judge" was most likely a Brehon, or Irish Judge, as the Desmonds had entirely thrown off English law. In fact, it was

by the Brehon law that the Earl was entitled to distrain his sub-chiefs cattle for default of service. Were he intending to proceed by Feudal or English law, he had his remedy in the Queen's Court, supposing Sir Maurice Fitz Gerald (who certainly held under the Earls of Desmond) had made default.

hoste, to vyewe the saide hoste (hauinge the water betwene them) and there whiles they espyed Th' erle of Ormonds hoste comminge from the mountaynes directly towards this deponents castell of Dromanaghe. And then Th' erle of Desmonds fotemen came forewards and past beyonde the said Sr. Morics castell by which tyme Th' erle of Ormonds host did nere approche them, comminge onwards their direct way towards this deponents castell. And then Th' erle of Desmonds fotemen did stey, and then Th' erle of Desmonds horsemen went out of their right way a twoo or three flight shotts on the righte hande, Th' erle of Desmonds fotemen following them, to mete w<sup>th</sup> the Erle of Ormonds host and this deponent sawe at that tyme some of Th' erle of Desmonds harquebuziers shote of at the said Erle of Ormonds hoost, beeng then comme within gonne shott. And then uppon the same Th' erle of Desmonds horsemen gave the first chardge. The number of Th' erle of Desmonds horsemen as he hard by reporte was aboute iiii<sup>ty</sup>, of fotemen beenge gallowglasse and kerne the number of three or fower hundreth, and of Raskally twice as many as he suppoeth.

"To the vii<sup>th</sup> he saith that when he wente with the L. Powre as aforesaid at the tyme when he returned backe from Bewley without spekinge with Th' erle of Desmonds, this deponent being on horseback redy to ryde homewarde and lokinge backe sawe the howse, wherein Th' erle remayned that day before noone, and two other howses on fyar, and that a pore woman of that village (whose name he knowith not) tolde this deponent that she sawe one of Th' erles gallowglasse (whose name he also knowith not) sett fyer on that howse wheare the said Erle had been, but by whose commaundment he so did this deponent can not depose, saieng further that after Th' erle had departed from that village, dyverse of his men taryed awhile theare after him. And further saith, when Th' erles campe was broken upp at Whitchurche there was two bigg howses burnte by Th' erles men in a towne called Ballynemyntaghe wherein twoo men of this deponents [tenants] did dwell, and that there was corne bothe in that towne and the other village abovesaid burnte by the said Erle of Desmonds men.

To the viii<sup>th</sup> he saithe he sawe a banner displayed amongst the horsemen of Th' erle of Desmonds and another emongest the fotemen, which banner of the fotemens (the berer of yt beeng alayne) the same was founde and brought to this deponent by a chorle of the country. And afterwards was sente and delyuered to one William O'Brynn, beeng foster father to this deponent and a servante to the saide Erle of Desmonds, and saithe further that Th' erle of Ormonds steieng still at the begynninge of the conflicte, did soddenly putt upp a thinge of redd silke upon a staff, but whether it was a banner or not this deponent can not precisely depose.

"To the ix<sup>th</sup> he saithe that he harde saye that Sr Piers Butler of the Cahir, Knyghte, and the White knight were at Lesmore with xvi horsemen and with certeyn fotemen (the number where of he knowith not) and that there came of the erle of Desmonds owne horsemen from Connelaghe, to the said Lesmore to the number of xxiii or xxx, and as he herde say aboute the number of c<sup>th</sup> fotemen, to the ayde of the saide Erle of Desmond. And that Mac Art Omorc, Oswylevan Beare, and the knyghte of the Kyrry came at that tyme to Conneigh w<sup>th</sup> sixtene men.

*Dorso* : "Ult. Feb. 1564.

"Copy of the Deposition of Sr. Morice Fitz Gerott, knyghte, apon the Interrogatories."

SUNDRY DEPOSITIONS. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., No. 55.

"Edmonde Duf O'Heagane seruant and sariant to Gerrot Fitz John stywarde to th' erle of Desmonds and to Elizabeth Leix the stywards wief, dwelling at Lismore, of th' adge of lx yeres or there abouts, duely examyned uppon the Holye Evangelist dothe by vertue of his othe depose that Cormocke O'Connor w<sup>th</sup> two men and two boys the Tuysday before my lady of Desmonds deathe being the second of Januarii 1564, came to Lismore aforesaid, about none, to the house of the said Gerrott Fitz John called the busshops courte there, the said Elizabeth Leix the stywards wief beinge there then, the said Cormock havinge then in his company, to attende on him to guide him emongts th' erle of Desmonds scruants and to gett him meat and drinke and suche other like mayntenance, a boy of the said Earls chamber called Donoghe Endodyne, and went that night w<sup>th</sup> the said Elizabeth Leix to Killahale to David Fitz Johns house, who is married to the said stywarde and Elizabethes daughter, where the said

Cormocke was intertayned that night and his said company w<sup>th</sup> the said Elizabethhe in one house with her, and on the morowe returned w<sup>th</sup> the said Elizabethhe to Lismore aforesaid, where he departed with the said companye, and w<sup>th</sup> the said Erles man Donoghe Endodyne still wayteing on him to guyde him from place to place in the countrey. He deposeth also by vertue of his said othe that S<sup>r</sup> Piers Butler of the Cahire, the White Knyghte and others were w<sup>th</sup> the number of lx horamen at Lismore ready to come to ayde th' erle of Desmonde till uppon knowledge had of the conflycte given on his side they departed every one towards his awne house. Further he dothe depose that the same day of the conflycte given he mett w<sup>th</sup> one which he knewe to have sene before with Cormock O'Connor at Lismore aforesade who tolde him that the said Cormock was w<sup>th</sup> th' erle of Desmonde at the tyme of the conflycte and that he knewe not, but he was there slayne with others. And further by vertue of his said othe saiethe that Shane M<sup>c</sup>Morishe of Knockmoen, one of S<sup>r</sup> Morishe Fitz Gerald's gentlemen, was at David M<sup>c</sup>Shane's howse in Keillahall with Elizabethhe Leix the same night that Cormocke O'Connor was there and save the said Cormocke there and his companye as he the said deponent herde. In witnes of all & singular the premises to be the true depositions of the said Edmund Duf made by vertue of his said othe before us S<sup>r</sup> George Stanley, knight, Marshall of the Quenes Maiesties Army in Irelande, and John Plunket, her highnes Chiefe Justice of her said Realme of Irelande and others whose names be hereunto subscribed, we the said S<sup>r</sup> George Stanley, John Plunkett and others, have hereunto subscribed our names. At Waterford the xiii<sup>th</sup> of Marche 1564.

"Item, the said Edmund Duf saiethe further by vertue of his said othe that Gerrot Fitz James, a base brother of the late countes of Desmondes, and John Fitz Gerrot, th' erle of Desmondes stywards son, with the busshops sariant of Lismore named Thomas O'Fleyn, were at Lismore aforesaid at the said stywards howse when the said Cormocke came thether as before. And further saiethe that Cormocke cayedd himselfe to be called by the name of Killeduf to th' entent he should not be known. And saiethe also that he knewe not the said Cormocke before he was told it was he by one of Cormocks aune men. And further dothe say that the said stywards other son, called James Fitz Gerrot, was in the said stywards howse w<sup>th</sup> others and sawe the said Cormocke there as aforesaid, this deponent being questioned whether he knewe the said Donoghe Endodyn to attende uppon the said Cormocke by the appointment of said Erle of Desmonde or not, said he could not tell.

"GEORGE STANLEY, JAMES WALSH maio<sup>r</sup>.  
JOHN PLUNKET.  
PATRICK SHERLOCKE.  
EDMUNDE BUTLER."

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XIII., NO. 1.

"The examination of Lysaghe M<sup>c</sup>Morishe Moyle O'Connor, one of the proclaymed trayto<sup>r</sup>s of the Conno<sup>r</sup>s, made by vertue of his othe upon the holy evangelist at Killkeny the first day of Apprell 1565 before us, whose names are hereunto subscribed.

"Furst the said Lysaghe by vertue of his othe deposithe that Lysaghe M<sup>c</sup>Moroughe O'Connor, one of the chiefest proclaymed trayto<sup>r</sup>s of the Conno<sup>r</sup>s, was w<sup>th</sup> the Erle of Desmonde the space of eight or nyne wicks before the conflycte given betwixt th' erles of Ormonde & Desmonde in S<sup>r</sup> Morishe Fitz Gerald's countrey (being the first day of Februarii last passed) having in his company eight kerne & their boyes, of which kerne one was called Cahill M<sup>c</sup>Conne O'Connor, an other Edmund Mac Shane Ballaghe and another Conno<sup>r</sup> the sonn of Cormocke O'Connor, besides others that went secretly thether in companyes before him, and shew<sup>th</sup> for cause of his knowledge that he himselfe beinge personally present dud see the said Lysaghe M<sup>c</sup>Moroughe w<sup>th</sup> others of his retynue in the said Erle of Desmondes companye at his house of Loghgirre and saiethe further that he himselfe came oute of Offalye in companye w<sup>th</sup> the said Lysaghe M<sup>c</sup>Moroughe when he wente to the said Erle of Desmondes countrey.

"Item, he deposeth by vertue of his othe that about the later ende of November last past he went to the countye of Lymericke to see suche gentlemen of the Conno<sup>r</sup>s as were retheyned and maynteyned by the Erle of Desmonde then, at whiche tyme of his travayll there he mett at Cahirkenleske in the said countie Lysaghe M<sup>c</sup>Moroughe O'Connor & Cahill M<sup>c</sup>Conne O'Connor and went in company w<sup>th</sup> them that night to a house of John of Desmondes called Ballybarre where he saue a gentle-

man seruant to the said Erle of Ormonde named Edmund Grace (whom the said John of Desmonde had taken prisoner) cruelly kept in Irnes. And further saithe that the persons aforesaid went from thens the next day after to Lough Gurre a house of the said Erle of Desmonds. The cause of his knowledge that they went thether is, because they dyd so tell him. And likewise one of their boyes named James McWilliam Moyle O Cahill came backe for this deponent to bring him thether to them, where he went accordingly & mett & saue them there w<sup>th</sup> the said Erle of Desmond as is before declared.

"He deposithe lykewise that he being in the said countie of Lymericke dud see one Arte O Dorane a proclaymed traytor of Leix a horsebacke in the company of

This Art Odoran lay hurt at Loughgair also a traytor of Leix. John of Desmonde, brother of the said Erle of Desmonde, at a hill called Knockreaghe, and spake w<sup>th</sup> him there and at an other tyme dud see the same Arte w<sup>th</sup> the said John at a place called Beallabrew, being fowling w<sup>th</sup> William Keaghe O Mulrians, and hath bene maynteyned by the said Erle and his brother John.

"Item he also deposithe that the said Erle and John his brother before the conflicte hapined betwixt th' erles of Ormonde & Desmonde sent their messenger to Moroughe Obriens sonnes into Thomonde, being proclaymed traytors, to come over spedely to them w<sup>th</sup> all their power of horsmen & fotemen that they could make, and to followe the said Erle of Desmonde into Sr Morishe Fitz Gerald's country. The cause of his knowledge is that he was himselfe in Willam Keaghe O Mulrians house at Dirreliaghe when the said sonnes came over and lay there that night (that is to say Teige and Donoughe Obriene) and mett w<sup>th</sup> the messenger going for them and told him as mouche as he deposid in that behalfe. And further saithe that the said sonnes comyng as farre as the Knockreaghe to the said Erle (being in company w<sup>th</sup> John of Desmonde, harde there of the conflicte given against Desmonde, by reason whereof they returned backe agayne in to their contrey. Item he also deposeth by virtue of his othe that the said Lysaghe McMoreghe O Connor was w<sup>th</sup> the erle of Desmonde at the conflicte in Sir Morishe Fitz Gerald's country. The cause of his knowledge is that he did see one of the said Lysages men named Tieghe McConnor McCahir after the conflicte given, in Owny, who emong other nywes of the conflicte told him that his Mr Lysaghe was there and did escape, And also saythe he dyd see the said Lysaghes Scull and Swords w<sup>th</sup> one Edmond de Fitz Edwarde Quemerforde, a kerne of the Erle of Ormonds that was in that conflicte, And knew the said scull & sword, and told him he founde the same in the conflicte.

"Item he deposith by vertue of his othe that one Cahill McConne O Connor son to the olde O Connor that was of long tyme deteyned p<sup>r</sup>soner in Englande was w<sup>th</sup> the erle of Desmonde in the conflicte and slaine there then. The cause of his knowledge is that the above named Tieghe (being a foster brother to the traytor Donoughe O Connor, meting this deponent in the way retou<sup>r</sup>ning from the conflicte to Offalye, at William McDonyll McRory officiall of Owynes house, tolde him there that the said Cahill was then slayne in the conflicte, for whose deathe the said Tieghe made greate lamentacon.

"Item the said Lysaghe further deposithe that one Arte McTeig Enea one of the chiefe proclaymed traytors of the Connors and his compayne hath bene resident for the moste parte w<sup>th</sup> John of Desmonde and th' erle his brother from two monethes next after they were last proclaymed traytors. The cause of his knowledge is that he saue the said Arte w<sup>th</sup> John of Desmonde at a place called Cnockreaghe by Glane Ogrey and that he was in talke w<sup>th</sup> the said Arte after there departing from the said place the space of thre or foure myles travayling afote till they partid at the abbay of Owny.

"EDMUND SHETH, Souveraigne of Kilkenny.  
WILLAM JOHNSON, Deane of Kilkenny.  
NICHOLAS WHITE, Recorder of Waterforde.  
DAVID ROTHE.  
EDMUND BUTLER.  
WALTER ARCHER.  
ROBERT SHETH.  
WILLIAM SHETH."

1 "Lysaghes Scull," i. e. his basinet, or close-fitting iron skullcap.

## INTERROGATORIES MINISTRED TO THE LORD POWER. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ. VOL. XII., No. 53.

"At Waterford the last of February 1564. Interrogatories mystred to the L. Power.  
 "When he knewe Th' erle of Desmounde would come to the Dessye and what the cause was of his thither comynge.

"Whither there was borninge, by whome, and by whose commaundmente.

"What he knowith as touchinge the circumstance and ordre of the metinge of the saide Erles and of the contynuaunce and ende of the conflicts; and what nombre Th' erle of Desmounde had of horsemen, fotemen and Raskalls.

"Whither there was any banner or banners displayed of ensyde.

"What Lords or Knights were in Th' erle of Desmoundes company at the tyme of the conflicts.

"Whither he knewe of any greater force or company loked for by any of the saide Erles.

*Dorso*: "Copy of Interrogatories ministred to the  
 L. Power, the laste of February."

## SIR JOHN STANLEY, MARSHAL OF THE ARMY, TO CECIL, 3RD APRIL, 1565. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 4, ELIZ.

"Mr Secretarye, beinge movede in consyence and in discharge of my dewtye, I am forcede nowe to trouble you w<sup>th</sup> these my Letres to th' entente the Quenes Maiestye mighte trewlye understande howe, and in what sorte wee haue proseedede in this or late Jorney westwardes, the trew disscourse of the fraye that hath happened betwexe the two Erles & whome the faulte was in, as nere as I can learne. . . . And good Mr Secretarye thus moche judge of me that neyther affection, gaine, credyt to myselfe, nor discredytinge of anye others, hath movede me nowe to putt penn to the Booke, but only for dewtyes sake and to th' entente that the treweth mighte manifestlye appere unto her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, for I understande there is meanes made to stoppe mens mowthes. . . . I knowe this my saide Lettre shall not only be troublesome unto you but also seme strange in that I haue taken uppon me to be a medler in theese greete causes, consideringe yt ys the fyrste that ev<sup>r</sup> I wrote to any counsellor since I hadde charge here w<sup>ch</sup> is nere twelwe yeres. But be you mooste assurede that w<sup>ch</sup> I wryte ys playnes and trewethe, for the L. can wyttnes w<sup>t</sup> me that I nev<sup>r</sup> dysyred to be accusor or hinderer of anye to the state, all thoughte I knewe him to be my mortall enemye. . . . And for my L. Justice and or proseedings att Watforde duringe the space of syxe wekes and odde dayes, I shall not nede to be longe nor teddyous to you in the declaracon thereof, for yf we haue orderede seven severall matt<sup>r</sup>s we haue reformede the hole. And for the Erles causes we haue wadede so farre in th'examinacion of them, that we maye well be ashamede of our selvees and doings therein, for my L. Justyce dothe playnely saye that he cannot as yett sertefye the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> the trewethe nor certentye of that matt<sup>r</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> I knowe muste nedes seme strange to you. But beleve me Mr Secretarye, yf he colde I dowte he wolde not, as you shall presentelye und<sup>r</sup>stande by this my Lettre, and further by my L. of Ormonde hymselfe at suche tyme as he shall appere before you. For what affection and fownde delayes hath bene usede, suche wo<sup>r</sup>kinge and practysinge to hyde and shadowe the trewethe, yt wolde make anye dewtyfull harte to be affrayede to thinke of yt, for as God shall judge me I wolde not wyllingly be in the lyke Jorney againe and to be matchede w<sup>t</sup> suche a companye as I was, and to receave suche rebukes and checks for the utterrynge of my conveyence to the furtherance of her Maiesties s<sup>r</sup>vise as I then dyd, & w<sup>t</sup> pacyence beare the same, not yf I mighte haue fyve houndrethe poundes for my labour. And although yt hath bene panefull and troublesome unto me I am able to showe in wrytyng the trewethe howe we haue spent everye daye duringe or aboode there, and th' effecte of the matt<sup>r</sup>yall talke that hath passed amongste us in consultation, for I haue bene forcede thereunto because I was aloone w<sup>t</sup> owte anye that wolde wyttnes w<sup>t</sup> me what I saide and dyd in the 'erles causes, to th' entente that the trewthe mighte haue bene knowen unto her Majestye. Butt all wolde not healepe, for what wee determynede the one daye was denyede the other. But God that seethe the secretts of all hartes dothe knowe howe Idlelye and wyckedly that tyme was spent there, w<sup>ch</sup> I omitt to write thereof, for I knowe you cannot but here yt of others, and although you und<sup>r</sup>stande what assystance of counsel-

lors my L. Justyce had w<sup>t</sup> him that jorneye, yett I thinke yt not amysse to name them unto you, and so to discrybe of them as I knowe, and howe theye have bene drownede in affectyoun towards my L. of Desmonde in all his causes that nowe are in questyon, their doings will judge: and for my L. of Kildaire yt is not unknowne to you what assurede knott of frendshippes ys betwexte the Erle of Desmonde and him, and all thoughte I coulde at full discrybe the same, I thinke yt nedelesse because I knowe you und<sup>r</sup>stande inoughe thereof; and for Justice Plunkett he hathe marryede my L. of Kildaires nyce and ys, as theye here tearme yt, "ajainte and follower to the garontynes," and so affectionede that waye that he is unremoveable yf by anye meanes he may stande theme in stydde, and ys an unknown man in the reste of his doings: I wolde to God the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> knewe the trewethe thereof not onlye of him but of all the reste of her Ireshe counsellers here, and of their *wykednes* and [the words in italics are crossed out in the original] uncerten dealinge in consultacions. M<sup>r</sup> Agarde hathe bene greatly mystrusted w<sup>t</sup> my L. of Ormonde and others because of his greatenes w<sup>t</sup> my L. Justyce, and that he was the only meanes that my L. of Kildaire was brought into suche credyd w<sup>t</sup> my L. Justice as he nowe is, for the drection of the State here ys in a manner holy comyttyd to hym, so that what he desyrethe to haue donn, hathe bynne executed, for the governor here will in no wyse offende him. And I knowe not what myslykinge or cause hathe movede my L. Justice to be so bente againste my L. of Ormonde as he ys, for assuredly he hathe practysede all he can to defate his service, and holye to condemne and charge him w<sup>t</sup> this conflycte that hathe happenede betwexte him and the Erle of Desmonde, so that yf I had not bene there at this present, and used suche decencte planenes unto him and to the reste accordinge to my dewtye and in discharge of my conscyence, my L. of Ormonde hadde taken for the tyme no small foyle, but also at the fyrste seighte muste nedes haue bene for the tyme condemnede w<sup>t</sup> the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> and her honourable counsell their: for there was suche devices by underecte meanes and dishoneste dealings as yt wolde greve anye honeste harte to thinke on yt. Therefore I was forcede for trewethes sake to stande in dewtyfull tearmes againste them all, w<sup>ch</sup> I truste hereafter you shall bett<sup>r</sup> understand by the sequell of the same: for my L. of Ormonde at the cominge of my L. of Desmonde to Wallt<sup>r</sup>fforde was thus dealte w<sup>t</sup> all; beinge called before my L. Justice and counsell was comandedde by my L. Justice upon his dewtye of alledgyance presently to delyv<sup>r</sup> my L. of Desmonde for yt was not lawfull to keape him as his prysoner. Then my L. of Ormonde reverently declaredde, that he hadd not takin him nor mente to keape him as his owne p<sup>r</sup>soner, but for the Quene, therefore he desiredde my L. and counsell that he mighte styll retaine him untill the Quenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure were further knowne therein, and said further he had to charge him w<sup>t</sup> highe treason & so he hadd writtin to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and declaredde further yf he shulde go owte of his handes that he knewe mens mowthes wolde be stoppede w<sup>ch</sup> might be no small hinderance unto her Maiestyes service. But all that wolde not heale to staye my L. Justice for havinge him of him, for he mente ones, yf I hadd not bene, to have fetchede him frome my L. of Ormondes lodgings per force. The nexte day my L. of Ormonde beinge before us againe, He was comandede w<sup>th</sup> owte anye mo delays upon his dewtye of alledgyance to delyv<sup>r</sup> him, and then he desyrede that he might haue in wrytinge und<sup>r</sup> o<sup>r</sup> handes, to shawe for his discharge, the requests that he made to retaine him, the straitte commandmente that he hadde to deliuer him. But that in no wyse wolde be grantede. But at lenghe he was promessedde to have a coppye thereof as yt shulde be enterede into the Counsellis Boke. And so the nexte daye my L. of Ormonde broughte my L. of Desmonde in ord<sup>r</sup> as a p<sup>r</sup>soner and delyvered him w<sup>t</sup> these wordes o<sup>r</sup> suche lyke, 'My L. Justice hether, haue I broughte to you my L. of Desmonde accordinge to yo<sup>r</sup> streightte commandment geven me w<sup>ch</sup> in no wyse I mente te dissobeye. And I delyv<sup>r</sup> him unto you as the quenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> p<sup>r</sup>soner beinge taken in the felde by me w<sup>t</sup> his Baner displayede Burnynge and spoylinge the Quenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> good subiectees w<sup>t</sup> in shyre grounde w<sup>t</sup> sundry traytors in his compnye. And I haue to charge him further w<sup>t</sup> greate and highe Treason accordinge as I haue wryttin to the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>, Therefore I shall charge yo<sup>r</sup> L. and the reste as moche as decently I maye That he maye be savelly and sewerly keapte, and not to be sufferede to haue conference w<sup>t</sup> any untyle the Quenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure be further knowne, and that M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup>shall may haue the keepinge of him. And seing you haue thus taken him frome me, yf mens mowthes be stoppede, as I feare theye will, and by meanes whereof of his heanous treason come not to light, I truste therein I shal be discharged to her maistye.' And so we broke uppe counsell and my L. of Desmonde wente home w<sup>t</sup> my L. Justice and at aft<sup>r</sup> sopper he was sufferede to go to his owen lodgying having butt three of my L. Justice men to attende appon hym, and there did remaine duringe or aboyde in Wallt<sup>r</sup>fforde,



and was suffered to haue conference w<sup>t</sup> as manye as he lykedde, and as ofte as he wolde, bothe secretly and openly, w<sup>ch</sup> was contrary to o<sup>r</sup> agrement at the counsell table as I often tolde my L. and dislykede thereof. But all wolde not healepe. Yf that matt<sup>r</sup> hadd bene discrete and well handlede, There wolde be like faullen owte further matt<sup>r</sup> then I feare nowe is lyke to come to lighte or that wil be broughte to passe w<sup>t</sup> the expence of a greate some of monye. And then w<sup>t</sup> in two or three dayes aft<sup>r</sup> there was certen artycles drawen for bothe the erles to be examynede upon, and agreede by all the reste savinge my selfe that they shulde haue answered by theire learnede counsell. I dyd alledgede yt was not laifull as I thoughte that anye that was accusede of treason shulde be suffered to answer by learnede counsell, and so then w<sup>t</sup> moche ado yt was agreed at lenghe, By meane that I wolde not geve my consente w<sup>t</sup> them, That they should be examynede before us severallye appon the artycles, and the clarke of the counsell to wryte and recorde as they shulde speake, And so aft<sup>r</sup> some delays w<sup>in</sup> a daye or twoo my L. of Ormonde was fyrste callede and examynede; and aft<sup>r</sup> his examynacions taken, w<sup>ch</sup> was don strictlye inoughe; there was a Respyte of thre or foure dayes aft<sup>r</sup> before we wente to my L. of Desmonde, what goodde meanyng was therein I will not meddyl w<sup>t</sup> all; But m<sup>k</sup>e the sequell, for at o<sup>r</sup> commynge to my L. of Desmondes lodgings, I knowinge no other but that he shulde haue bene examynede as my L. of Ormonde was, hee hadde booke Readye and Drawen by learnede counsell to everye article and so delyverede thee same to my L. Justice w<sup>owt</sup> anye faulte founde. And aft<sup>r</sup> o<sup>r</sup> departure thence we wente to counsell, And then I greatly dyd myslyke of that parcyall kinde of dealinge contrarye to all o<sup>r</sup> agrements, and saide in no wyse I wolde be partaker thereof, for yt was not to be lyked, or allowede of, That my L. of Ormonde beinge a faythfull loyall and obedyent subiecte shulde be examynede so strictlye, And hee whome was accusede of hie treason shulde be suffered to answer by his learnede counsell: I have oft charged my L. and the reste w<sup>t</sup> the same. And yesterdaye before the hole counsell in discharge of my selfe I uttered the same unto them before my L. Justice and dyd charge him therew<sup>th</sup>, And other matters worsse then that, w<sup>ch</sup> he colde not denye, But saide I was a willfull man and affectyonede to my L. of Ormonde, and wolde consente to nothinge but what pleased my selfe, but when bothe o<sup>r</sup> doings shall appere unto indifferente herers, as I truste yt shall or yt be longe, then shall yt be knowne unto the Quenes Maiestye where and in whome the faulte ys. My L. Power, beinge brother in lawe to my L. of Desmonde and in the felde w<sup>t</sup> him on his syde, was examynede appon certen artycles concerning the metinge of the two Erles and who gave the fyrste charge. And in lykewyse was S<sup>r</sup> Morris Fytze Garret w<sup>ch</sup> was all that was donn duringe o<sup>r</sup> aboode at Wallterforde towching that matter, for my L. Justice wolde not wayde anye further in thatt matt<sup>r</sup> Because yt minde not for his purposes. There was a Booke delyverede by my L. of Ormonde, indossede to my L. Justyce and counsell, of Burnynge, spoylinge and prayenge sondry times his countrye by my L. of Desmonde and his brother Before the tyme of theire meting in the felde, and since Sir Thomas Cusacke concludede accordinge to his accustomed manner a fyckelede peace, in lyke there was delyverede another Booke by my L. of Desmonde, indossede of the same sorte, butt what was in yt I colde nev<sup>r</sup> be soffered to see, my L. of Ormonde delyverede in wrytinge certen requestees, w<sup>ch</sup> was so reasonable and fytt to be grantede bothe for the furthe furtherance of her Mat<sup>ies</sup> s<sup>er</sup>vise and for a derecte waye to und<sup>r</sup>stande the trowethe as I cannot but m<sup>v</sup>ell howe my L. Justice durste denye him enye of them, for when you shall see them, I daire boldlye saye you wyll myslyke thereof. And nowe towching theire meatynge, the ord<sup>r</sup> and manner thereof, I will as brefely as I can towche the same: my L. of Ormonde beinge in the countrye of Typperarye, and und<sup>r</sup>standinge by credable reporte that my L. of Desmonde hadd assembled a greate force of men to th<sup>e</sup> entente to envayde his countrye, dyd assemble some parte of his countrye nere adjoynynge to those Borders and sende for S<sup>r</sup>. Edmonde Butler and the reste of his bretherne to repare to him w<sup>th</sup> theire forces, And appon theire commynge to hym w<sup>ch</sup> was abowte the laste of February, He beinge appon a hyll in his countrye, accomtemede place to assemble on, A messenger of S<sup>r</sup>. Morris Fytze-Garrettz came to him w<sup>th</sup> a l<sup>r</sup> frome his M<sup>r</sup>, requestinge him to be so moche his good L. as to repaire into his countrye and to healepe him to conducte his cattell savelye und<sup>r</sup> his rule, for he had perfytted und<sup>r</sup>standinge that my L. of Desmonde was determynede to distroye and spoyle his countrye, therefore he hadd gathered all his cattell of his countrye to his howse callede Dromannoghe where they shulde remane untill he harde frome his L., humbly requestinge him to releve him, beinge his poore bondsaman, as he hadde often tymes donn before, And so appon the same my L. of Ormonde repared towards S<sup>r</sup> Morris his countrye havinge in his companye to attende upon him not passinge a houndrethe horse

and thre houndrethe footemen or there abowtes, and not knowinge at all of my L. of Desmondes beinge in Sr Morris his countrye entredde but the same daye, and so my L. of Ormondes horses beinge werye, restedde apou a hill w<sup>thin</sup> thre myles of Sr Morris his howse and a horseman belonginge to my L. of Desmonde havinge knowledge thereof came to him and secretly enformed him of the same, and my L. of Desmonde toke the same verrey joyfullye, and askede the messing<sup>r</sup> wheather my L. of Ormonde was there himselfe and he said 'no,' Then saide my L. of Desmonde 'lett us go appon them for they ayr butt yonge boyes and rascally, And we shall take them grasinge their horses.' But my L. Power perswadede him there frome and saide 'my L. yt is beste you meddle not w<sup>th</sup> them att all, for I dowte theye be a greater force then we ayre, Therefore retorne backe into my counntrye where I shall bringe you in savetye, so that yf they wolde attempte anythinge againste you theye shall not be able to anyoe you,' and further dyd perswade him not to meddle anye further consideringe That he knewe that my L. Justice was comynge his waye towardes Wallt<sup>r</sup>forde, but all that wolde not staye him. There was another waye that wente towardes Youghall, w<sup>ch</sup>e lyethe frome the place where he campede them plane Sowthwarde, and my L. of Ormonde came derectlye owte of the northe so that he mighte haue gone savelye into his countrye, w<sup>ch</sup>e was not passinge seven myles of; the reste of his captaynes perswadede him thereunto butt he wolde no otherwaise do but to go the nexte waye towardes Lessemore, where he hadd a greate force of horsemen and footemen, that was 'appointed to repaire to hym that night into Sr Morris his countrye, w<sup>ch</sup>e was letted, as God wolde have yt, by meanes of their soddan metinge, for ells my L. of Ormonde had bene in dang<sup>r</sup> nev<sup>r</sup> to have retorne home yf the reste of the erles companye had comen to him before theye hadde mett; and so the erle of Desmonde sent forwardes and appointed his footemen to go before, and so they dyd, and m<sup>ch</sup>ede towardes a towne called Athemane where the feighte was, and my L. of Ormonde commynge downe frome the mountaines and kepte as he was appointede his highe waye towardes Dromanoghe Sr Morris his howse, and mighte have slayne all my L. of Desmondes fotemen if he had mente to have begonne the quarrell; for you shall understand that at Athemane aforesaide the two wayes mett and crossed, and my L. of Ormondes waye laye Sowthwarde and my L. of Desmondes westwarde, so that my L. of Desmondes footemen was passede on my L. of Ormondes righte hande, and then distante frome their awne horsemen above a myles; so that theye were at his devocion yf he hadde lyst to haue hadde to do w<sup>th</sup> them; my L. of Desmonde, havinge my L. of Ormonde in seighte came appon the spurte, and as yt semede thoughte the tyme to longe tyll he mighte encount<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> him, and so brake owte of his awne waye, above thyrtye score or more, and gave the charge on my L. of Ormonde verrey desperatelye; and m<sup>ke</sup> w<sup>th</sup> all my L. of Ormonde sufferede my L. of Desmondes fotemen to crosse him his waye backe againe and joyned themselves w<sup>th</sup> their maist<sup>r</sup> att the tyme when he gave the charge, and, for proffe, shott of their peces before my L. of Ormonde ev<sup>r</sup> offerede to styre, and God that is the juste judge gave the victorye as you haue harde: So that w<sup>ch</sup>e my L. of Ormonde dyd was in his awne defence. The daye of their metinge was the fyrste of February a lytill before the settinge of the sonne. There was no greate oddes in theyre companies for as I can learne my L. of Ormonde hadde not passinge, twenty horsemen mo then hee, and threscore fotemen or there abowtes. Well M<sup>r</sup> Secretorye truste me, yt was the happiste takinge that ev<sup>r</sup> was in Irelande, and yf the matter hadd bene well handlede since, yt wolde, or nowe, so haue provede, for assuredlye he mente not at all to have come to the governor at this tyme, nor to have spoken w<sup>th</sup> him att all unlesse yt had bene in the felde where he wolde haue bene stronger then hee; or ells appon safe conducte or protectyon, and this is moste trewe yf one may beleve his awne frendes and trusty s<sup>r</sup>vants and besydes of my nawne knowledge I knowe of greate p<sup>r</sup>sump<sup>s</sup>ions that dothe rather make me to beleve the same. You shall further und<sup>r</sup>stande there was a partye in makinge for my L. of Ormonde; yf this had not happenede my L. of Desmonde hadd marryede my L. of Dunboyne's daughter and soche shulde haue bene drawn frome him; and Sr Peres Butler of the Caire, he was assuredlye linkede w<sup>th</sup> my L. of Desmonde againste him, for proffe thereof he was at Lesmore w<sup>th</sup> a bande of horsemen commynge towardes my L. of Desmonde. The practyses of Irelande be greate and not und<sup>r</sup>stoode to all men that semes to haue knowledge thereof. I moste be forcede, leste I shulde be ov<sup>r</sup> teddyous to you, cutte of a greate parte of my matt<sup>r</sup> because I haue takin apou me to make discourse to you of other matt<sup>r</sup>s. Yett I will not forgete howe John O desmonde was comynge towards his brother w<sup>th</sup> a force w<sup>th</sup> him, and the Traytors the Brenes w<sup>th</sup> hym; and others, as the Oconnors and other Traytors, were in the felde with his brother, whereof some slayne & takin and the reste escapede by

flyghte and swymynge. What greate frendshippe was & is betwene Shane O Nele and the Erle and his brother John I will omitte to wryte of, and for the Toolles & the Brynes what case theye are in and the reste of the Englishe pale I knowe that some of my companyons here hathe stēfyde you the trewethe thereof; the wasting of countryes, as Offaylye for one, w<sup>che</sup> is in maner halfe distroyede and wasted at the leste, and for Leasee yt is in maner clene ov<sup>r</sup> ronne, for w<sup>thin</sup> this fewe dayes there was a castle raisede downe and the tymbr<sup>r</sup> burnede at nonedayes w<sup>thin</sup> the harte of the countrye, and w<sup>thin</sup> a daye aft<sup>r</sup> thre soldyours of Capten Portas killede and M<sup>r</sup> Delves his howse was lyke to haue bene assultede, on Wednesday laste, for theye broughte theire scalinge ladders w<sup>thin</sup> lesse then a quart<sup>r</sup> of a myle of yt. And the owte lawes be not in all paste faurescore men, and haue to followe and pursewe them thre houndrethe and fyfye men besydes the helpe of the countrye, whether this be well orderede or no yt is easely seen. My L. of Thomonde is allmoste banyshed owte of his countrye by the good healpe of my L. of Desmonde. He came to my L. Justice and desyrede ayde and was refusede, althoughe that I and others of her Mat<sup>ies</sup> army laye still and dyd nothinge, as we do styll and in maier haue donn, since the governor that nowe ys had the charge here. And towchinge lykely hooede of rebellyon that is lyke to ensewe, John O Desmonde for his parte hathe a greate force to gethers, what his meaninge ys I knowe not, but belyke yt is for no goodnes, Shane O Nele dothe dayly ent<sup>r</sup>tene gonners galliglas and all other men of warre that he convenyently cann gett, and hathe sent to my L. Justice to haue licence for the quenes galliglas to serve him, and p<sup>r</sup>tendes as he wolde go upon the Scotts, but truste me he meanes no other but to make them assurede to him and to take theire plegg into his handes, to th<sup>e</sup> entente to be sure of them for all advents, yf the reste of Aureleys shulde go to warre, as partly yt is to be ferede then will theye sure joyne w<sup>t</sup> O Nele, w<sup>che</sup> will be worse matter then as yett is conceavede or considerede of, but yf yt please the Quenes Maiestye she may nowe take some goodde ord<sup>r</sup> for all the Weste partes of Irelande and the seure settling thereof. Bothe by sea and by lande consyderinge that my L. of Desmonde, Macarte, O More, and Swilly Mahere are nowe at her highenes commandment, althoughe yt be agaynste theire willes. I haue to sende you when yt is perfyttede a platte of the grounde where the erles mett for I wente thether myselfe to take the same to th<sup>e</sup> entente to understande the trewethe, my L. Justice is not a lyttill gravelede w<sup>t</sup> me therefore, and I know that his L. and others that will joyne w<sup>t</sup> him will wryte as clene agaynste this as can be; but what I haue wrytten I will stande to, and no man shal be able to disprove anye parte thereof and thus I shall mooste humbly requaeste you to take in the best parte this my rude and plane wrytinge for I meane not to the hinderance of any man as good [*sic*] shall judge me. Trustinge therefore that you will keape to yo<sup>r</sup>selfe that w<sup>che</sup> shall tow<sup>che</sup> any man pryvatlye, and thus comyttinge you and all yo<sup>r</sup> doing unto the Eternall God I ende.

"Frome Dublin the iiii<sup>d</sup> of April 1565.

"Yo<sup>r</sup>s assurede to his small power to commande,

"GEORGE STANLEY.

*Dorso*: "3 April 1565, Sr George Stanley to my M<sup>r</sup>."

SIR W. FITZWYLLIAMS TO CECIL. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS,  
IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 6, ELIZ.

"The tryall of the ii erles doynge I fear wyll not com to you yet thys moneth, for my L. Justyce in hys vii wycks lying at Waterford dyd lytell or nothyng therin, the Erle of Ormond is greatly greyvd that my L. of Desmonde had leve to specke w<sup>th</sup> whom he wold, secretly or openly, and to wryt at hys pleasur, consydering he was delyveryd as to be charged w<sup>th</sup> hygh treason, besyds thos w<sup>ch</sup> by the law of thys realme ar treasone. So good an offer gyven of God, and so over throne, I wyll not judge to fare, hath not lyghtly ben sen; but xx<sup>li</sup> [ $\pounds 20,000$ ] wyll not now by owt that w<sup>ch</sup> (if he had ben but honorably kept, so it had ben wyth restraynt from common speche) myght haue ben had. I humbly seace and to God do leve you, who longe in helth w<sup>th</sup> increase of honor macke yo<sup>r</sup> lyfe to be. From Thomas Couert besyde Dublyne the iii<sup>d</sup> of apryell 1565.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> duryng lyfe ever asuryd  
to command

"W. FITZWYLLIAMS.

*Dorso*: "To the ryght honorable Syr Wylliam Cecill knight,  
pryncipall secretory [to her Majes]ti."

DEPOSITIONS AND MEMORANDUMS. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS,  
ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., NO. 9.

"Hereafter followeth the depositions of certain persons taken before us whose names are herunto subscribed at Clonmell the viii<sup>th</sup> of Ap<sup>re</sup>ll 1565.

"Furst Moriortaghe McEdmunde McShyhy captaine of galloglasses, of the age of xxv yeris or thereabouts, solemnly sworne upon the Holy Euangelists deposith by Examyn Cahyr upon vertue of his othe that abouts the fyue of Julii last past, Teigu this artycle touching McMoroghe O Brene, one of the proclaymed traytors of Thomonde, the obrenes. came over the Synenn into Connelaghe under the Erle of Desmonds rule, & requyred this deponents brother named Manus McEdmunde, one of the p<sup>ri</sup>ncipall captaines of the Erle of Desmonds galloglasses, to goo over into Thomonde, with all the souldyo's he could make, to assist him & his kinsmen against th' erle of Thomonde, offering to intertaine them well, and tolde them then it was the said Erles pleasure & consent they should goo with [him], wher upon they went over w<sup>th</sup> him accordingly, to the number of ii<sup>l</sup>xxx souldyo's of galloglasses, & contynued there the space of xiii wicks annoying the said Erle of Thomonde & his adherents in taking away from them their goods & cattells to the utter most of their power. The cause of his knowledge is bycause he was at the tyme of the comyng over of Teige O'Brien & also during the tyme of the said service in the company of his said brother Manus.

"Item the said Moriortaghe by vertue of his othe saitheth that the day of the conflyct given betwixt the Erles of Ormonde & Desmonde one Lysaghe McMoroghe & Connor, a proclaymed traytor of the O Connors, was then in the conflicte with th' erle of Desmonde. And shewith for cause of knowledge that he himselfe being then personally present in the said conflyct w<sup>th</sup> the said Erle of Desmonde did see the said Lysage there then and knewe him well.

"Item by vertue of his othe he deposeeth that th' Erle of Ormonde might haue slaine all the Erle of Desmonds fotemen long er he & the said erle did mete, if he listed. The cause of his knowledge is because Ormonde & his power stode still a good while harde by the fotemen w<sup>th</sup>out attempting to harme them till Desmonde gave the chardge with his horsmen and fotemen upon the said Ormond.

"Item he deposeeth that Desmonde determined to tarrye in S<sup>r</sup> Morishe Fitz Gerald's cowntrey in campe that night, after the day of the conflyct given, if worde had not bene brought to him of Ormonds comyng into the cowntrey. The cause of his knowledge is by cause Desmonde & his hoste made cabans and tents there and sent to Down Garwane for wyne, and killed beaves to vittail them there that night.

"Item Moroghe brother to the said Moriortaghe, captain of galloglasses, of the age of xxii yeris or thereabouts, likewise solemnly sworne, agreeeth w<sup>th</sup> the pre-contest towching the furst article in matter & cause of knowledge, saving he saitheth that Teige O'Brien & Donoghe Mac Moroghe O'Brien came over together to requyre his brother Manus and his souldyo's to goo with them into Thomonde, and that they wente to the Erle of Desmonde to Corko (his brother Manus being then w<sup>th</sup> his L.) and after their reto<sup>ne</sup>, diuers of his said brother Manus's men told this deponent that the said Erle had given his consent and good will that they shuld goo w<sup>th</sup> the said Teige and Donoghe into Thomonde, where they remayned & serued as the furst deponent deposed, and saitheth further that the proclaymed traytors of the O'Briens toke iii or iiij castells from the possession of th' erle of Thomonde whiles they were there with them.

"Item he depositeeth that he harde his brother & diuers others say that Lysaghe McMoroghe was w<sup>th</sup> th' Erle of Desmonde at the conflicte betwixt Ormond & him, and that he himselfe did see some of the said Lysages men there then to the number of fyve or six, whom others of his fellowes & companions there did assure him to be the said Lysages men.

"Item to the thirde article agreeeth with the said pre-contest, his brother, in matter & substance, cause of knowledge & all.

"Item to the fourthe agreeeth lykwise w<sup>th</sup> his pre-contest in matter & substance cause of knowledge & all.

"WALTER WHIT, Soffrayn.

NICHOLAS WHITE, Sen<sup>r</sup>.

DAVID ROTHER, Justice.

WALTER ARCHER.

JOHN STRICHE.

FOWLER QUEMERFORD.

SIR THOMAS CLERE, vicar of Clonmell.

RICHARDE WHITE.

Per me HENRY WHITE.

Dorso: "Taken at Waterford 21 Aprill 1565."

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 17.

"The names of the chiefe of the Oconnors, being proclaymed traytors, as were mentayned by th' erle of Desmonde & some of them slayne, w<sup>th</sup> him at the conflicte.

"Furst Arte O Connor brother to Cormocke & Cahir was slayne there.

"Lysaghe McMorroghe O Conno<sup>r</sup>, cosein germaine to Cormocke & Cahir, was slayne there.

"Edmond McSheane Ballaghe O Conno<sup>r</sup> slayne there also.

"Conno<sup>r</sup> the son of Cormocke O Conno<sup>r</sup> was sore hurtte there & escaped by taking the River.

"A kinsman of the Foxes called Donogho, w<sup>th</sup> divers other of ther company, were slayne at this conflicte.

"Art O Dorane a proclaymed traytor of Leax maynteyned and succorde by John of Desmond.

"Also Morrihirtaghe and Morroghe McShihye, trayto<sup>rs</sup>, brethren & sonnes to Edmond McShihie, captaynes of th' erle of Desmonds galloglas, whom the said Erle sent to ayde the proclaymed trayto<sup>rs</sup> of the O Briens into Thomonde, were taken prisoners at this conflicte, the moost of their soldiours slayne, themselves lefte prisoners in S<sup>r</sup> Moris Fitz-Geraldes custody, and remayne ther as yet.

"This Cahirs knowledge of the traytors of the O Briens, the traitors of Lex, or any others, being mentayned in th' Erle of Desmonds & his brothers countrey & company, yo<sup>r</sup> L. may it please you comand him to declare.

*Doreo*: "Examynacions on the Erle of Ormondes behalfe.

THE EARL OF DESMOND TO THE QUEEN. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., No. 53.

"To the Quenes Moost excellent Majestie, Humbly shewith to yo<sup>r</sup> Highnes youre Graces Orature, true and faithfull subiect, Gerald Erle of Desmound: wheare, after the deth of his wiff the late contesse of Desmound, yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> said suppliaunt, for the entier love and zeale he alwaies bare unto his said wiff, and therby after her death thinking to yoine in moore perfitt amitie with th' erle of Ormound, then in the lief of his mother, sent his said wiffs suster, and his styward Gerrot Fitz John, unto the said Erle of Ormound, not onely offering but also hartly requiring him for the good will & dutie whiche he ought unto his said mother, that he would contynue his frendship & amitye towards yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt, and as for suche contrauersies as dependit betwene them yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt, would be content to abide th' order and adward of indifferent men to be chosen by their owne assents, wherunto the said Erle of Ormound made aunswer that for as moche as the L. Justice and counsell were appointed to be shortly at Waterford he would stand to no order w<sup>th</sup> him but suche as they would take, And yet notw<sup>th</sup>standing, immediatly upon the same, staied not onely all the goods and chattels of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt both in the Grenoghe, Clonmell, & els where he could com by the same, but also all the rents due unto yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt out of his said wiffs third parte grouen in her lief tyme, as by the particlers therof shall appeare unto yo<sup>r</sup> highnes, and styll dayneth the same contrary to all lawe and justice. And although yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt by the said unjust demcanor mought well have conceavid that the said Erle of Ormound had no good meanyng towards him, yet in respect of his former aunswer, and that yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt & he stood bound in seuerall recognizaunces of great somes to y<sup>r</sup> Highnes for obseruing & keping yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> peace, he nothing les dubted then that that hapt. And remaynyng upon the borders of his contrey abyding the comyng of yo<sup>r</sup> highnes L. Justice to Waterford, where by his seuerall l<sup>tes</sup> he did apoint yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt to attend upon him, sondry complaints were exhibited unto yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt against diuers malefactors under S<sup>r</sup> Morish Fitz Gerald, in the Deacies, being alwaies parsell of the house of Desmond, where upon yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt sent diuers tymes to the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish for redresse therof, but the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish delaing of the tyme and fyding yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt w<sup>th</sup> faire promises, by all lickloode of purposse purpensid to trapp yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunt, as in fine it happened, by the comyng of the said Erle of Ormond, as it is thought by th' only drift of the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish, aunswerid nothing to th' effects of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliants demands w<sup>ch</sup> were no other but that the said Sir Morishe would put in pledgg to make satisfaction of suche felloines & robberies as should be provid duely to be done & comittid by him & his upon the inhabitants of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliants contrey, & to apoint a certain day for th' examinacion therof; at what tyme he should have like restitution to him & his of all suche things as they should duelye prove to have bene committid against them or eny of them, by yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunts men or eny of them.

Upon w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> said Orato<sup>r</sup> came into the Deacies aforesaid to make a distresse wherby he myght bring the said Sir Morish to condissend to his reasonable requests, w<sup>ch</sup> so taken, did departs quietly homwards w<sup>thout</sup> any hostilitie attemptid w<sup>ch</sup> thing yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant & other his auncestours upon like occation hath usid to doo tyme out of mynd as in that land, w<sup>ch</sup> is parcell of the house of Desmond & liable to their distresse; and so sending his footmen before him in yo<sup>r</sup> Graces highway homwards, w<sup>ch</sup> were in nombre abowtte l gallaglasses & iii<sup>x</sup> kerne, youre said suppliant taring behind his said footmen to stay suche hurts as mought be done by straglers that sought for buties, Sodenly discried th<sup>r</sup> erle of Ormond marching in battell ray<sup>'</sup> with baner displaid & trumpett sunding, towards the footmen of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant, accompanied with xi<sup>x</sup> horsmen of w<sup>ch</sup> nombre xvi horsmen were suche as dwell under the rule of Capten Herne, iiii<sup>c</sup> galloglasses and as many kerne, ii<sup>c</sup> hagbutters, upon w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant made as moche hast as he could to ouertake the said Erle thinking by his presence to stay the said Erle from using eny force contrary to yo<sup>r</sup> highnes peace, but the said Erle, perceavinge the comyng of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant being in the highway between yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant & his footmen, gave ouere his marche from the footemen & bent all his force toward yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant, w<sup>th</sup> baner displaid & trumpett sunding the allarme, wherby yo<sup>r</sup> suppliant, being out of all hope to obserue yo<sup>r</sup> Maties peace, was enforced in sauegard of himself & his footmen to encounter the said Erle, having onely that way homward, w<sup>ch</sup> they kept, yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant being in nombre but lvi horsmen, by reason wherof yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant was stryken doune by shott of hagbut through his leg, and woundid dangerously in iiii seuerall places of his body, besides diuers bruises w<sup>th</sup> punishing stanes, and taken prisonere, and after, the said erle chased the seru<sup>n</sup>ts of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant by the space of ii myles; and in the same wilfully kylled & mo<sup>r</sup>dred of yo<sup>r</sup> Maties subiects the nombre of iiii<sup>c</sup> whose names were to longe to rehearse, contrary to yo<sup>r</sup> Maties lawes, and to the evill example of all yo<sup>r</sup> Maties subiects, of whom the greater nombre were innocents that bare no weapon, w<sup>ch</sup> came thither in hope to have restitution & satisfaction of suche goods & chattells as were taken from them by the malefactors of the said Sr Morish. And suche as by happe did escape the force of the said Erles men thought by swimyng ouere a certen ryuer to save their lieffs, but the poore men being disceavid of their hoppe found the same ryuere full of boats freitid w<sup>th</sup> the said Sr Morish's men, who moost cruelly mo<sup>r</sup>dred w<sup>th</sup> stones, staves and other wepons, the greater nombre of the poore simers in the ryuere, so that what by meanes of the said Erle by land, & the said Sr Morish by water, fewe or none escapid; whiche provicion of boats, as a thing not sene or then to haue bene usid, prove this matter to haue bene before proposid & thought of. And after this great mo<sup>r</sup>der comittid upon yo<sup>r</sup> Maties subiects, yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant was lede a captive by the said Erle of Ormond to a p<sup>'</sup>uate prison of his owne, wher no man was sufferid to specke w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant, but suche as pleased the said Erle of Ormond, and notw<sup>th</sup>standing that yo<sup>r</sup> highnes L. Justice, thinking not meet that an erle should remayn in dures in the privat prison of any subiect, did addresse his l<sup>r</sup> at seuerall tymes for th<sup>r</sup> enlardgement of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant yet contrary to the tenno<sup>r</sup> & effect of the said l<sup>r</sup>, and to the great contempt of yo<sup>r</sup> highnes state there, he was not enlarged till long tyme after it pleased the said Erle of Ormond & his officers to assent therunto, so at length he was broughte by the said Erle to the cyttie of Waterford, with sounding of trumpett and gunne shott, in suche tryumphant sort as though he were an open enemye or traytours rebell to yo<sup>r</sup> highnes, the whole inhabitaunts of the cyttie staring & wondering & diuersly speking thereon, to yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliaunts shame slander & dishonor: and notw<sup>th</sup>standing yo<sup>r</sup> highnes L. Justice & counsell being then in the cyttie, the said Erle of Ormond, to agment w<sup>th</sup> his contempt, kept yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant in dures w<sup>th</sup> him the space of ii or iii nights, tyll by meanes of yo<sup>r</sup> L. Justice there he was deliuered into his hands, and to the augmentacion of the contumacie & disobedience of the said erle against yo<sup>r</sup> highnes auctoritie & lawes, he & the said Sir Morish did kepe, & yet doth, for aught yo<sup>r</sup> suppliant knowith, in their seueral p<sup>'</sup>uate jayles, diuers of yo<sup>r</sup> highnes subiects, seru<sup>n</sup>ts to yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant, refusing to bring them to their aunswers before yo<sup>r</sup> Mats L. Justice and counsell, thinking to put them as it should seeme to their fines & ramsons, to the notorouse & evill example of all those that are contempners of yo<sup>r</sup> Maties lawes. And yet the said Erle, not so satisfied by all these former inyuries offerid to yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant, and in further contempte of yo<sup>r</sup> highnes lawes sent for one John Fitz Gerrott, a seru<sup>n</sup>t of yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant, under pretense to have spoken w<sup>th</sup> him, abowtte eight of the clock at night, w<sup>ch</sup> comyng to the said Erle was sodenly imp<sup>'</sup>sonid in a hand boke and by water conveyed to the house of one Patricke Foster, seru<sup>n</sup>t to th<sup>r</sup> erle of Ormond, named the Clogaghe w<sup>th</sup> in the cou<sup>'</sup>te of Kylkeny, wher, hither to for aught yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant knowith, he is kept in

straight dures, w<sup>th</sup>out eny just cause or collo<sup>r</sup> of right, and yet the said erle having no regard to the amendement of eny his former misdemeano<sup>r</sup>, but rather as one persisting in, the same, and willing to attempt farther as it should [seem], by reason no punishments was extended unto him for the premiss, abowts a xii or xiii daies after, did by like engine as before, and by his owne auctoritie as it weare, setting at naught yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>, take one Gerrot Fitz John, styward to yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant, and him detayned in his owne private prison the space of v or vi daies contrary to all laws & justice, notw<sup>th</sup>standing any meanes that myght be used by the L. Justice & Counsell commaunding him to the contrary, wherby suche terror & feare was dryven into the harts of all yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliants servants & followers, as none durst come out of his contrey unto him w<sup>th</sup> any kinde of necessary furniture or reliefe, to his no small incommoditie & discomfort, w<sup>ch</sup> hath brought yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant to suche extremitie, that he is not hable to manteyne himself accordyng to his estate & calling, but is enforced to live w<sup>th</sup> neede & want in an unwounded wise. The premiss considerid, May it please yo<sup>r</sup> excellent Ma<sup>ty</sup>, of yo<sup>r</sup> accustomed zeale in executyng Justice and reliving of the afflictid, to consider herof, as to yo<sup>r</sup> excellency shall seme moost convenient. And yo<sup>r</sup> said suppliant shall pray to the highest for the long preseruacion of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> most prosperous reigne."

ANSWER OF THE EARL OF ORMONDE. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, ELIZ., IRELAND, VOL. XIII., NO. 56.

"The answeare of Thomas Erle of Ormond to the Byll of compl<sup>t</sup> of Gerald Erle of Desmounde.

"The said Erle of Ormounde saieth that the said byll of compl<sup>t</sup> against hym exhibyted is verey untrue and sclanderous, and devysed only by the said Erle of Desmounde to cloke, hyde, and cover such his unlawfull and evill enterpryses, as he hath oftentymes comytted w<sup>ch</sup> in your Highnes said realme of Irelande, and not upon any iust cause of compl<sup>t</sup>. And as unto the message and request of friendshippe, beinge the first matter or cause of compl<sup>t</sup> in the said byll mencioned, w<sup>ch</sup> the said compl<sup>t</sup> sermyseth that for the affection he bare unto his late wyffe he sent to the said deff<sup>t</sup>, the said deff<sup>t</sup> saieth and confesseth that true it is the said compl<sup>t</sup> sent the said Gerot Fitz John w<sup>ch</sup> suche like message in effecte as is conteyned in the said byll, but whether for amytie or frenshippe or rather for some other secrett practise and deceyte towards the said deff<sup>t</sup>, the sequell of the cause doth best declare. Howbeyt for that the said compl<sup>t</sup> had dyvers tymes therefore maid proffer to abyde ord<sup>r</sup> and award, touchinge the cause dependenge betwene hym and the said deff<sup>t</sup>, and wold nev<sup>r</sup> performe the same, but under colo<sup>r</sup> of faire woordes oftentymes used fyer and swerd in the cuntry of the said deff<sup>t</sup>, and against your highnes subiects w<sup>th</sup>in his domynyons; the said deff<sup>t</sup> therefore maid answeare unto the said messenger, that the Lord Justice and counsayle wold be shortly at Waterford, and that he wold stand to and abyde such ord<sup>r</sup> as they wold take. The w<sup>ch</sup> answeare the said deff<sup>t</sup> thinketh was so reasonable that the said compl<sup>t</sup> ought well to have liked thereof, and the deffendant was the rather moved thereto for that the said compl<sup>t</sup> had so often broken the orders taken by the Gouvernors and Counsell of Ireland, as the said deff<sup>t</sup> had thereby the more cause to doubte the execucion of any order that should be taken by persones of lower qualities; and as to the goodes, chattells and rents w<sup>ch</sup> the said compleynant untruly sermyseth that the said deff<sup>t</sup> should wrongefully take receyve and deteyne, the said deff<sup>t</sup> saieth that the said goodes and chattells were eyther belonginge unto the late Erle of Ormond, late father unto the said deff<sup>t</sup>, or comyngs of th<sup>e</sup> encrease thereof; and that the said deff<sup>t</sup> and his late mother were iointe executors unto his said late father, and that the said deff<sup>t</sup>, beinge survyvor of the said executors after the death of his said mother, did receyve and take the same as by the laws he mought lawfully doe, and as to the stayinge and receyvings of the said rents in the said byll mencioned, the said deff<sup>t</sup> saith That he never stayed or receyved any of the same, albeyt he thinketh he mought well to have done for the some of one thousand pounds or thereabouts in w<sup>ch</sup> the said compl<sup>t</sup> standeth indebted to hym; and as unto the compleyns w<sup>ch</sup> the said compl<sup>t</sup> alledgeth should be exhibyted unto hym for certaine felonies and robberies comitted by dyvers malefactors under S<sup>r</sup> Morish Fitz Gerald in the Dicies, beinge parcell of the howse of the said compl<sup>t</sup> as he alledgeth, and lyable to his and his ancestors destress tyme out of mynde, he said deff<sup>t</sup>, not acknowledging any such auctorytie in the said compl<sup>t</sup> for punishinge or redressinge of iniuries comitted as the said compl<sup>t</sup> chalengeth, prieth, that for somuch as the said matter toucheth the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish Fitz Gerald and not the said deff<sup>t</sup>, that the

same may be referred over unto hym. Nevertheless the said Deff<sup>t</sup> saith that the hole cuntry or terrytorye of the said Decies is w<sup>th</sup>in the county of Waterford and clerely exempted from the rule and ord<sup>r</sup> of the said compl<sup>t</sup>, as appereth dyrectly by your highnes recordes in Ireland, and so neyther lyable unto the said compl<sup>t</sup> his distresse, nor never heretofore hath bene used rightfully so to be, neyther by the governors of Ireland hath bene permytted so to be; and albeyt such offences had bene comytted to the inhabytants of the said compl<sup>t</sup> his country as in the said byll is mencioned, as to the knowledge of the said deff<sup>t</sup> were not, yet the said deff<sup>t</sup> thinketh yt neyther was nor is lawfull for the said compl<sup>t</sup>, under tytle or color of any such prescryption by hym uniustly chalenged w<sup>ch</sup> is not avaylable in lawe, to rayse any such power at his owne wyll and pleasure and w<sup>th</sup>out comyasson from your highnes or your counsell there, to make invasyon into any parte of your Ma<sup>ty</sup> realme of Ireland, and in warlike manor and under pretence of reectyfyinge, to burne your subiects howses, to murder the inhabytants there, and to spoyle them of their goodes and chattells as the said compl<sup>t</sup> hath done, as upon the declaracion of the said Morish at his hyther comynge more plainly shall appere: neyther was the same any good meane to cause the said S<sup>r</sup> Moriyshe to come to good order, but only a plaine declaracion of the said compl<sup>t</sup> his over bold and unlawfull entente, and occasion of the harme that happened as by the said compl<sup>t</sup> his owne confession in the said byll may easely be perceaved. And as unto the marchinge of the said deff<sup>t</sup> in battell raye w<sup>th</sup> such numb<sup>r</sup> of persones w<sup>th</sup> baner displayed and trumpet soundinge, and to the residue of the said mysdemenors in the said Byll untruly sermysed, the said deff<sup>t</sup> saith, That he havinge intelligence by dyvers persones inhabytyng in the said compl<sup>t</sup> his cuntry, That the compl<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> great power was determyned shortly to spoyle the deff<sup>t</sup> cuntry, The deff<sup>t</sup> therefore accompanied w<sup>th</sup> his owne servants w<sup>th</sup> all spede repayed into the cantrede of Clonmell beinge w<sup>th</sup>in the Terrytory of the said deff<sup>t</sup>, leavinge woord that his brethern, S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Butler, James and Edward, should repaire thither to hym for the defence and maynetenance of his said cuntry; and proceedinge in his journey, one of S<sup>r</sup> Morish Fitz Garets men metinge the deff<sup>t</sup> delyvered hym a letter from his said M<sup>r</sup>, whereby he was in most earnest maner requyred by the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish, That for as much as the said compl<sup>t</sup> did purpose to invade and spoyle the cuntry of the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish or of the said deff<sup>t</sup>, and that the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish had no place of succor or refuge for his cattell within his owne cuntry, that the said deff<sup>t</sup> wold fetch and take the same into his defence, as the said deff<sup>t</sup> had upon like occasion done dyvers tymes before, upon sight whereof the said deff<sup>t</sup>, moch moved at the earnest request of the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish, and mervelyng at the straunge dealinge of the said compl<sup>t</sup>, and consideringe also the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish to be a free subiecte answerable only to your highnes and your lawes, and not to the wyll of any other subiecte, determyned to do what in hym lay to save the cattell of the said S<sup>r</sup> Morish from the cruel and vyolent spoyle of the compl<sup>t</sup>, and to conducte the same under his defence; and travellinge forwardes, one of the compl<sup>t</sup> men named Donough Beg, brought woord to the said compl<sup>t</sup> (Lyinge in campe at Whitechurch iiii myles from the place where the conflicts was, and havinge kylled lx beaves and sent for wyne to Dungarvane to vyctuell his campe mynedinge to have camped there that night) that the deff<sup>t</sup> was goinge over the mountaines toward Dromany, beinge the apointed place by the said S<sup>r</sup> Moriyshe where his cattell should be receyved, where upon the compl<sup>t</sup> comaunded his said servant to gyde hym the next way towards the said deff<sup>t</sup> and his company, sayinge he was suer to fynde their horses unbrydeled, themselves werye after their travell, and skattred abroad, and thereupon said and accompted all to be his owne to kyll or to save whom he liked, w<sup>ch</sup> his said woordes openly disclosed his entente, and w<sup>ch</sup> to accomplishe he presently put in use, and sent forth all his fotemen before towards the said deff<sup>t</sup>, and his company, w<sup>ch</sup> said fotemen passed and returned over the high way so nere to the said deff<sup>t</sup> that he mought have kylled theme longe before the comynge of the said compl<sup>t</sup>, or before any releiffe or succor cold haue bene brought to theme, if he the said deff<sup>t</sup> had ment hurt or destresse to theme (as in truth he did not), but suffred theme to depart againe unto the said compl<sup>t</sup>, who presently leavinge other highe wayes that he had to passe home, w<sup>th</sup> his whole power of horsemen and fotemen joyned together, wold nedes geve the charge upon the said deff<sup>t</sup>, who in the defence of hymselfe and of his men cold not chosse but w<sup>th</sup>stand the charge aforesaid for the save gard of their lyves, and so the hurt which the said compl<sup>t</sup> and his men receyved was only by the assaulte of the said compl<sup>t</sup> and his men, and further the said deff<sup>t</sup> saith that if he of purpose prepened had intended such force or vyolence against the said compl<sup>t</sup> (as the compl<sup>t</sup> sermyseth) he mought haue brought a greater numb<sup>r</sup> of his owne men then he did, also he wold not haue left the greater parte of his galeglass behynd hym, neyther haue suffered the more part of



his men to leave their sherts of mayle behynd theme, but as he mought haue used the helpe of a greater numb<sup>r</sup> of his owne men then he did, so mought he haue joynd his force w<sup>ch</sup> the power of the said S<sup>r</sup> Morishe, w<sup>ch</sup> he did not, and haue taken his advantage of the compl<sup>t</sup> fotemen as aforesaid, w<sup>ch</sup> he did not, neyther did the said deff<sup>t</sup> leave the highwaye towards his iourney to encounter the said compl<sup>t</sup>, as the compl<sup>t</sup> left his, neyther had the said deff<sup>t</sup> any anaynge, banner, drum or fyffe, save only one trumpeter, the w<sup>ch</sup> was the said deff<sup>t</sup> his howsehold servant and used allwayes to ryde w<sup>th</sup> hym, who sounded not untill the chardge was geven upon the said deff<sup>t</sup> by the said compl<sup>t</sup>; neyther had the deff<sup>t</sup> in his company any men, save such as he or his bretherne gave wages unto, ner any moe hagbutters in his company save only to the numb<sup>r</sup> of viii (if there were so many) w<sup>ch</sup> also did not dischardge ner shote of at all, as the said compl<sup>t</sup> hath untruly declared, for that the deff<sup>t</sup> fotemen were not come to the fyght when the compl<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> his hole force of horsemen and fotemen sett upon the said deff<sup>t</sup>. In w<sup>ch</sup> said conflicte the said compl<sup>t</sup> was apprehended and taken and dyvers of his company alayne of their owne assaults, the certeine number whereof the deff<sup>t</sup> knoweth not, albeyt he is well assured that a great number of theme were such as haue bene notorious and proclaimed traytors and rebells unto your highnes and your said realme of Ireland; and as for the imprysonment of the said compl<sup>t</sup>, the deff<sup>t</sup> thought yt his dutye to kepe hym saffe as your highnes prysoner, tyll your further pleasure were known, havinge broken your Ma<sup>ty</sup> peace upon hym, burned and spoyled your Ma<sup>ty</sup> subiects dwelling under S<sup>r</sup> Morysh Fitz Gerald, in the countye of Waterford, & at that tyme fyndinge notorious and proclaimed rebells and traytors then in his company and dyvers other hayonous offences that he had comitted against your highnes; and further the said deff<sup>t</sup> saieth that after the tyme of the said compl<sup>t</sup> his apprehensyon he never used hym amysser ner restrayned hym from accesse of any of his frendes to hym, savinge that he did not suffer the said compl<sup>t</sup> to haue secrett conference w<sup>th</sup> theme, but at the compl<sup>t</sup> his owne request sent hym to a knywsoman's howse of his owne, where also his frendes had free libertye to come to hym; and after the deff<sup>t</sup> bringinge hym to the citty of Waterford, savely kepte hym there, untill to the Lord Justice there by his comaundment he was delyvered; and as for the deteyninge in pryson of dyvers other persones w<sup>ch</sup> were apprehended at the said conflicte the said deff<sup>t</sup> saieth that dyvers and sundry of theme haue bene sythens lawfully condemned for dyvers felonies and robberies by theme comytted in the countye of Tipperary, and dyvers others of theme beinge indicted for the like offences, be deteyned to be tryed and adiudged for dyvers other notable and notorious felonies and robberies by theme heretofore comytted and the done; and as unto the apprehensyon of the said John Fitz GERALTE, and the compl<sup>t</sup> his steward, the deff<sup>t</sup> saieth, that he havinge perfect knowledge and intellygence that they were conversant ayders and succorers of Cormock O Conner, one of the proclaimed traytors of Ofaly, the deff<sup>t</sup> therefore caused theme to be apprehended as he mought lawfully doe by warrante of the Lord Justice and Counsells Lettres; and further the deff<sup>t</sup> saieth that the said compl<sup>t</sup> before this tyme hath dyvers and sundry tymes threatened to murder and kyll the said deff<sup>t</sup>, and hath layed ambushes to kyll hym in his owne cuntry, and hath reported he wold haue the deff<sup>t</sup> his head stricken of, if he hawked or hunted in the hart of his owne cuntrye, By reason whereof yt stode the deff<sup>t</sup> upon for savegard of his owne liffe to have good gard allwaies about hym; Also the said compl<sup>t</sup> in contempt of all proclamacions sett forth by your Ma<sup>ty</sup> to the contrary hath adyed mayneteyned and encoraged the Borks, Ryans, and Gracs, notable traytors and rebells, w<sup>ch</sup> spoyled and burned the deff<sup>t</sup> cuntrye, comytted horryble murders w<sup>th</sup>in the same upon your highness ubiects, and haue sundry tymes sought meane to kyll the deff<sup>t</sup>; and the said compl<sup>t</sup> also sythens the last comyng over into England of th<sup>e</sup> erle of Sussex, your Ma<sup>ty</sup> leveten<sup>nte</sup>, hath receyved, ayded and maynteyned the O Brenes, the O Conors and O Mores beinge proclaimed traytors and rebells, who haue contynually rebelled against your highnes, and haue some of theme ioyned alyauce w<sup>th</sup> the Scotts and brought dyvers of theme into Ireland, and haue spoyled your highnes subiects w<sup>th</sup>in the Englishe pale, as well in Offaly and Leix as in the counties of Kyldare, Catharlaghe, Kykenie and Typparie. wastinge and consumminge their goodes and chattells, burninge their howses and murdering men women and childers, not sparinge any cruelty they mought haue used w<sup>th</sup> fyre and swerd (the said compl<sup>t</sup> beinge the only refuge and succor of the said rebellyouse malefactors). Also the compl<sup>t</sup> hath releved and kept in his cuntry a great number of souldyours of the notorious proclaimed traytors of the O Bryens, w<sup>ch</sup> haue bene exyled and banished by your highnes leveten<sup>nte</sup> Th<sup>e</sup> erle of Sussex, by your highnes comaundm<sup>t</sup>, out of Thomonde, not able to abyde our rest in any place nere hande, haue bene ayded and mayneteyned

by the compl<sup>t</sup>, as of late he did in sendinge three hundred armed galeglass to ayd and succor theme as the said deff<sup>t</sup> is well able to prove, Also the said Traytor Cormock O Connor, havinge of late practised to bringe a power of men out of Scotland into Ireland, hath bene secretly kept in the said Erle of Desmondes cuntry, dyvers messengers have secretly passed betwene the said compl<sup>t</sup> and Shane O Nell, and dyvers other secrett confederacies and practises to noe good entent or purpose. And further the deff<sup>t</sup> saith that he hath a boke conteyninge dyvers artycles of murders, burninges, spoyles and other grevous offences comytted by the said compl<sup>t</sup>, his brother, servantes and retynewe, w<sup>ch</sup>, w<sup>th</sup> all other the premisses, the deff<sup>t</sup> is readie to verefye and prove and to showe to your highnes, w<sup>ch</sup> said unlawfull factes and disobeyence before remembered, in manor and forme before comytted, besides dyvers and many other great offences not here remembered, doth directly prove that the said compl<sup>t</sup> did mynd & entend in the said conflicte and affray to murd<sup>r</sup> & kyll y<sup>e</sup> said deff<sup>t</sup> & his said company, if god almightie had not succored & releved theme: of all w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>misses, together w<sup>th</sup> the afflicted stayte of the said realme of Ireland, beinge maid of late through the most cruell & unlawfull delinges of the said compl<sup>t</sup> more myserable then heretofore, the said deff<sup>t</sup> most humbly beseecheth your highnes to haue consideration of; w<sup>th</sup>out that the said compl<sup>t</sup>, after the said destresse in the said bill mencioned supposed to be taken, did quietly depart home wardes w<sup>th</sup>out any hostylytie attempted, or that the said compl<sup>t</sup> had no greater number of horsemen & fotemen then in the said byll is mencioned, or that the said deff<sup>t</sup> had in his company such numb<sup>r</sup> of horsemen, kernes and galeglasses as in the said byll is also untruly sermysed, or that he had in his company any horsemen other then such as he or his bretherne geve wages unto, or that the compl<sup>t</sup> did what in hym lay to haue observed your Ma<sup>ty</sup> peace, or that the deff<sup>t</sup> was causer or begynner of the said conflicte and affraye, or that the compl<sup>t</sup> was enforced of necessity to encounter the deff<sup>t</sup>, or y<sup>t</sup> he had but only y<sup>e</sup> way homeward w<sup>ch</sup> the deff<sup>t</sup> kept, or y<sup>t</sup> the compl<sup>t</sup> was stroken downe or wounded otherwise then of necessitie he must haue bene for y<sup>e</sup> safeguard of the lyves of those y<sup>t</sup> he assaulted, or y<sup>t</sup> the deff<sup>t</sup> chased the servantes of the compl<sup>t</sup> by the space of ii myles, or that the great numb<sup>r</sup> of the said persones y<sup>t</sup> were alayne were innocents w<sup>th</sup>out weapon and such as came to have restitution & satisfaction of their goodes & chattells, or y<sup>t</sup> the residue of y<sup>e</sup> said compl<sup>t</sup> his Company that escaped y<sup>e</sup> conflicte were murdered w<sup>th</sup> stones, staves and other weapons in y<sup>e</sup> ryv<sup>r</sup>, or that y<sup>e</sup> said ryv<sup>r</sup> was freyghted w<sup>th</sup> botes for the same purpose to y<sup>e</sup> knowledg of this deff<sup>t</sup>, or y<sup>e</sup> the said matter was before purposed & thought of by the deff<sup>t</sup>, or y<sup>t</sup> the said compl<sup>t</sup> was kepte or deteyned in pryson in any other manor or forme then heretofore in this answer is confessed, or y<sup>t</sup> the deff<sup>t</sup> contrary to the tenor & effecte of the Lord iustice Lettres deteyned the compl<sup>t</sup> in pryson, or y<sup>t</sup> the deff<sup>t</sup> doth wrongfully detayne in pryson any of the compl<sup>t</sup>s servantes, or doth wrongfully fyne & ransome theme, or y<sup>t</sup> he the said deff<sup>t</sup> did wrongfully take and imprysons the said John Fitz Gerot and the said Gerott Fitz John, or that the said compl<sup>t</sup> by the meane of the deff<sup>t</sup> is dryven to such nede wants and necessytye as in the Byll is also most alanderously and untruly sermised, And w<sup>th</sup>out that there is any other matter or thinge in the said byll conteyned materyall to be answered unto and not here in this answer suffycently confessed and avoyded denyed or traversed is true: all w<sup>ch</sup> matters the said deff<sup>t</sup> is readie to avert and prove as your highnes wyll award, and praieth as he before in this said answer hath praied &c.

*Derse* [in Lord Burghley's hand.] "6 Junii 1565.

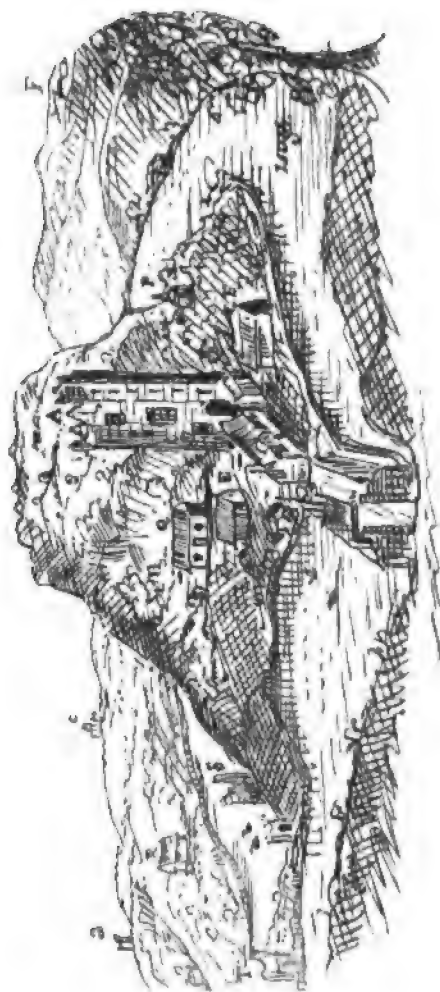
"Th'erle of Ormonds answ<sup>r</sup>."

THE QUEEN'S LETTERS TO THE EARLS OF ORMOND AND DESMOND. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, ELIZ., VOL. XII., NOS. 39 AND 40.

"To th'erle of Ormond.

"R<sup>t</sup> &c. We grete you well. We cannot but mislike very much to understand that you & the Erle of Desmond have mett in such manner of hostility one against the other w<sup>t</sup> so great number of o<sup>r</sup> subjects, contrary to our peace & directly against such orders & bonds as both of you have heretofore acknowledged for th<sup>e</sup> observing of the peace & obeyeng of orders to be taken betwixt you & the said Erle by our commissioners, nevertheless considering we are not yet certainly informed otherwise then by yo<sup>r</sup> owne Lettre & a short report from y<sup>e</sup> Justice there how this disorder begann, nether w<sup>ch</sup> of you is principally in the faulte, we have thought it metest to have you both





A—The Castle. S—The Ruines of Black Castle. T—The Gatehouse. V—The Long bridge, wu Drawbridges. R—The New Church.  
D—Carrickmore Hill. e—Racannon. s—Drummon. Q—Stabling E—Barnes. P—The Pigeon house. F—Knock Fennel.

#### LOUGH GUR.

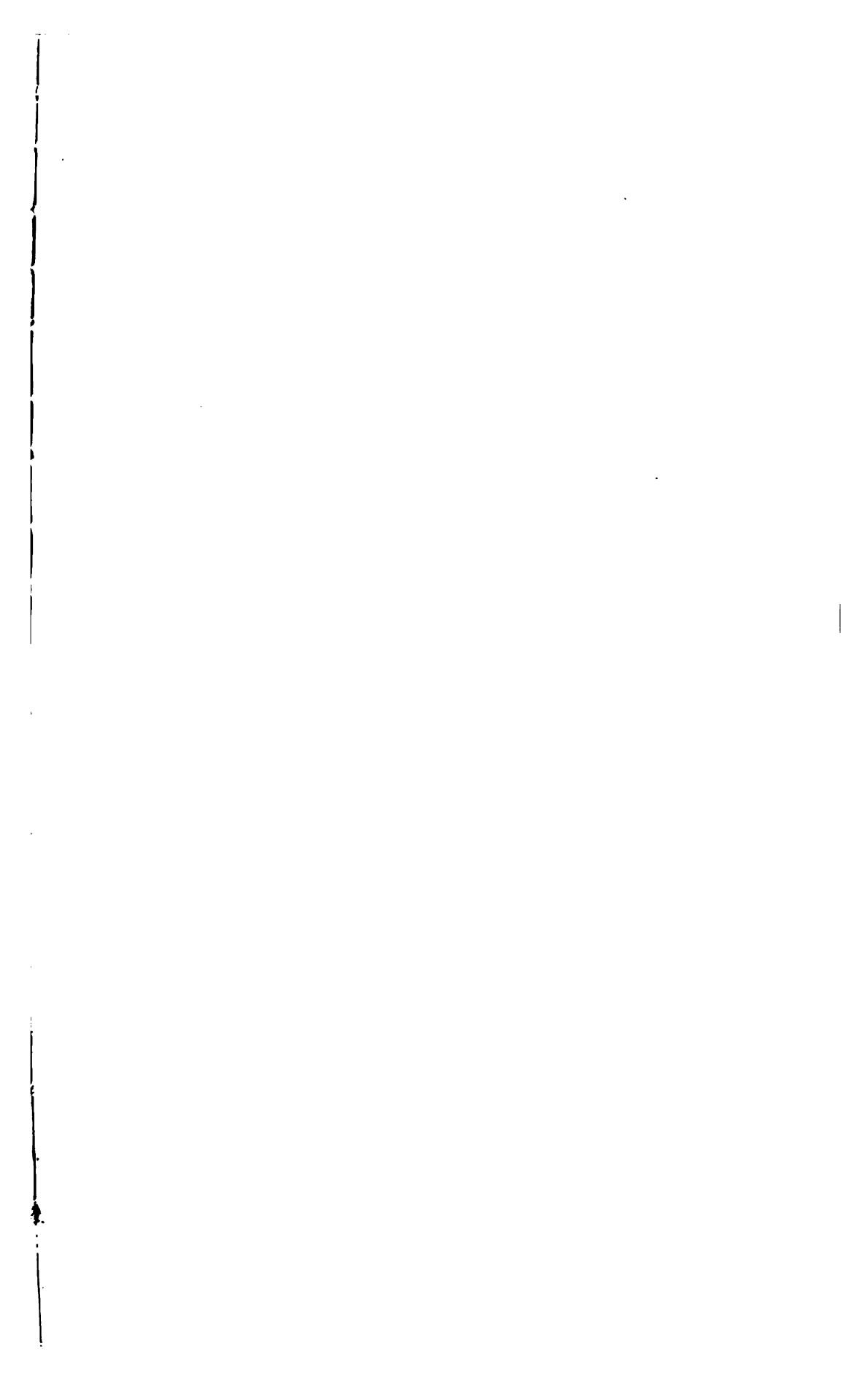
[From Dineley's Tour in Ireland, Temp. Chas. II.]

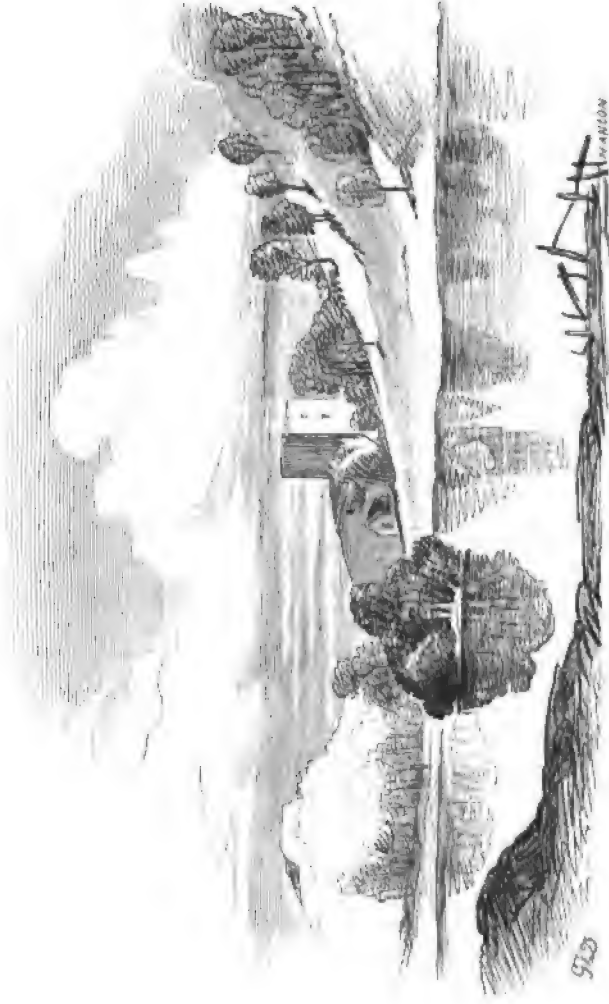




THE BLACK CASTLE AND CAUSEWAY, LOUGH GUR.

[From a drawing by the late G. V. Du Noyer.]





BOURCHIER'S, OR THE NEW CASTLE, LOUGH GUR.

[From a drawing by the late G. V. Du Noval.]



to make yo<sup>r</sup> repaire to o<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>esence, meaning thereby & by other good meanes not only to understand the maner of this disorder from the begining to the ending, but also ther upon to reforme the same as reason, wheresoever we shall find the fault iustly to be. And therfore we will & command you to make yo<sup>r</sup> repaire hither to us w<sup>t</sup> such convenient spede as using the advyse therein of o<sup>r</sup> Justice shall seme mete & agreeable for the repose & quietnes of yo<sup>r</sup> contrey. And because it shall be mete for you to leave some person of creditt to governe the contrey in yo<sup>r</sup> absence, we will & charg you to have good regard that the same be preserved in quietnes, & that due obedience may be shewed to such as we have given our Justice in commandment to appoint to remayn in those parts on o<sup>r</sup> behalf.

"To th'erle of Desmond.

"We grete you well. We mislike very much to heare, as we have of late by report, that you & th'erle of Ormond, being both accompanied & fortified w<sup>t</sup> great multitude of o<sup>r</sup> subjects, in hostile manner have fought together, & therby, besides that yo<sup>r</sup>self was hurt, no small number of o<sup>r</sup> subjects have been slayne to o<sup>r</sup> great discontentacion. And because we perceave our peace in this notably broken, our people & subjects under both yo<sup>r</sup> rules dayly in danger of ruyn, & not knowing in w<sup>ch</sup> of you two the cause of this disorder is, we have determined & think it mete that both you & the said Erle of Ormond should make yo<sup>r</sup> repaire hither to o<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>esence. And that as sone as o<sup>r</sup> Justice there shall find it convenient & agreeable to the quyett of those parts. And therfore we will & command you to make yo<sup>r</sup> repaire hither w<sup>t</sup>out excuse or delay, other then such as o<sup>r</sup> Justice there shall allowe to be necessary, to whom we have written so to direct you for yo<sup>r</sup> comming, & to cawse due examination to be had by all manner of meanes of the causes of this late great disorder, w<sup>t</sup> the circumstances ther unto due. And we will & charg you to have good regard in the committing of the governance of yo<sup>r</sup> contrey in yo<sup>r</sup> absence, that o<sup>r</sup> people & subjects living in the same may enioy & kepe quietnes & peace, and obey such persons as o<sup>r</sup> Justice by o<sup>r</sup> order shall lett you knowe that we have appointed to remayn in those parts as o<sup>r</sup> commissioners for governance of those contreys.

*Dorso*: "M. to Th' Erles of Desmonde,  
& Ormond, 20 Febr. 1564."

Lough-gur having been mentioned at p. 402, *supra*, as the place where some of the followers of Desmond lay, till cured of the wounds received in the conflict at Affane, we may mention here that it was one of the most remarkable strongholds of the Earls of Desmond. Thomas Dineley, who visited it in the reign of Charles II., describes the Lough as a large moat encompassing an island, and there could not be a better description given of the peculiar features of the place. The plate which faces this page is a fac-simile of Dineley's drawing, and although it somewhat exaggerates the natural conformation, yet we can vouch for its general faithfulness. The castle and bridge shown in the foreground were built by the Bourchiers after Desmond's fall, but the old Desmond fortress, called the Black Castle, and which was ruinous even in Dineley's time, is shown in his sketch. Of this castle of the Desmonds, as well as of a general view of Lough-Gur, we are enabled to give the accompanying plates, engraved at the cost of Mr. A. Fitzgibbon, from drawings by the late G. V. DuNoyer, Esq. The island in the lake is called Knockadoon, and is connected with the land by a causeway (shown in the plate), solidly built of stone, 432 feet long, by 22 feet wide. It is 7½ feet high on the eastern, and about 10 feet on the western side. It was the only approach to the island, was defended by a castle (long since levelled to the ground, but shown in Dineley's sketch), placed 77 feet from the head of the causeway. The foundations of this castellated gateway are quite visible, and are 23½ feet square. 162 feet farther on is a very wide and deep foss; and 177 feet from this, at the insular end of the causeway, still stands the ruins of a fortified gateway, from which a strong wall was drawn along the edge of the lake till it met the Black Castle. 'This castle,' observes Dineley, 'during the time of the Irish Rebellion was always a garrison for one side or the other; beside, being in an island of above a mile in circumference, encompassed with a large and deep Lough or Poole, it was a receptacle not only for man but beasts to defend from the enemy. Lough-gur is seven miles from Limerick.' See 'Journal,' vol. vi., p. 195. Mr. John Fitzgerald, of The Cottage, whose residence is close by, in whom the antiquities of the locality possess an efficient and zealous guardian, and to whose information we are indebted for the measurements and details of the causeway and its defences, adds that this Earl Garret, taken prisoner at Affane, and who, after-

wards, by his unhappy rebellion, worked the ruin of his house, is, in popular tradition, the guardian spirit of Loughgur. He is held beneath its waters by enchantment, which will cease, and he shall return to life, when the silver shoes of his grey charger, which he rides over the surface of the lake once in seven years, are worn out.

Some twenty years ago the waters of the lake were lowered by drainage works, and the causeway is no longer the only approach to the island. When the waters were drawn off, great store of antiquities, ranging from the stone and bronze period down to historic ages, were found, thus proving that Loughgur was a stronghold, even in pre-historic times—a fact no less patent from the wonderful megalithic remains which encircle its shores. It is firmly believed by the people that those engaged in the draining of the Lake have been all visited by the retributive punishments of death or exile.

Page 370, line 48. *Remained prisoner in the Tower of London.*

During Desmond's detention in England, he wrote several letters protesting his loyalty, and of one of these, by the kindness of Mr. A. Fitzgibbon, we are here enabled to submit to the Association a fac-simile executed by Netherclift of London. The letter reads as follows:—

"In most humblest wise my dustie to your honourable estates remembrid, For as moch as I vnderstand that swete is made by my Brother, S<sup>r</sup> John, to haue a chardge into the west partes of Ireland for the suppression of the rebelles ther, the whiche if it should come to passe would geve me an occasion to thinke that your honnours do either suspect my trewe and loyall seruice towards my soveraigne Lady the Quene, or els do judge me vnable to geve them the overthrowe, whiche besedes that they are traytours to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> so haue they bene viter enemyse and spoylers of all my patrymony. For answer wherof and especially for my good mynd towardes the Quenes ma<sup>tie</sup>, God who knoweth the secrettes of all mens harts *save me or els dampne me as my hart* is well bent towardes her hignes, besedes the which I haue offred good Suerties for the good performans of my duetie hereafter and that for *the obtaynyngs of my Libertie* into my contrey, whereby I do not doubt but like as I am best hable, so in shortest tyme, and that with lesse chardge to her ma<sup>tie</sup> I should bothe quiette the contrey *and bring the rebelles to utter confusion*. These are therefore humbly to requeste your honours to stand so good vnto me as to be a meane to her ma<sup>tie</sup> to grant me the prefermente of the matter before any other. Wherin I shall thinke myself most bound vnto her highnes in *vouchsafing to repose so greates a truste in me, and here withall* I do promisse so to behave myself therin as that her ma<sup>tie</sup> shall hereafter haue good cause to thinke well of my seruices, and thus eftsones requesting your honours to stand good unto me I humbly take my leave, from Sentleger House the xx<sup>th</sup> of August 1571.

"Your honours most bounden,

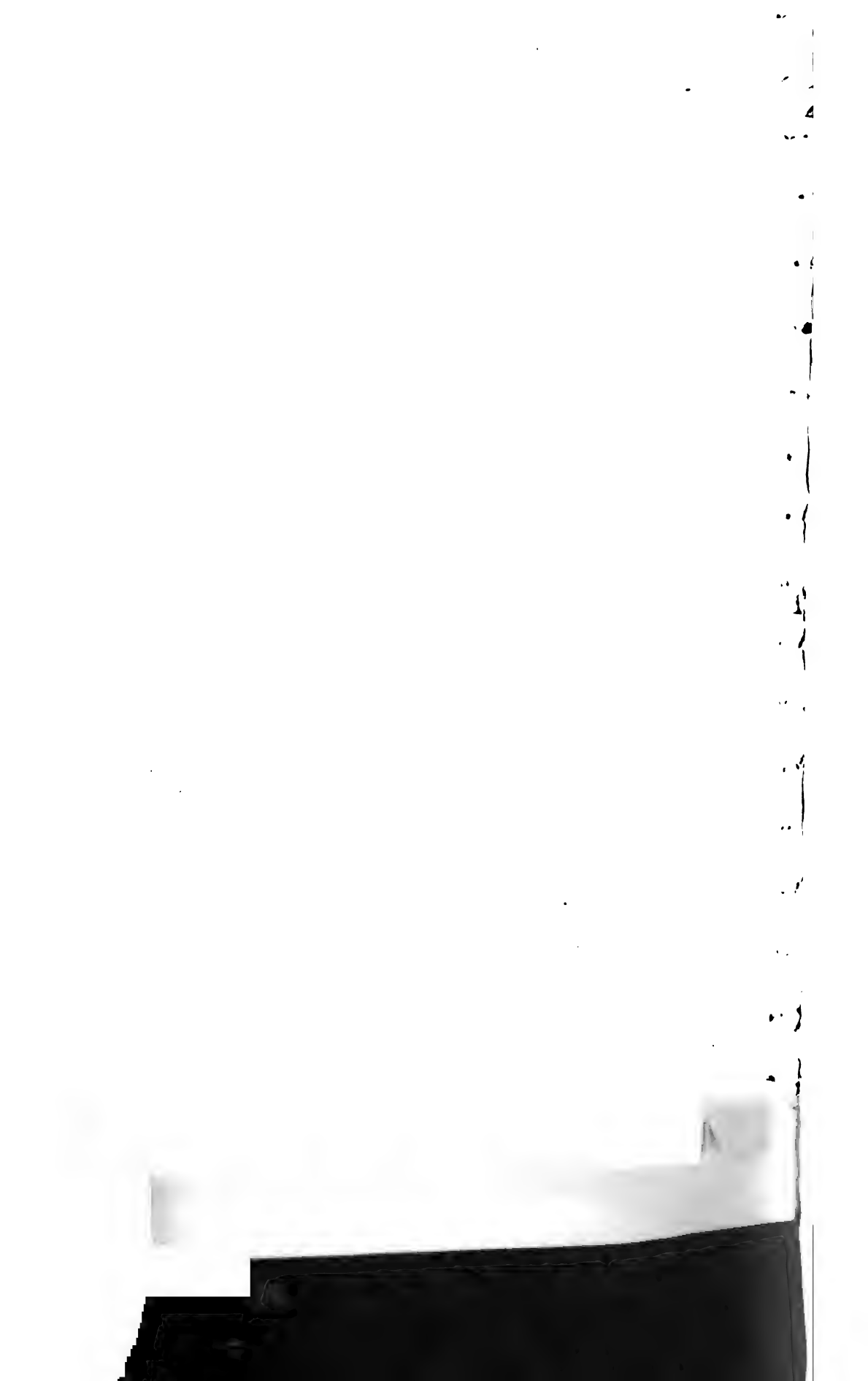
"GEROT DESMOND.

"To the right honorable  
the Quenes ma<sup>ties</sup>  
most honourable  
privie Counsell."

As will be seen, the body of the letter is written by an amanuensis—Desmond's signature alone being in autograph. Compared even with the handwriting of his contemporaries, the rudeness of his autograph is remarkable, and it is probably only a mechanical "mark," the Earl being unable to write more than his name. The *italics* represent passages which have been underscored in the original.

(To be continued.)





ON THE COPPER TOKENS ISSUED IN IRELAND FROM 1728  
TO 1761.

BY AQUILLA SMITH, M. D.

PRIVATE or Tradesmen's Tokens, as they are usually designated, were first put into circulation in Ireland in 1653,<sup>1</sup> from which year until 1679 there is a regular succession of dates, with the exceptions of 1662 and 1675.

The numerous tokens issued by corporations and tradesmen were superseded when Charles the Second issued large copper halfpence in 1680, and each subsequent year to 1684.

Halfpence of similar size and type were issued by James the Second in each year from 1685 to 1688.

After the Revolution, the copper, brass, and pewter money of James the Second was coined to a large amount from 1689 to 1691.

Copper halfpence were coined in each year from 1692 to 1694, by William and Mary, and in 1696 by William the Third.

No regal money, for circulation in Ireland, was coined at the English mint during the reigns of Anne and George the First.

In 1722, "the want of small money in Ireland was now grown to such a height, that considerable manufacturers were obliged to pay their men with tallies, or tokens in cards, signed upon the back, to be afterwards exchanged for money; and counterfeit coins, called raps, were in common use, made of such bad metal, that what passed for a halfpenny was not worth half a farthing."—Statute 9 Geo. I., chap. 19, quoted by Ruding, vol. iii., p. 473, 2nd edit., 8vo.

In order to supply this want of "small money," his Majesty granted a patent to William Wood, who commenced his coinage of halfpence in 1722, and in 1723 and 1724

<sup>1</sup> A penny token issued by George Martin, of Belfast, has the date 1637, very distinctly impressed, which probably was intended for 1657. The form of the figure 3 is such as was common in the seventeenth century; and if the horizontal line had been placed to the right, in-

stead of to the left of the body of the figure, the date would be 1657. See Boyne's "Tokens of the Seventeenth Century," Pl. 39, fig. 6. No token of any date between 1637 and 1653 is known, and six tokens bearing the date 1657 were issued in Belfast.

halfpence and farthings were issued under the same authority. Wood was obliged to resign his patent in consequence of the publication of the celebrated "Drapier's Letters," by Dean Swift.

Mr. Prior, the reputed author of "Observations on Coin in General," Dublin, 8vo, 1730, notices "the great and constant drains of money out of this kingdom, for the support of our gentlemen abroad, and the scarcity of money occasioned thereby," and at page 2 observes :

"Since we are in great want of halfpence and farthings, are almost stripped of all sorts of silver coin, and have very little of the small gold species among us, it is become very difficult to change moydores, in order to buy or sell any commodity : this want of change greatly embarrasses the dealings of poor people, and is a great obstruction to all sorts of business ; so that at present we not only labour under great scarcity of money, but even the little we have is not of half that use to us as it would be if it was divided into small pieces which could easily be changed."

The "want of change" alluded to by Mr. Prior had been to some extent provided for in Dublin by the issue of large copper halfpence and pence, which were uttered as promissory notes in 1728 and 1729 by James Maculla, at the nominal value of twenty pence per pound weight.

There is also a copper piece with the date 1731, and bearing the name of J. Maculla, with a promise to pay "20 shillings, pound sterling," from which it may be inferred that they were intended to pass as shillings. He had promised to pay twenty pence per pound weight for the halfpence and pence, that is, exactly one-twelfth of the nominal value of the pieces with the date 1731, which are so scarce it is probable that they were not accepted to any extent by the public.

In 1734 a penny token, and in 1735 and 1736 many for two pence, and two for three pence, were issued as promissory notes in the three northern counties—viz., Antrim, Armagh, and Down.

Many of these tokens have on one side a crest, or an emblematic device ; as a kingfisher, in allusion to the name of Fisher, or bearing relation to the legend, as a hare, and "I make good speed."

As Ireland was "almost stripped of all sorts of silver coin" in 1730, it would seem that those northern tokens

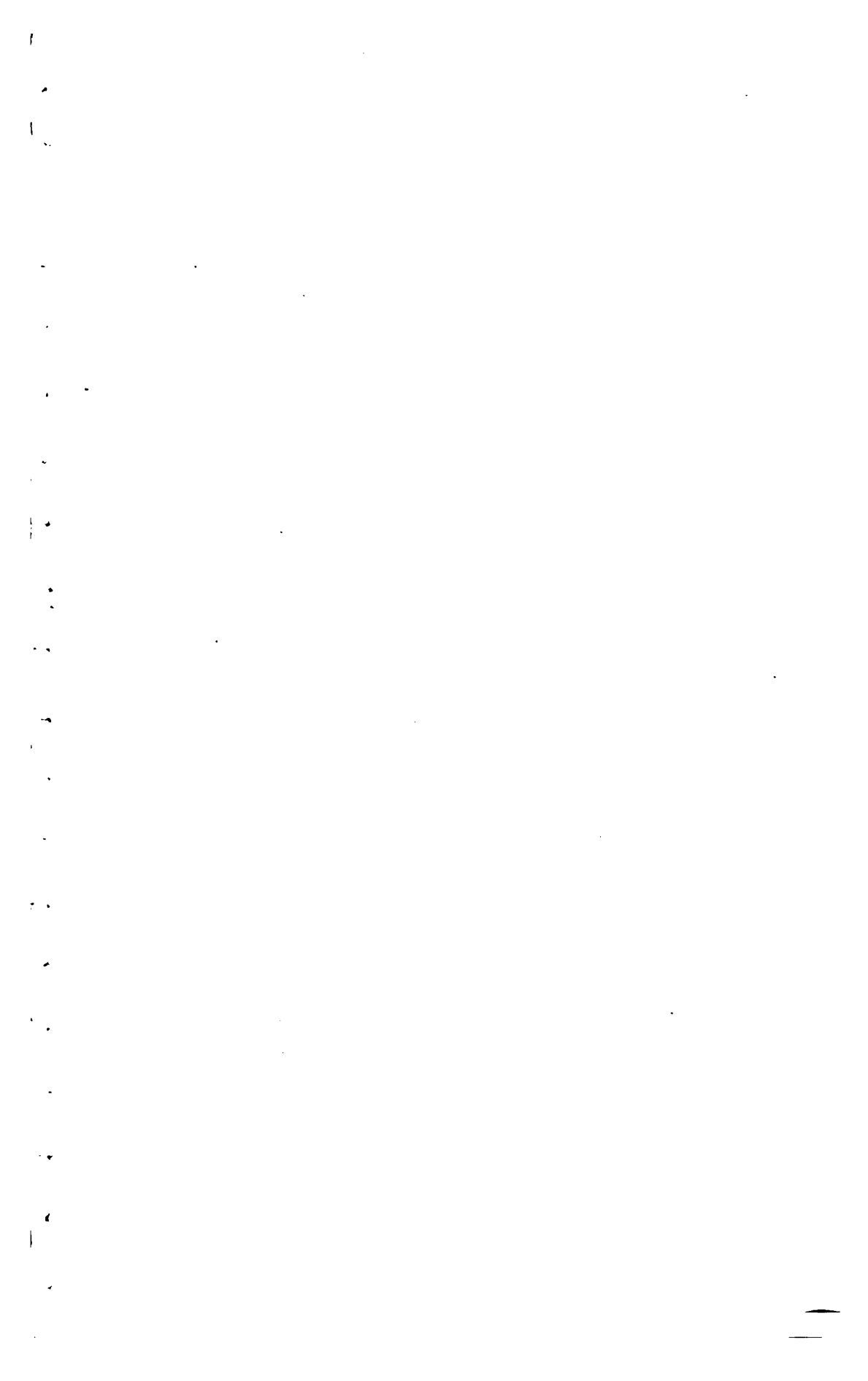




Fig. 1.

106, Grs.



Fig. 2.

115, Grs.



Fig. 3.

116, Grs.

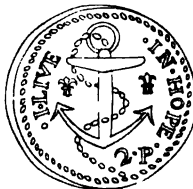


Fig. 4.

104, Grs.



Fig. 5.

98, Grs.



# COPPER TOKENS.



were required as subdivisions of the shilling, as were also the threepenny silver tokens issued at Armagh, Richhill, and Portadown, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1736, and also one in Dublin about the same time (see "Transactions of Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. iii., p. 364). The circulation of these silver tokens in Armagh accounts for the small number of copper tokens issued in that county—only in the town of Lurgan—while about twenty were issued in the counties of Antrim and Down.

The coinage of fine copper halfpence by George the Second in 1736 and 1737, and of farthings in 1737, put an end to the issue of private tokens; and it appears from the advertisements of Alexander Beith, of Ballymena, and of John Gallway, or Galloway, of Portaferry, in February and March, 1738–9, (see catalogue, Nos. 2 and 28), that about that time they were withdrawn from circulation, and full value given for them in gold or silver, which accounts for the extreme rarity of the greater number of the tickets, as they are designated in the advertisements.

The weight or intrinsic value of many of the tickets, being nearly the same as that of the new halfpenny, gave rise to the once common saying, "not worth a two-penny ticket."

With the exception of a few years, copper halfpence were annually coined for Ireland from 1736 to 1753; after which time it would appear that the want of small coins was again experienced, and that, after an interval of twenty-four years, a few private tokens for two-pence were issued in the north of Ireland; and in 1760, halfpence and farthings were coined in Dublin without authority. The following reason for the scarcity of "good halfpence" in Ireland at this time is given in Faulkner's "Dublin Journal:"—"It is said, that our good halfpence are carried to the west of England and to Scotland, by the colliers and other dealers, which is a good trade for them, as they get thirteenpence for a shilling, which is eight and one-third profit, so that, unless Irish halfpence are prohibited in Great Britain, we shall be constantly drained of our copper coin, great quantities of which are likewise exported to America."—No. 3477, Aug. 30 to Sept. 2, 1760.

The currency of private tokens again ceased soon after 1760, when the coinage of halfpence and farthings was resumed by George the Second, in the last year of his reign;<sup>1</sup> and during the reign of George the Third halfpence were coined in several years from 1766 to 1783, when, after another interval, private tokens again appeared in Ireland in 1789, and many varieties were in circulation during the long war with France.

The copper tokens issued between 1728 and 1761 differ much in size and type, and a large proportion of them in conventional value from the tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century. In the following catalogue they are arranged in two divisions: first, those with the name of the city or town in which they were issued; second, those without the name of the place where they were issued.

*Descriptive Catalogue of Copper Tokens, issued in Ireland, from 1728 to 1761.*

DIVISION I.

Tokens with the name of the city or town in which they were issued.

BALLYMENA, COUNTY ANTRIM.

1. *Obv.*: I . MAKE . GOOD . SPEED, 2. P (two pence) under a hare, in her seat.

*Rev.*: I . PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . ONE |  
DEMAND . TWO | PENCE . IA . | ADAIR | B MENA |  
1736; in nine lines; weight, 124·5 grains.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon on Irish coins, fig. 20; the name of the place and the date are omitted.

<sup>1</sup> "We are assured that several caaks of halfpence, amounting to £16,000, lately coined at the Tower for the use of this kingdom, are shipped on board a London

trader, and are daily expected here." This item of the news of the day is taken from Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," No. 3476, Aug. 23 to August 26, 1760.

BELFAST, COUNTY ANTRIM.

2. *Obv.* : . READY . AY . READY.<sup>1</sup> A  
spread eagle between 2 and P.

*Rev.* : I | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | I.  
PENCE . ALEX | . BEITH . | B. MEN  
eight lines ; weight, 115 grains.  
the "Ulster Journal of Archæology"  
See fig. 22, in the plate of Ulster  
kens. See also fig. 2 in accompaniment.

The following advertisement is copied from  
fast News Letter :—"

" *Tuesday,*

" Whereas, there are some Persons betwixt Lisburn  
have counterfeited my Tickets with a Dye and Press, and  
Country People at half what they pass for. Therefore  
notice to all Persons who have any of my Tickets, that  
unto me at any time before the first of March next (counting  
and I will pay them in Gold or Silver ; and will give two  
to any Person or Persons, who will discover the Person  
made these counterfeit Tickets with the Dye and Press,  
be convicted of said Cheat.

" *Dated this 4 January,*

" ALEXANDER

3. *Obv.* : BELFAST | TICKET . in two lines  
buildings on the bank of a river  
from the arches of a bridge on the

*Rev.* : IL . PAY | THE . BEARER | ONE . B.  
W | JOHNSTON | 12 . P . P<sup>d</sup> . \* \* |  
lines ; weight, 106 grains. A word  
of this coin was published by Mr.  
in the second volume of the "Ulster  
of Archæology," page 30, but with  
curacies in detail, on which accompany  
more accurate representation of the  
from a drawing which I made in 1841.  
See Plate, fig. 1.

Mr. Benn has shown that the buildings

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<sup>1</sup> "Ready, aye, Ready," is the motto of Thistlestane. It  
Napier, of Merchistoun, and also of Scott, express readiness to pay.

were probably the old castle, and the market house which stood at the corner of Cornmarket, in High-street, and observes that the value of the token may be "inferred from the information conveyed to the public on the coin itself, and which, though somewhat indistinct, is to be rendered 1<sup>s</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. ~~per~~ lb. *This Cost.*"

The current value is expressed by the words "one half penny" on the coin, and the "information conveyed to the public" refers to the intrinsic value of the copper, which cost twelve pence per pound, which was the price of copper in the year 1608. (Snelling, "View of the Copper Coinage of England," page 5.)

Mr. Benn conjectures that this ticket was issued "about the year 1730." One pound of copper, avoirdupois weight, would make sixty-six halfpence of one hundred and six grains each, the current value of which would be two shillings and nine pence, leaving one shilling and nine pence to cover the expense of striking the coins. In 1608, the charge for workmanship of one pound of copper in the English mint was, according to Snelling, one shilling and ten pence.

4. *Obv.*: NEVER . WITHOV<sup>T</sup> . MY . PREY . 2 . P . before a falcon, with wings erect, and standing on the back of another bird.

*Rev.*: . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
PENCE . | IOHN . KNOX | BELFAST . | 1735 . in  
eight lines, weight 101 grains. Engraved in  
Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, Fig.  
19, in which the date is omitted.

Another of the same type, but from a different die; weighs only 59 grains, and probably is a forgery.

5. *Obv.*: FIERCE . AND . STRONG . A bear standing on his hind legs, round his neck a collar, to which a chain is attached. 2 before, and P behind the bear.

*Rev.*: . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
PENCE . HUGH | MAGARRAGH | BELFAST . | 1736 .  
in eight lines; weight 85.5 grains.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, Figs. 21 and 22; the reverse of Fig. 21 belongs to the obverse of Fig. 22, and *vice versâ*.

6. *Obv.*: FIERCE . AND . STRONG. The legend inverted ; it reads from within. The figure of the bear is smaller than on the preceding coin, and the chain passes in front of the animal's body.

*Rev.*: From the same die as the preceding coin, weight, 98 grains.

Engraved in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," Vol. II., page 230.

7. *Obv.*: GOOD | TIDINGS, in two lines, under a dove flying to the left, with an olive branch in its bill,  $\frac{2}{p}$  in the field.

*Rev.*: ..I.. | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO | PENCE : W<sup>M</sup>. | RINGLAND | BELFAST | 1734. in eight lines ; weight 145 grains.

8. *Obv.*: From the same die as No. 7.

*Rev.*: The same in every respect as No. 7, except that this coin bears the date 1735 ; weight, 144.5 grains.

9. *Obv.*: Similar to No. 7, the olive branch is smaller, and the value  $\frac{2}{p}$  is omitted.

*Rev.*: From the same die as No. 7 ; weight 136 grains. Engraved in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," Vol. II., page 230.

10. *Obv.*: GOOD | TIDINGS, in two lines, under a dove flying to the left, with an olive branch in its bill,  $\frac{2}{p}$  omitted.

*Rev.*: ..I.. | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . ONE | PENNY : W<sup>M</sup>. | RINGLAND | BELFAST | 1734, in eight lines ; weight 96 grains.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 15 ; the date is omitted.

#### BELLYLONAGHAN, CO : ANTRIM.

11. *Obv.*: YOUTH AND BEAUTY, reading from within, round a Peacock . 2 . P behind the bird.

*Rev.*: I | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO | PENCE . ALLEX | M<sup>C</sup>.CLURE | BELLYLONA | GHAN | 1735, in nine lines : weight, 104 grains.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, Fig. 18.

In the "Ulster Inquisitions" published by the Irish Record Commission, the name "Ballyloghnegany" occurs in the "Index Locorum," but it is not in the "Inquisition." I am unable to give any further indication of the locality.

BREABY, CO: \* \* \* \*

12. *Obv.*: WITH MY BLOOD I FEED MY YOUNG, round a pelican with wings erect, and drops of blood falling from its breast.

*Rev.*: I | PROMISE TO | PAY Y<sup>E</sup> BEARER | ON  
DEMAND | TWO PENCE | PATRICK BROWN |  
BREABY, in seven lines.

Communicated by Dr. Freudenthal, of London.

DROMORE, CO: DOWN.

13. *Obv.*: FOR . Y<sup>E</sup> . PARISH . OF . DROMORE, reading from within, under a winged griffin.

*Rev.*: . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER .  
TWO | . PENCE . | WILL. HALL | DROMORE | 1736,  
in eight lines ; weight, 105 grains.

DUBLIN, CO: DUBLIN.

14. *Obv.*: CASH | NOTES . VAL | RECEIVED | DUBLIN . 1728  
| JAMES . | MACULLA, in six lines.

*Rev.*: I | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . ON |  
| DEMAND . 20 | PENCE . A . POU | ND . FOR .  
THESE . in eight lines ; weight 153·5 grains ;  
not milled on the edge.

15. *Obv.*: CASH | NOTES . VAL | RECEIVED | DUBLIN  
1729 | JAMES | MACULLA . |  $\frac{1}{2}$ , in seven lines.

*Rev.*: Similar to No. 14 ; weight 170·5 grains.  
Without a dot after "For;" and the edge milled  
with leaves like a wreath. Engraved in Snel-  
ling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 9.

a. Another of the same type as No. 15 has on the obverse a dot (.) after "Received," and has not the dot after Maculla. Reverse same as No. 14, but without a dot after "For" in the seventh line ; it weighs only 153 grains, and is milled like No. 15.

b. One with obverse from the *same die* as the preceding coin, and the reverse like that of No. 14, but not from the same die ; weighs 165 grains, and is not milled on the edge.

c. Another from the *same dies* as the preceding coin : weighs only 119 grains; it is not milled.

16. *Obv.* : CASH | NOTES VAL | RECEIVED | DUBLIN | 1729  
| JAMES MACULLA | PENNY ; the figures  $\frac{1}{2}$  are visible under the last word, and seem to have been stamped upon the die by mistake.

*Rev.* : I | PROMISE | TO PAY . THE | BEARER . ON |  
DEMAND 20 | PENCE . A . POU | ND . FOR . THESE ;  
in eight lines ; weight, 313·5 grains ; not milled on the edge.

17. *Obv.* : CASH . NOTES . VALUE . RECD . I . MACULLA,  
round a large fleur de lis.

*Rev.* : I PROMISE . 20 . SHILLINGS . POUND . STR. In the centre a figure of Justice standing between two pillars, in her right hand a sword erect, a balance in her left hand : the date 17 | 31 divided by the head of the figure ; weight, 169·5 grains ; milled on the edge like No. 15.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 10.

#### GILLFORD, CO: DOWN.

18: *Obv.* : LOUSE . RUN . FOR . EVER. A man on horse-back, galloping at full speed to the left ; a horse-shoe between 17 and 36, under the horse.

*Rev.* : . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | . BEARER . |  
THREE . PENCE | IN°. COCHRAN | GILLFORD |  
. 1736 . ; in eight lines ; weight, 143 grains.

Another copper token for three pence was issued in Lurgan ; and in 1736 silver tokens for three pence were issued in the towns of Portadown and Richhill, and in the city of Armagh.

In the year 1685, James the Second incorporated by charter "The Governor and Freemen of the Corporation of Horse Breeders in the county of Down."

## GLENARM, CO: ANTRIM,

19. *Obv.* : I . LIVE . IN . HOPE. In the centre an anchor and cable, a fleur de lis at each side of the shank, and 2 . P . under the anchor.

*Rev.* : . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
PENCE . HUGH | MOUNTGOMER<sup>r</sup> | GLENARM. |  
1736. in eight lines ; weight, 104 grains. See plate, fig. 4.

## KILLYLEAGH, CO: DOWN.

20. *Obv.* : BEWARE . OF . COUNTERFITS. A man standing on the right leg, and looking to the left, in his right hand an instrument like a mace . 2 . P under the left leg, which is bent upon the thigh.

: *Rev.* . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
| PENCE . JOHN | STEWART | KILLILEAGH | . 1735 . ,  
in eight lines ; weight, 116 grains.

Engraved in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," Vol. III., p. 174, plate, fig. 21. See also our Plate, fig. 3.

I have one which is smaller, and weighs only 79·5 grains. It is probably a forgery.

## LISBURN, CO: ANTRIM.

21. *Obv.* : . \* EDW<sup>p</sup>. SMYTH \* . ; under the family crest, unicorn's head, looking to the left.

*Rev.* : A small spread eagle with one head, between two small circles, with a dot in the centre of each.

I . . OWE . THE | . BEARER . | TWO . PENCE | LISBURN  
| . 1736 . , in five lines, ; weight 139·5 grains.

## LURGAN, CO: ARMAGH.

22. *Obv.* 2 P in front of the head of a stag, standing at gaze and looking to the left.

*Rev.* : . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
| PENCE . THO<sup>r</sup> | : O : BRIEN \* | LVRGAN | 1736,  
in eight lines ; weight, 146 grains. Mr. Benn has one of the same type ; the stag's head is smaller than on my coin, and the antlers have



each six branches, instead of four ; it weighs only 98 grains. See fig. 5.

23. *Obv.* : A horse's head, with bridle to the left under it ; 2 . P . under the head.

*Rev.* : I | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER | TWO .  
PENCE | IOS . WILSON | LVRGAN | 1735, in eight lines.

In the British Museum ; weight, 121 grains.

24. *Obv.* : 3 . P over a roll of linen, . THE . DRAPER . |  
. o o \* o o . under the roll.

*Rev.* : . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | . BEARER . |  
THREE . PENCE | IAM<sup>s</sup> . GREER | LURGAN | 1736,  
in eight lines ; weight, 175 grains.

#### MALLONE, CO. ANTRIM.

25. *Obv.* : WITH . COVNCILE . AND . COVRAGE . 2 . P , under a flying dolphin, with large back fin erect.

*Rev.* : . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
PENCE | AARON . KEAN | MALLONE | . 1735 . , in  
eight lines ; weight, 150·5 grains. .

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 17.

Upper Malone is a townland in the parish of Drumbeg, barony of Upper Belfast, in the county of Antrim. "Malone House" is marked on the Ordnance Sheet, No. 64.

#### NEWTOWN, CO. DOWN.

26. *Obv.* : o HOLD o | o FAST o , in two lines over a lion's full face, between two double-pointed flags, the heraldic colours—red and blue—being indicated by vertical and horizontal lines on each flag : on one flag the red is over the blue, on the other the blue is over the red. 2 \* P under the lion's face.

*Rev.* : . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
PENCE . WILL<sup>M</sup> . | M<sup>c</sup>QUOID . | NEWTOWN | 17 \* \* ,  
in eight lines. Weight, 96·5 grains.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, figs. 21 and 22, for reverse and obverse.

27. *Obv.*: IOHN | M<sup>c</sup>.CULLY above, and BREWER below, a cask which is between 2 and P.

*Rev.*: . I. | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | \* BEARER \* |  
TWO . PENCE | ON . DEMAND | IOHN . M<sup>c</sup>CULLY |  
NEWTOWN | ∴ 1761 ∴ ., in nine lines; weight,  
127·5 grains.

PORTAFERRY, CO. DOWN.

28. *Obv.*: I . COME . SPEED . 2 . P, under a three-masted ship sailing to the right.

*Rev.*: . I. | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
PENCE . IOHN | GALLOWAY | PORTAFERRY | . 1735 . ,  
in eight lines; weight, 106·5 grains.

Described in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," Vol. III., p. 174; and engraved in fig. 23 in plate of "Ulster Local Tokens."

The following advertisement is copied from the "Belfast News-Letter," 13th March, 1738-9 :—

"Whereas some Persons with a Dye and Press have counterfeited the Tickets put out by John Galloway of Portaferry Merchant, and sell them to several at half what they pass for. Now I do give this public notice to all persons who have any of my Tickets, that they bring them unto me, at any time before the first of May next (counterfeits excepted), and I will pay them in Gold or Silver, and will give two Guineas reward to any Person or Persons who will discover the Person or Persons that made these counterfeit Tickets with the Dye and Press, so as to be convicted of the said cheat."

"March 12th, 1738-9.

"JOHN GALLOWAY."

29. *Obv.*: TRUTH . OVER . COMES . 2 . P under a stag standing on three legs, and looking to the left.

*Rev.*: . I. | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER . TWO |  
PENCE . ROBT. | MILLER | PORTFEERY | 1736, in  
eight lines. Weight, 127 grains.

The word "Truth" on the obverse, and a few letters on the reverse of my coin, are obliterated. I have completed the legend from a duplicate in the possession of Mr. John Martin, of Downpatrick, in the year 1846.

#### DIVISION II.

Tokens without the name of the place where they were issued.

30. *Obv.* 2 . P over a greyhound running to the left.

*Rev.* I | PRO --- E | TO . - - - - - | B - - - - - .  
P, the other letters obliterated ; weight, 108.5 grains.

31. *Obv.* : A soldier standing, and looking to the left ; in his right hand a battle-axe, and a sword hanging on his right side ; 2 . P . to the right of the figure ; legend obliterated.

*Rev.* : . I . | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEAR -- . TWO |  
PENCE . ; the other letters obliterated ; weight, 125 grains.

32. *Obv.* : A kingfisher holding a fish with its bill.

*Rev.* : I | PROMISE | TO . PAY . THE | BEARER | ON DEMAND | TWO PENCE | THOMAS | FISHER, in eight lines ; weight, 79 grains.

I have another of the same type, but with smaller letters, and of superior workmanship, it weighs 67 grains.

Engraved in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon, fig. 16.

33. *Obv.* : I | PROMISE | TO PAY THE | BEARER ON | DEMAND TWO | PENCE FRAN | M<sup>c</sup>MINN | 1760, in eight lines ; weight, 134.5 grains.

*Rev.* : Appears to be blank ; but many of the letters of the inscription on the obverse are visible, as if cut in very delicate lines, and have been nearly obliterated by a blank die.

#### HALFPENCE.

34. *Obv.* : VOCE . POPULI, Laureated bust in profile to the right, without drapery ; P in front of the head.

*Rev.* : HIBERNIA.\* \* Figure of Hibernia seated, looking to the left; in her right hand an olive branch, in her left a spear, pointing backwards, a harp behind the figure. In the exergue 1760 ; weight, 135 grains.

Engraved in Lindsay's "View of the Irish Coinage," Supplement, Pl. 5, fig. 16.

I possess the following varieties of this type.

*Obv.* : P under the bust.

a. *Rev.* : Similar to No. 34, but from a different die ; weight, 139 grains.

- b. *Obv.* : A small cross (+) between *voce* and *populi*.  
*Rev.* : Two small crosses (+ +) after Hibernia, two annulets on the body of the harp ; weight, 127 grains.
- c. *Obv.* : Same as variety b.  
*Rev.* : One annulet and a flower on the body of the harp, no other difference ; weight, 103 grains.
- d. *Obv.* : Same as variety b.  
*Rev.* : HIBERNIA. Head of Hibernia between the letters E and R, *seven* strings to the harp ; weight, 108·5 grains.
- e. *Obv.* : . VOCE POPULI.  
*Rev.* : Similar to variety d ; *eight* strings to the harp ; weight, 102·5 grains.
- f. *Obv.* : VOCE POPULI. The word "voce" blundered, an o having been first put in, and a c then punched over it.  
*Rev.* : Similar to variety e ; the harp is broader ; weight, 127 grains.

## FARTHING.

- 35. *Obv.* : VOCE POPULI. Laureated bust in profile, to the right, without drapery.  
*Rev.* : HIBERNIA. Figure of Hibernia seated on a globe, looking to the left, in her right hand an olive branch, in her left a spear, behind the figure a harp ; weight, 72 grains. Another has smaller letters on the obverse, and the lower part of the bust is of a different form ; date 1760. The reverse is from the same die as No. 35 ; weight, 62·5 grains.

The following information respecting these halfpence and farthings occurs in a MS. Note on the back of page 77 of a copy of "Simon on Irish Coins," 4to, 1749, *penes* Sir William R. Wilde.

"For some years prior to 1760 very little copper money was struck for Ireland, which caused such a scarcity of small change that all sorts of base stuff was cast into pieces that passed for halfpence and farthings : this gave an opportunity to a Mr. Roche, of South King-street, Dublin (who struck metal buttons for the army) to issue copper halfpence and farthings, which was (*sic*) generally received in preference to the wretched sort then in circulation. The first sort he sent out was badly finished, and had on one side a head laureate, looking to the left, and for inscription VOX . POPULI ;

reverse Hibernia, sitting on a globe, holding a laurel branch in the right hand, and a spear in the left, with HIBERNIA round, in the exergue, the date 1760.

"The second sort that he issued was much neater, and better copper, with the inscription on the head side altered to VOCE POPULI. In the manuscript appendix is a farthing, No. 4; the halfpence were a larger size, and done in the same manner; however, on information being given to the then Lord Mayor of Dublin, the whole apparatus for striking the aforesaid coin was seized, and lodged in the Tholsel. Roche fled for the same."

I have never seen a token bearing the words vox POPULI, and the date 1760.

*List of Surnames which occur on these Tokens.*

Adair, . . . No.	1	McCully, . . . No.	27
Beith, . . . "	2	McMinn, . . . "	33
Brown, . . . "	12	McQuoid, . . . "	26
Cochran, . . . "	18	Maculla, . . . "	14, 15, 16, 17
Fisher, . . . "	32	Magarragh, . . . "	5, 6
Galloway, . . . "	28	Miller, . . . "	29
Greer, . . . "	24	Mountgomery, . . . "	19
Hall, . . . "	13	O'Brien, . . . "	22
Johnston, . . . "	3	Ringland, . . . "	7, 8, 9, 10
Kean, . . . "	25	Smyth, . . . "	21
Knox, . . . "	4	Stewart, . . . "	20
McClure, . . . "	11	Wilson, . . . "	23

*Current Value of these Tokens.*

1 Shilling, No. 17.	2 One penny, Nos. 10, 16.
2 Three pence, Nos. 18, 24.	4 One halfpenny, Nos. 3, 14, 15,
25 Two pence, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7,	34.
8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21,	1 One farthing, No. 35.
22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29,	—
30, 31, 32, 33.	35

*Dates on these Tokens.*

1728 Dublin, No. 14.	1736 Belfast, No. 5, 6.
1729 do. do. 15, 16.	„ Dromore, do. 13.
1731 do. do. 17.	„ Gillford, do. 18.
1734 Belfast, do. 7, 9, 10.	„ Glenarm, do. 19.
1735 Ballymena, do. 2.	„ Lisburn, do. 21.
„ Belfast, do. 4, 5, 6, 8.	„ Lurgan, do. 22, 24.
„ Ballylonaghan, do. 11.	1760 Dublin, do. 33, 34, 35.
„ Killileagh, do. 20.	1761 Newtown, do. 27.
„ Lurgan, do. 23.	Without date, Nos. 3, 12, 26, 30,
„ Mallone, do. 25.	31, 32; the dates on some of
„ Portaferry, do. 28, 29.	these have been obliterated.
1736 Ballymena, do. 1.	

*Counties, and Towns in each County. Antrim County.*

Ballymena, 1735, 1736.	Glenarm, 1736.
Belfast, 1734, 1735, 1736.	Lisburn, 1736.
Ballylonaghan, 1735.	Mallone, 1735.

*Armagh County.*

Lurgan, 1735, 1736.

*Down County.*

Dromore, 1736; Gillford, 1736; Killileagh, 1735; Newtown, 173, 1761; Portaferry, 1735.

*Dublin County.*

Dublin, 1728, 1729, 1731.

The five tokens in the Plate have been engraved from drawings by Aquilla Smith, M. D.

*On the Letter P on the "Voce Populi" halfpence.*

The meaning of the letter P before the face on one variety of these tokens, and the same letter under the bust on another variety, has given rise to a conjecture respecting its signification, which requires further examination.

No regal copper money having been coined for Ireland between the years 1755 and 1760, Pinkerton remarks—"In 1760, however, there was a great scarcity of copper coin in Ireland; upon which a society of Irish gentlemen applied for leave, upon proper conditions, to coin halfpence; which being granted, those appeared with a very bad portrait of George II., and VOCE POPULI around it. The bust bears a much greater resemblance to the Pretender; but whether this was a piece of waggery in the engraver, or only arose from his ignorance in drawing, must be left in doubt. Some say that these pieces were issued without any leave being asked or obtained." "Essay on Medals," New Edit., 8vo, 1789, Vol. II., p. 127. The notion that the bust on these tokens was that of the Pretender seems to have originated with Pinkerton; and Mr. Lindsay, writing in 1839, observes that the piece with the P before the face "illustrates Pinkerton's remark, that the portrait on these coins seems intended for that of the Pretender; it is a very neat coin, perhaps a pattern." "View of the Coinage of Ireland," p. 139.

Dr. Charles Clay, in Part III. of the "Proceedings of Manchester Numismatic Society," 4to, 1866, published "Remarks on the pieces called Vox POPULI," in which he dissents from Pinkerton and Lindsay, and observes that it is "absurd to suppose that P would be placed on a coin by the friends of the Pretender; for they would, of course, recognise him as *King*; George II. being in their eyes the

pretender to the crown of Great Britain ; hence the following lines, which were at the period almost in everybody's mouth :—

“ ‘ God bless our rightful King, the faith's defender ;  
 God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender ;  
 But who Pretender is, or who is King,  
 God bless my soul ! that's quite another thing. ’ ”

“ If the evidence is merely to rest on the letter P, it might just as easily be applied to Pope, Patrick, or Prince, or any other popular word begining with a P, as the Pretender,” page 56.

Dr. Clay also says—“ I would draw attention to a manuscript note found in a copy of Simon on ‘ Irish Coins,’ 4to, 1749 ; the note is signed “Wilde,” and dated September, 1760, and reads as follows :—“ Of late the public have been overrun by an inundation of base *halfpence*, which these coiners have been encouraged to make from the necessity the public have been under of giving them circulation” (p. 56).

As I furnished Dr. Clay with an accurate copy of the “ manuscript note,” I am bound to correct such errors as he has inadvertently fallen into. The name of the writer of the note is not known, and it is not signed “Wilde ;” but I added at foot of the copy that the original note was “ *penes* Sir William R. Wilde ;” it is not dated “ September, 1760,” nor does it contain the words, “ of late, &c.,” which must have been copied from some other document or extract. Notwithstanding Dr. Clay's strong expression of dissent from Pinkerton, he suggests that the effigy as a likeness is too youthful for that of George II. (who died in 1760, in the 77th year of his age) ; and on this ground alone could it be assigned either to the Pretender, or the prince (afterwards George III.) “ The latter view is more probable,” because that “ in all the many varieties of heads on these pieces there is but one that has the slightest resemblance to the Hanoverian line, and that is on the smallest type, or farthing size.” Having said so much in favour of a Pretender, he adds :—“ On the whole, I am inclined to believe the effigies were not intended for any particular person, but a mere fanciful idea, which could be applied as the public might think fit” (56–7).

Pinkerton's assertion that these pieces were coined by a society of Irish gentlemen was evidently founded on his knowledge of some of the numerous pamphlets which appeared for some years before and after 1760, and in which the establishment of a mint in Ireland had been frequently demanded; and his opinion that the portrait bears a much closer resemblance to the Pretender than to George II. was published in the first edition of his Essay, in 1784.

The particular account of the coiner given in the manuscript note disposes of Pinkerton's assertion; but his opinion as to the Pretender should not be altogether discredited, because it is the only and earliest opinion published as far as I know.

Mr. Lindsay's conjecture that the pieces with the letter P were patterns is not supported by an examination of the pieces, which are not as well executed or finished as patterns usually are.

Two pieces with the letter P (see Nos. 34 and 35), weigh respectively 135 and 139 grains, while of the other varieties one weighs only 102·5 grains: all the pieces which I have described are in fine preservation, whence it may be inferred that those with P were the first issued, and that the weight was reduced in the subsequent coinages, just as had been done by Wood 1722 to 1724.

Having now examined all the opinions and conjectures which have been advanced, it appears that Dr. Clay's arguments are more in favour of than against a Pretender, and it should not be overlooked that the laurated head seems to indicate royalty.

It is possible that Roche, or Roach, who coined these pieces, may have been a Jacobite, and introduced the letter P in accordance with his political leaning; and if the letter was intended to be a symbol of political feeling in Ireland, like the omission of the royal crown over the harp, which is so common in our own times, it may have given offence in some quarters, and led to the withdrawal from circulation of those pieces, which are comparatively rare; but until more satisfactory evidence can be adduced, the question, to use the words of Pinkerton, "must be left to doubt."

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## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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AT the GENERAL MEETING, held at the Apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October the 20th (by adjournment from the 7th), 1869,

RICHARD ROLT BRASH, Esq., M. R. I. A., in the Chair,

The following new Members were elected:—

John N. Bagnall, The Moss, Shenstone, near Lichfield ; Henry Munster, Esq., Abbeyview, Cashel ; John Thomas Blight, Esq., F. S. A., Penzance, Cornwall ; and William J. de Vismes Kane, Esq., M. R. I. A., Drumreask House, Monaghan : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Mrs. Delahunte, Superioress, Convent of St. Joseph, Ranelagh, Dublin ; and William Mac Dougall, Esq., Drumlech, Howth : proposed by Miss Stokes.

The Rev. Maxwell H. Close, M. A., M. R. I. A., Newtownpark, Blackrock, county Dublin : proposed by W. H. S. Westropp, Esq.

The Rev. Mr. Tommins, O. S. F., The Friary, Walkinstreet, Kilkenny : proposed by J. G. Roberston, Esq.

Richard L. Whitty, Esq., 24, Merrion-street, Dublin : proposed by the Rev. N. R. Brunskill.

The Rev. James O'Laverty, P. P., M. R. I. A., Holywood, county Down ; proposed by Thomas O'Gorman, Esq.

David Wilson, Esq., Ballymoney : proposed by William Gray, Esq.

Arthur A. Hill, Esq., B. E., A. R. I. B. A., 22, George's-street, Cork : proposed by T. R. Lane, Esq.

George Zair, Esq., Elm-Field, Highgate, Birmingham : proposed by R. Day, Esq.

Henry S. Noblett, Esq., Ashton-place, Cork : proposed by Henry Hill, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :

An ancient guard ring, or ferule, of gilt bronze, found in the interior of St. Canice's Cathedral: presented by the Rev. James Graves.

A large number of worked flint flakes, from the drift of the North of Ireland : presented by Mrs. Du Noyer, on the part of her late husband, G. V. Du Noyer, Esq.

Mr. R. Malcomson, Carlow, sent for exhibition some interesting objects, thus described in his letter accompanying them :—

"1. A very highly finished and exquisitely polished stone celt, picked up by a peasant boy in digging at a place called Tristia, in the county of Mayo, during the present autumn. 2. The official seal of Thomas Sisson, a notary public of Dublin, in the reign of Charles II., with the date of 1671. A wax impression from the seal accompanies it, which may be deposited in the Museum if deemed worth preservation. 3. A crucifix found at Thurles, county of Tipperary. I am desirous of having the opinion of the Members as to the use and probable age of this last relic. The material is copper; but it had evidently been gilt and enamelled, and a portion of the blue enamel still adheres to it; when discovered, I believe it was perfect in that respect, but having been given as a plaything to children by its finder, the 'delph,' as he called it, was broken off by them. It would also seem to have been thoroughly gilt, as portions of the gilding are discernible on the joints and arms of the cross. It appears to have been intended as a processional cross, as it is supplied at the base with a tongue or point to fit it to a socket, or attach it to a staff."

The Rev. John L. Darby observed, that the cross had a very Eastern look, and what confirmed him in this view was the Greek monogram for the names of the Redeemer above the Crucifixion, viz., X. P. Σ., I. H. Σ, for ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ.

The impression of some of the Members present was, that it resembled ancient Russian work. It might have been brought home by a soldier from the Crimea, and lost in the county of Tipperary.

The Right Hon. General Dunne, of Brittas, Queen's County, sent the following communication, addressed to the Rev. James Graves, Hon. Secretary :—

"I think it will be interesting to you to hear that some days since workmen, who have been employed in raising what is known here by the name of 'red mine,' in a bog on my property, found some very old wooden instruments, the purpose of which is not easily conjectured. They are apparently cut out of a solid piece of oak, with handles about six feet

long, and a broad piece of wood attached, like a hoe, or Italian zappa, but much broader, while the centre of this hoe is considerably hollowed. The workmanship does not appear to be very rude. There were others which I have not yet seen, formed like corn shovels; and there are some pieces of wood, bored as if by an auger, also a barrel of well-formed staves, which fell to pieces—not having been bound by a hoop, but kept together by dowells of wood.

"There seems to have been some *enceinte* here, which was surrounded by a staked fence, fixed in the solid soil of the bog. I am not at all aware of any peculiar tradition about this spot, and at first was inclined to think it one of those traps into which I believe they used to drive the large deer, consisting of a long lane of staked lines, and at the end a boggy circle, where they could attack and kill them—for many of the skulls of the Irish elks appear to have been broken in the forehead, which could be easily effected when the animal was imbedded in the mud, and there were boards found on which his assailants might walk with safety. These instruments might have been used in preparing this muddy place of reception for the deer; for, being hollowed and broad, they would seem to be adapted to work in some soft, if not nearly liquid place. But this is an hypothesis that merely occurs to me, for the enclosure is placed on the margin of the deep bog, and the oak wood and brushwood reach down to it. If, therefore, the wood was driven by a number of men, the deer would run into this, and probably other traps, and be forced at the end to tumble into the prepared muddy end, from which they could not extricate themselves."

Major Richard Dunne had subsequently written as follows to the Secretary:—

"I believe my brother (General Dunne) has informed you of some curious wooden implements found in a bog near this, his property. They appear to me extremely old, rare, and curious. They have been deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. I would be much obliged if you would give me your opinion as to the period—year, I mean, as near as possible—when the forests of Ireland, which abut on all the bogs, were destroyed; and by what agency. I find the char, or marks of fire, on nearly all the butts of old trees on the edges or margins of bogs; showing, in my mind, that fire was the agency employed. Then, if it was so, how is it possible that each tree could be individually burned through only at the base, as fir trees stand very close in general, and I conceive it would take years to burn down one large tract of timber by fire in this manner. There is in general a piece burned out—say about one or two feet—above the roots of the tree. No axe or hatchet marks are ever found to have been used for cutting down those trees. I tried to burn down a beech tree some years ago, and put about three kishes of turf at its base, but it failed to burn it down. It got deeply charred, and that was all."

Mr. Graves said that the question proposed by Major Dunne was one that had long puzzled him. This mode of felling trees must have been practised before iron, or even bronze, axes were invented, as no one who could command the use of a metal axe would use so slow and ineffectual a

means as fire. In his opinion, this process of felling timber by fire must be placed far back in the Neolithic age; but who could tell when that age ended in Ireland?

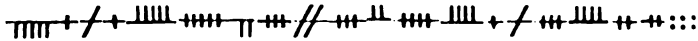
The Chairman read the following notes, correcting some errors in a former paper of his:—

“In my paper entitled ‘Ogham Readings,’ published in the October number, 1868, of our ‘Journal,’ I attempted a rendering of the principal inscription at Ardmore (see p. 177, *supra*), and read it as follows:—

‘Lugud ecc as maqi,’ &c.,

‘Lugud died, and (he was) the son of,’ &c.

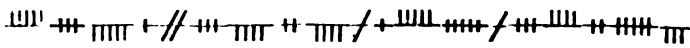
I must acknowledge that I was somewhat doubtful as to the correctness of this rendering, having a strong suspicion that all the characters preceding the word *maqi* formed one proper name; but, inasmuch as the letters *ecc* form a word purely Irish, meaning *death*, and as other gentlemen, in whose judgment I had confidence, so interpreted it, I merged my doubts in what I considered their superior judgments. Since then, I have had reason to fall back on my original opinion, by finding the name *Lugudeca* upon another stone. I allude to one of a group of five monuments discovered, I believe, by Mr. W. Williams, in a half-erased Cilleen, at Kilgravan, near Dungarvan, and which bears the following:—

  
 N A M A Q I L U G U D E C A M U C O I ...

‘Na, the son of Lugudeca, the swineherd.’

The above inscription occupies the entire length of the stone, the first letter being close to the bottom, which has all the appearance of fracture, so that the name I have given as *Na* may in truth be the termination of a longer name, though such short, abrupt names are common both in Irish history and on these monuments, as I have already demonstrated. This second example will, I think, be decisive, in settling the name on the Ardmore stone.

“I have also to correct a similar mistake made by me in reference to the Glounagloch inscription, in the same paper, at page 169, where I read it as ‘Cunagus os Uma,’ i. e. ‘Cunagusos on this grave.’ The true reading I believe to be *Cunagusos Uma*,’ i. e. ‘Grave of Cunagusos.’ I have been led to this rectification, by finding the name *Cunagusos*, on an inscription at Aghaliskey. On the townland of Aghaliskey, county of Cork, is a large circular rath, in the souterrain of which Mr. Zachariah Hawkes, of Monees, discovered two inscribed stones, being the lintels of the entrance passage. I copied these inscriptions on April 16th, 1868, when I had the good fortune to discover a third inscription of great interest. That to which I now refer was one of those found by Mr. Hawkes, which I copied as follows:—

  
 Q U N A G U S O S M A Q I M U C O I F

This reads 'Cunagusos Maqi Mucoi F,' i. e. 'Cunagusos, the son of the swineherd F.'; it may be that the F is the first letter of the name of the swineherd, as this inscription is exactly in the same form as that on the stone at Lisheen-na-Greine, described by me in the January Number of this year, page 260.

"At all events, we have the name *Cunagusos*, the finding of which authorizes me to make this correction. Continued investigation has convinced me that Ogham inscriptions are their own best interpreters; and that until all the texts of this class are collected together, and submitted to a comparative analysis by a competent scholar, whose qualifications must be beyond that of a mere linguist, no satisfactory solution of the mystery in which they are involved will be arrived at."

Mr. Charles Butler Stoney gave an account of an old road, formed of planks of bog oak placed side by side, as in the American "corduroy roads," discovered leading through a bog near Portland, in the county of Tipperary. He was informed by a peasant of the locality, that about a quarter of a mile of the road had been dug away in cutting turf, and only about four perches of it were now apparent in an angle of cut-away bog; but he thought it probable that the road was carried on to the Shannon, through the callow land which intervenes between the bog and river, which an excavation would determine. The land was the property of Lord Clanricarde.

Mr. Thomas Drew, A. R. H. A., Architect, sent the following account of concentrically incised stones, found in the counties of Dublin and Wicklow :—

"Many persons who are interested in the concentric ring markings, of remote antiquity, found on natural rock faces and hewn stones in different parts of the kingdom, may not be aware that within easy reach of Dublin exist remarkable specimens scattered over a particular district.<sup>1</sup>

"The district referred to is on the borders of the counties of Dublin and Wicklow, not far from Bray; and the stones bearing these inscriptions (?) are found in the vicinity of sundry old churches, used either as grave-stones, or in the construction of the ancient building.

"Selecting from the Ordnance Map the sites of five ancient churches within the compass of an easy day's walk from Bray, the author found, with some surprise, that three out of the five yielded curious and well-defined specimens of these ring-marked stones, leading to the not unnatural conjecture that a more widely extended exploration would discover still more in the same district of country. The first and most interesting

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of markings of a similar character will be found in previous volumes of the Society's "Journal;" as well as in a Plate illustrative of the Cemetery

of New Grange, as also in that representing one of the Cairns of Slieve-na-Cuillagh, county Meath, in the "Journal" for the years 1864-65.

specimen is that found at a little ruined church, marked on the Ordnance Map, 'St. Kevin's Well and Church,' situated at Ballyman, in the valley in which the Bray river has its rise, about one mile and a half from Enniskerry. This stone, in remarkably good preservation and clearly cut, is used as the inside lintel of a window on the south side of the church; the sculptured face being downwards, and at all times visible. In the Plate which faces this page, the dotted lines show the position of the jambs and back of the window-head as they originally existed, and therefore enclose that portion of the 'pattern' which was exposed to view when the window was in a perfect state; consequently, it will be observed, although the double series of circles have been disposed with an apparent regard to symmetry of arrangement looked at as an ornament to the head of the window, the portions of the sculptured surface imbedded in the wall at each end put it beyond matter of doubt that the stone was so marked for some other purpose before the church builders appropriated it for this—the roughest and readiest means of covering an opening.

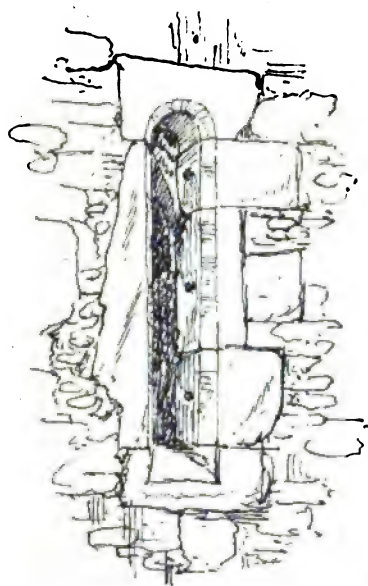
"The stone is a fairly tooled and squared flag, about two inches thick, of granite, and so differing from the material of the general masonry of the church; it is also weather-worn at the edges, but not to any very marked extent. That it stood the storm and rain of many a year before being applied to its present use, cannot be questioned; and even an approximate guess as to how long it may have done so might be hazarded; but, in conjecturing the limit of its antiquity, the most difficult point to arrive at is the age of the church itself in which it is found. There is no architectural detail which would throw any light on the question but the East window here illustrated—round arched—which some persons would at once pronounce to be indicative, at least, of its belonging to a certain period; but, is it so?"

"It is submitted, with all respect for better antiquaries, that the semi-circular arch in churches of this class proves absolutely nothing as to date. A little church on Bray Head presents an exact fac-simile of this east window of St. Kevin's at Ballyman, in dimensions and almost every other respect, so that it could scarcely be doubted that the two are contemporaneous, and the work of the same builders. The Bray church preserves some remains of the door dressings, of simple character, chamfered, and neither indicative one way or the other of remote antiquity or the reverse. Again, the arches over the east windows of both, internally, are constructed with flat lintels and flat discharging arches, suggestive in their aspect of a late style of building; and with this additional fact, that the lintel at St. Kevin's has been of timber (larch), an accurate cast or matrix of which is preserved in the mortar, and some of which timber, in spite of exposure to the weather for centuries, still remains, and can be removed by the handful. The question naturally arises, taking into consideration the tenaciously conservative character of the Irish church builders—a subject on which a chapter has yet to be written—do round-headed arches, as contradistinguished from pointed ones, go for anything *per se* in determining the age of an Irish church? It may be mentioned, that it is the opinion

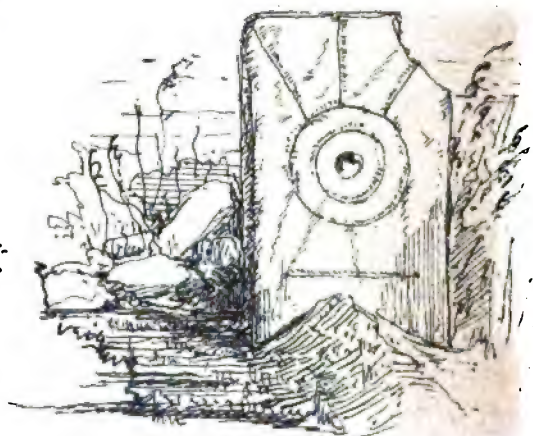
<sup>1</sup> The present church of Ballyman is certainly *not older* than the middle of the 13th century. But the ancient *lios* or *caiséal*, which surrounded the churchyard,

till about fifteen years ago, points to the existence of a very ancient church on the same site. Dalton calls the Ballyman valley "Glannunder."—C.

Thomas Stur. Const.  
1869.



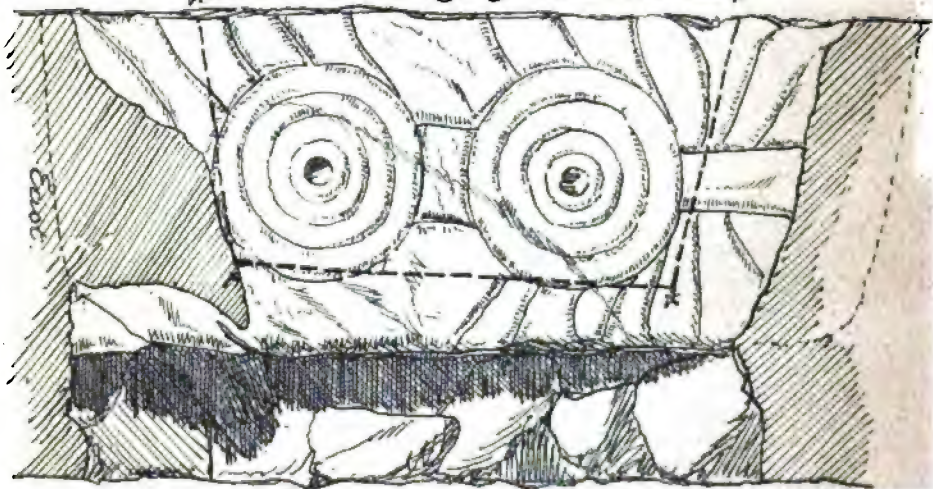
E. Window. S. Kevin's.



Gravestone. Killegar Church.

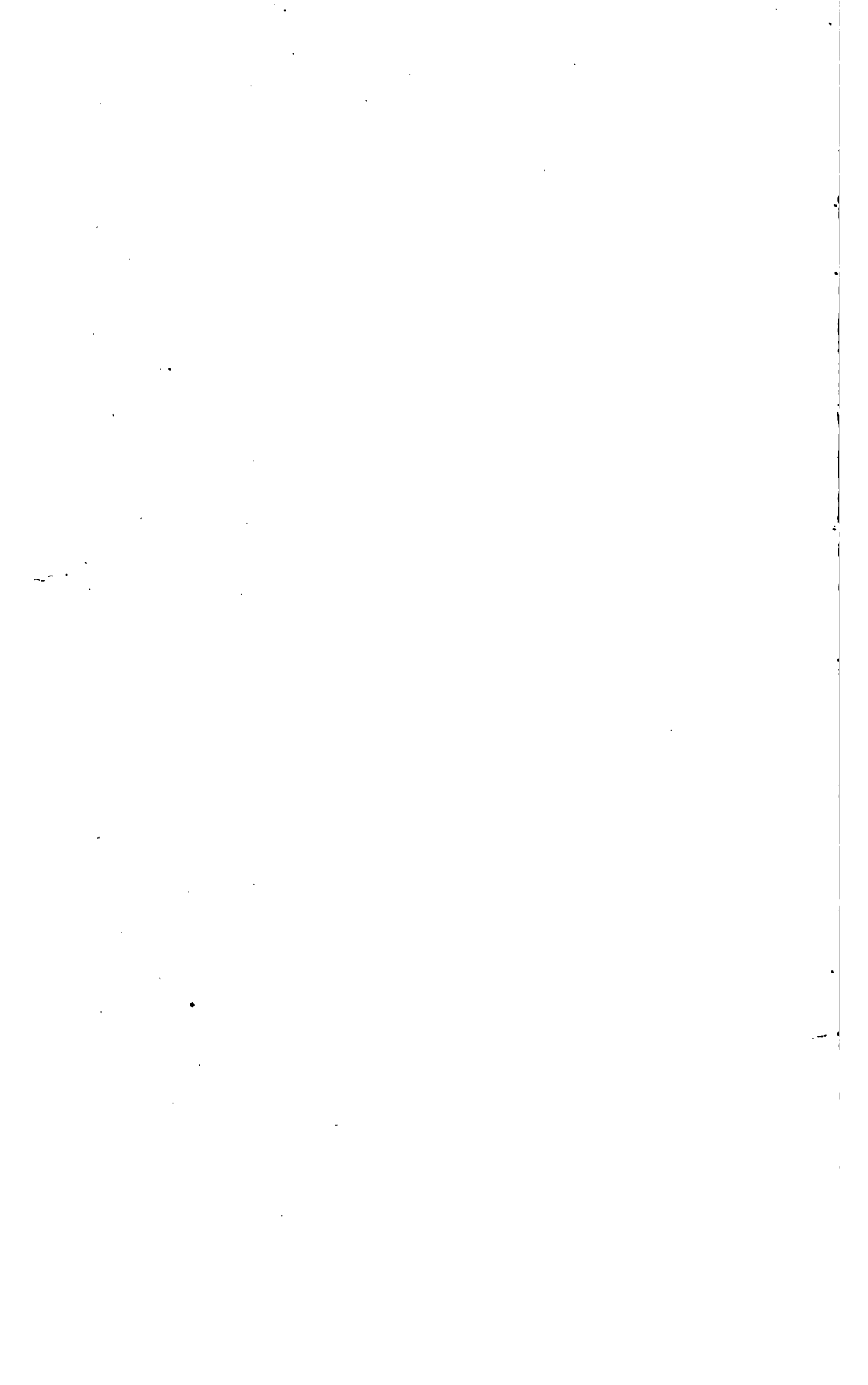
Inside.

3' 0"



Outside.

Stone used as a window-jintel. S. Kevin's near Enniskerry.





of the eminent Dr. Reeves, that these churches are of considerable antiquity, antecedent to the English invasion—a fact somewhat borne out by the difficulty of identifying them with any of those enumerated in Dr. Reeves's recent 'Analysis of the Dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough.' Nevertheless, there is nothing to prove that they may not have been built by the warlike Turloch O'Toole, in the reign of Henry VIII., in the joy of his heart at being left a short term of peace and quietness in these his possessions.

"Following up the course of the river, and passing almost immediately Annahasky Church' (a heap of stones which may contain further 'specimens'), and crossing over the ridge of land lying between the beautiful valley just traversed and that of the Cookstown river, Killegar Church is reached, at a distance from the last of about half a mile. Here is found the stone shown in the illustration. It is now used as the headstone of a modern grave. It is a tooled and squared stone, similar in these respects to the last. The cup-like hollow is surrounded with two circles, the most noteworthy features in which it differs from those hereafter referred to being the radiating lines, accurately disposed towards the corners and the centre of the top of the stone, and also the horizontal line beneath. It may be remarked that this church is of considerable dimensions, consisting of a nave and chancel, and wears an aspect of most remote antiquity, suggestive, in its characteristic masonry, of the churches of Glendalough. Was it the mother church of the chapels in the adjoining valley? and is its masonry, differing in materials from theirs, characteristic of Irish building antecedent to the English invasion?

"The next examples of incised stones to which attention is directed have, the author has recently been told, been noticed before,<sup>2</sup> and are found at the ancient churchyard of Rathmichael (where there are remains of a round tower), about half a mile from the Shankill station of the Dublin and Wicklow Railway. Here stones similar to that at Killegar exist in considerable numbers, used as headstones, built into walls, as steps to stiles—some unmarked, and about half a dozen marked in a manner exactly similar to the Killegar stone, with the exception of the omission of the radiating lines and horizontal one. This, then, may be accepted as the normal or most ordinarily occurring type of this inscription, whatever its import may have been. It may be noted that the long lintel over the east window bears a strong resemblance to that at Ballyman. It is not impossible that its upper side, on which the masonry rests, may be circle-marked.

"It may be reasonably conjectured that all these stones so marked, being found in one district, point to the former existence of some ancient pagan cemetery of extent—some *leabuidh Diarmida agus Grainne*, similar to those flag-built ones figured in the earlier 'Transactions' of the Association, from which these stones have been carried away. Is the site of the cemetery to be looked for at the neighbouring cromleacs of Kiltiernan or Glen Druid? and will the enterprise of antiquarian pedestrians add to those here noticed any further specimens in this neighbourhood, which may aid

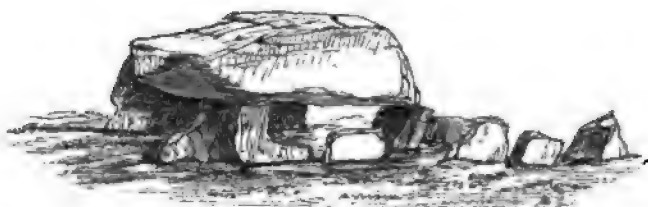
<sup>1</sup> Or Annahaskin. *Ath-na-h-easquinne*, the ford of the eel. The passage over the Ballyman river, in this townland, is locally called "Eel Ford."—C.

<sup>2</sup> See a paper by Bishop Graves in the "Transactions" of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxiv., Antiquities, p. 428; and "Proceedings" R.I.A., vol. viii., p. 61.

in throwing some light on the mystery which envelopes these old world records? for such one cannot but feel they are."

G. Henry Kinahan, M. R. I. A., Hon. Provincial Secretary for Connaught, sent the following Paper on Megalithic structures near Cleggan Bay, county Galway :—

"On the north shore of Cleggan Bay, on a cliff over the sea, and a little south-west of Cleggan House, is a peculiar megalithic structure, called on the Ordnance Map a cromleac. From the accompanying elevation and plan, it may be seen that its western part is extremely like one class



Cromleac near Cleggan Bay.



Sketch plan of cromleac near Cleggan Bay.

of the true cromleacs. That it could scarcely ever have been a kistvaen in a *carn*, *mur*, *dumha*, or *tuam*,<sup>1</sup> seems proved by there being in its vicinity no stones or earth, that originally could have been used to cover up the structure. The structure in contiguity with it, on the east, would also seem to point to its not having been erected for a sepulchral purpose. The covering of this eastern structure (if we suppose it once had one) has been removed—perhaps broken up for building purposes, or, what is just as probable, toppled over the cliff into the sea.

"In different places in the south and west of Ireland, I have observed cromleac-like structures that, probably, originally may have been kistvaens, or sepulchral stone boxes, inside a *carn* or *mur*, for in their vicinity

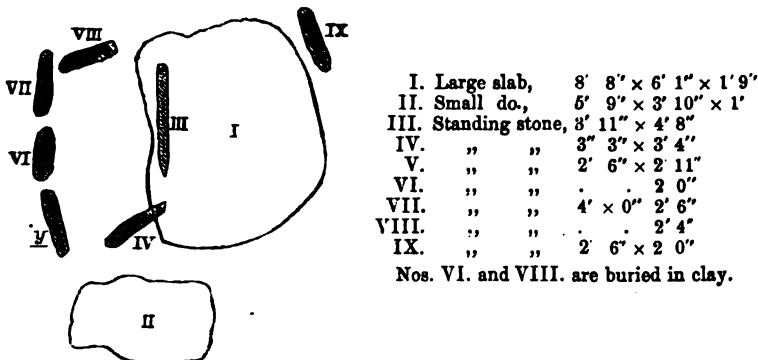
<sup>1</sup> Petrie explains *mur* and *mumha*, or *duma*, as "a sepulchral mound of earth," while O'Donovan says *tuam* or *tuam*

means "mound or tumulus of earth," and *carn*, "a sepulchral or monumental mound of loose stones."

was a quantity of either stones or earth that possibly was the *debris* of the monument, cast aside when the sepulchre was opened and probably rifled. A structure, an example of this class, occurs four miles north of Athenry, county Galway, where there is a stone box, opening towards the west, which evidently was a kistvaen, for only part of the earthen mound or *mur* has been removed from above and about it. Another example is a structure on the hills northward of Scariff, Co. Clare. The latter is very similar to one of the cromleacs supported on pillars, yet I believe it was a kistvaen; for in its vicinity is a quantity of earth, evidently artificially collected there, and probably the *debris* of the sepulchral mound.

"In the barony of Burren, county Clare, there are in different places cromleac-like structures. These could never have been inclosed in either stone or earthen mounds, as they are erected on the bare limestone crags; neither do I think that they were true cromleacs or altars, but *fosleacs*, or dwellings formed of flags. A fine example was observed on the west slope of a hill a few miles northward of Corrofin. I visited this building with my old friend and colleague, the late Mr. F. J. Foot, and we both were struck with its house-like appearance; the limestone slabs being nicely fitted together, leaving but one aperture, two feet wide, being roofed with a slab nearly fourteen feet square; and this is the usual type of all the so-called cromleacs in the Burren district.

"To the east of Cleggan Bay, immediately west of Ballynakill lough, and a little south-west of Shanboolard Hall, is a structure which is partially dismantled; for one of the covering slabs lies on the ground a little to the south, while the larger one has been pushed off towards the east, its eastern side now resting on the ground, while the western leans on the east

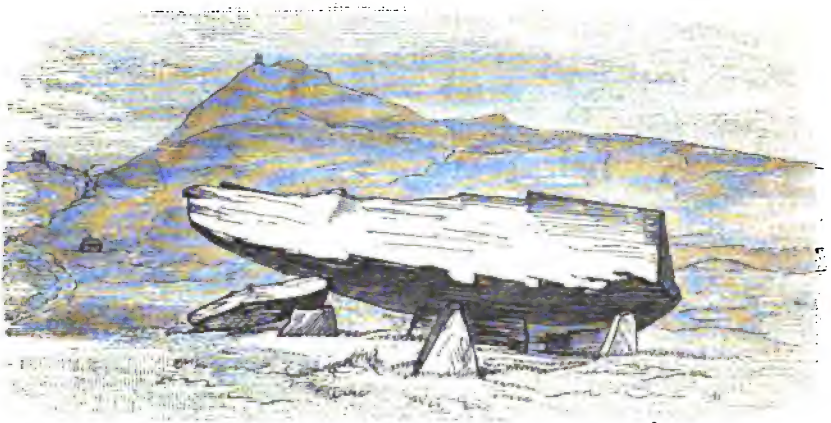


MEGALITHIC STRUCTURE, WEST OF BALLYNAKILL LOUGH.

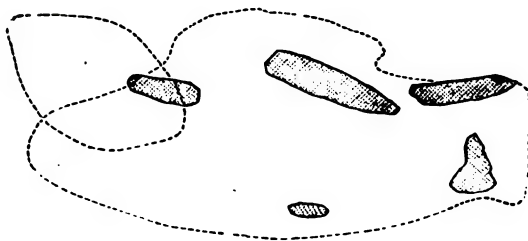
pillar, as shown in the accompanying ground plan, for which I am indebted to my colleague, H. Leonard, F.R.G.S.I. This erection ranges nearly north and south, having three pillars to the west, one to the east, and one respectively north and south. Both of the latter are oblique to the side pillars, the former branching from the west wall, and the latter from the east, while a little to the north-east of the structure is an isolated pillar. This building might possibly have been the chamber in a *mur* or *dumha*, as there seems to be the *debris* of an earth

mound in its vicinity; however, its north and south bearing may be against this supposition, as kistvaens usually run nearly east and west. Its having two covering flags favours the idea of its being a cromleac, for that is a form not unusual among such structures [see Mr. Du Noyer's Paper, 'Journal,' Vol. iv., 2nd series, pp. 479, 480.] The space inclosed within the pillars is now filled with clay.

"South of Cleggan, on the east shore of Sellerna Bay, is a structure locally called *Leaba Diarmuid*. It seems to be of a type different from that of either of the structures previously described, as, apparently, it belongs to the class for which the name 'primary' or 'earth fast cromleac' was proposed by the late Mr. Du Noyer, in the Paper already quoted. The accompanying sketch of its south elevation, and the ground plan, explain its nature. There were two flattish slabs placed sloping on pillars, the



South view of Leaba Diarmuid at Sellerna, Jar Connaght.



Plan of Leaba Diarmuid.

north side of the larger one (which measures ten feet by five) overlapping the north pillars, thereby causing the north-east part to rest on the ground. The uprights are five in number: two at the south side, and three towards the north, and the latter were placed on edge, causing them to be low, while the southern are on end, and much higher, thereby giving the

slope to the large flag. Moreover, resting on the pillar at the north-east, with a slope to the north-west, is the smaller slab, its south-east end forming the support for the west end of the larger slab. The use of this second slab is not apparent, for, seemingly, it would have been much easier to have rested the large slab on the pillars. That this structure was not the kistvaen of a sepulchral monument would appear probable, as there are no stones or clay in its vicinity that could have formed a mound over it; and on account of its shape it is not probable it could have been either a *fosleac* or a *ligaitreabh*.

"If, as is possible, the first of these structures in the vicinity of Cleggan Bay was a *fosleac*, and the second a kistvaen, it would appear remarkable that, in this neighbourhood, there should be representatives of three distinct classes of megalithic structures. However, it is possible they may be all cromleacs. It should be mentioned, that eastward, between Cleggan Bay and Kylemore lough, on nearly every hill in the valley there is a *gallaun*, or standing stone, but on none of them does there seem to be any kind of carving or writing characters."

The Rev. William Kilbride, Aran Island, Galway, sent the following remarks on the "Feath Fiadha," or St. Patrick's Hymn, of Mr. O'Beirne Crowe, A. B.:—

"The 'Journal' for April, 1869, contains two articles from Mr. O'Beirne Crowe, the one entitled the 'Faeth Fiadha,' which he translates the 'Guardsmen's Cry,' and the other on the 'Beliefs of the Pagan Irish.' This latter subject, no doubt, would be an important one for investigation, as any increase of knowledge on the worship, practices, and customs of the ancient Irish would be of service to us in the present day. We should thereby gain an insight into their prevailing beliefs, and the hopes and fears which actuated them; and through this insight we might further be enabled to see what remains of the past beliefs and superstitions have descended to the present, and become commingled with the practices still adhered to; as well as to learn what may have been discarded or else corrupted in their passage down through by-gone ages.

"Such an insight, too, would be of material advantage in enabling the ethnological, as well as the antiquarian, student, to compare the religious beliefs and practices of the Pagan Irish with those observed by the other members of the great Aryan family; and thus to note the points of difference and agreement between them—when hopes might reasonably be entertained of solving many difficulties which now bar the way of progress.

"Mr. Crowe's essay on this subject would be of great service if the facts, as stated by the oldest authorities, were fully presented to your readers. But he should remember that passages divorced from their contexts often lead to error.

"Deferring, however, for the present, comments on the 'Beliefs of the Pagan Irish,' I wish to direct attention more especially to Mr. Crowe's translation of, and notes on, the *Faeth Fiadha*, more generally known as Patrick's Hymn. It is not my desire, neither would it suit me, to criticize harshly, or in any way depreciate, his laudable effort in the cause of Irish literature. Irishmen should aid and assist each other in such a noble work; and

even when from the force of circumstances they may be arrayed in opposite—not in hostile—camps, they still can treat each other with forbearance, and rejoice when the right is maintained. Such is the attitude I now assume.

"But truth is paramount, and her leading should be followed, and her triumph contended for. Mr. Crowe, I am sure, will impute any seemingly harsh words of mine to this motive, and not be offended with them.

"The reprint of a work already published four times, as Mr. Crowe informs us, should have something solid to recommend it—something superior by which it might be distinguished from its predecessors. Without some merit to counterbalance any mistakes or defects found in them, another translation was, in my opinion, uncalled for; and, above all, it should not have been ushered in as if it alone was perfect, and free from all those blemishes which might be found in the previous ones.

"Now, Mr. Crowe's translation, as far as I can see, differs very little from those mentioned by him; and where it differs, no improvement, but rather the contrary, appears.

"*Ódíl*, which Mr. Crowe translates as 'elementation,' is very doubtful. Dr. Todd, following Dr. O'Donovan, I believe, considered it synonymous with *díl* = dear or beloved; and in this the context, or rather the preceding '*díleir*,' bears him out. *Díleir* signifies Creator of the elements, just as *odíleir* means the distributor, and hence is used as the term for 'butler.' To take *odíl*, then, for *díl*, and translate it as such, would be a rather unpardonable tautology. But even supposing that it should be thus taken, yet Mr. Crowe's rendering it by the term, 'elementation,' would be decidedly wrong, as it means the elements in their concrete, and not in their abstract, state. From this it can be plainly perceived that *díleir* means the Creator of the elements, and not the *elementer*; and to translate '*odíl*' as the gen. plural of '*díl*,' would be an unmeaning tautology.

"Mr. Crowe likewise, in his translation of the Hymn, omits altogether the following sentence:—'*ppí dub-peccu geinchiucca*,' 'against the black laws of gentilism,' and mistranslates the following one, namely—'*ppí raob-peccu hepetecba*,' by substituting 'the black laws of heretics' for what should be the *doting* or *silly laws*, &c. *Saob* never meant *black*, but anything insinuating, and at the same time foolish, and which tends to blindfold people.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Crowe's translation has, in my opinion, some other defects which

<sup>1</sup> There can be but little doubt that the whole of the sixth section is an interpolation, or addition to the Hymn.

<sup>2</sup> In the *pempocul*, or preface, he also commits some blunders. He translates '*innitheim léir*' 'with pious contemplation in God.' Now, *léir* is not pious, but open, manifest, or evident. Neither does '*comna*' mean 'safe-guard,' but simply help or assistance. Again, he translates '*ap a óiun ó Loegaire*,' &c., 'Patrick sang this the time the ambuscaders were given in front of him from Loegaire.' This translation is not only hazy but

faulty, and moreover conveys a wrong idea. It contains two idiomatic phrases, namely, *an can*—'when,' and *ap a óiun*, which is almost untranslatable, but means anything placed, or sent to a place, so as to be in readiness, beforehand. In fact, here it agrees with "Patrick," as something awaiting his approach. What Mr. Crowe means by "were given in front of him" I do not know, but it is certainly different from the Irish. The next sentence commencing, "*Conib añ pín atcheppa go*," is rather unfortunately translated. The word *piab* occurs there, but what is its

must be passed over at present, as I wish to notice more particularly a few Irish words, out of many, and the notes attached to them.

"These are as follows, in the order in which they occur:—*Átcompuiḡ*, ḡḡḡḡ, áne, cōcuiḡiur, ḡḡḡḡ, a pachuillu, i liur, i riur, in epur. There are several others well deserving consideration, but the above are sufficient, as illustrations, to show the difficulty of reaching the truth in the matter of old words.

"*Átcompuiḡ* is the first of these words. I need not, however, follow Mr. Crowe's disquisitions on its meaning or composition, as given in his note. They seem to me rather overstrained, and leave it as much unsettled as ever. Dr. O'Donovan supposed it to have been an obsolete form of *Tearhár* = 'Tarah,' and so translated it. What strengthened him, no doubt, in this conclusion, was the general tenor and wording of the preface to the Hymn, which informs us of the time when, and the place where, it was composed. The preface further declares that Patrick was its author. Dr. Petrie followed Dr. O'Donovan, and translated it as he had done.

Dr. Todd, however, dissatisfied with this rendering, translated the word as if compounded of *a-dom-riug* = 'I bind to myself.' In this he was consistent, as the word can be divided into these several syllables,<sup>1</sup> without a single change in one of the letters, except that of 'ḡ' for 'c,' which is frequent in Irish. There are some examples, too, for the correctness of the grammatical construction of the word; and, more than all, each syllable forms a perfect word, and the whole will, when translated, be found bearing a satisfactory sense, consistent with the passage of which it forms a part.

"Now, Mr. Crowe follows the clue thus given, although he wishes it to be understood otherwise. He makes, however, some curious alterations of his own, and, not satisfied with Dr. Todd's three syllables, he must make four, as follows, *ad-dom-ro-iug*; thus capriciously adding two more letters, and also one syllable, to the original word. Such licence should not, and ought not, to be conceded, unless necessity absolutely compels it. No such necessity existed in the present case. Besides, what does 'ad' mean; and, what authority is there for separating the 'r' from 'riug,' and then forming it most capriciously, and without warrant of any kind, into the syllable 'ro.' Dr. Todd, if not correct in his mode of dealing with '*a-dom-riug*,' yet evinced judgment in not twisting the word, merely to suit his own whim and fancy, and making it speak such language as he thought it should.

"Mr. Crowe, to strengthen his case, quotes a sentence from O'Cleary, in which the word *Átcompuiḡ* occurs; and this he seems to consider as equivalent to, or a derivative from, '*Compuiḡ*,' and so he translates it *religion*. I wonder whether he has ever heard the word *Compuiḡ*, from a native. Perhaps he would translate this, too, as meaning '*religion*;' and also as a derivative from '*Compuiḡ*.' If so, he would egregiously err. The word is a very common one, and is applied

meaning? Is it "before" or "band?" It can signify neither in this place. But if it is to be thus rendered here, what becomes of it in *paeth piab*, which Mr. Crowe renders "Guardman's Cry?"

<sup>1</sup> I do not agree with Doctor Todd's division or interpretation. There is no necessity for the former. I only cite his authority to prove that the word can be so divided.

to anything when found in its own proper form and state, when, according to analogy, it should have been otherwise. But it never means 'religion.' Perhaps this was the word O'Cleary used with the syllable 'at' prefixed, which has the same meaning as *re* in *re-formation*, and *re-new*. Neither has this word even the remotest connexion with *Compiug*, as it is compounded of *Cum* = shape, form, and *pioc* = state, condition; and these joined together, with the prefix *at*, would then mean a change from a present into another state or condition.

In conclusion, on this word "*Compiug*," I may merely state, that it seems closely connected with a verb now frequently used as a blessing, when people bid farewell to each other. It is as follows: *go g-cum-piug dia buic*.<sup>1</sup> This seems somewhat more like the verb *compiug* than any of the others. It has the advantage, too, of being a word in common use, and requiring no dissecting knife to extract a meaning from it. The only change demanded is the simple one, namely, of substituting a *c* for the initial *p*; but, as this is only a conjecture, like the rest, I leave it for the consideration of others.

*Graob* is the next word on which Mr. Crowe comments. It need not delay us long. *Graob* with the *sineadh fada* or accent over the *a*, which lengthens the vowel, and causes it to be pronounced as *graw* in English, means love; whereas *graob* without this accent, is pronounced something like *groy*, and signifies rank or degree. It is the common term now in use for a collegiate *degree*. Now Mr. Crowe very curiously has this word with the accented *a*, which undeniably is 'love,' while, at the same time, he translates it as if unaccented. This certainly is very inconsistent.

"*Dne* comes next in order. Mr. Crowe translates this *splendour*. In this he may be correct; but it is exceedingly doubtful. He need not, however, have pronounced so dogmatically upon Dr. Stokes' rendering of the word as he does in the following sentence: 'Opposite these words (*Dne cheneb*) is the marginal gloss *lappaç* = of flame; the only gloss on our poem. This *lappaç* must, from its gen. form (the nominative is *lappap*) refer to the gen. *cheneb*. S. (Stokes) took it to refer to *dne*, and hence he renders *Dne cheneb* 'blaze of fire,' without, however, intimating anything of *lappaç*. . . . But I do not know of a word *dn* meaning fire, &c.' Now, with great deference, I must say that this does not meet the difficulty, but only slurs it over. The gloss *lappaç* may be either the genitive singular or nominative plural. I take it to be the latter, and not the former, and for the following cogent reason—that no one with the slightest acquaintance with Irish would add a gloss to such a common word as *cheneb*. It would have been absurd to do so; whereas it might have been necessary as an explanation for '*дне*,' which has become obsolete. It also seems doubtful to me whether *дне* could be the abstract substantive, or derivative of '*dn*.'<sup>2</sup> Under these circumstances, and viewed with the light of the gloss, Mr. Stokes' translation was not far from being correct.

<sup>1</sup> It means, "May God preserve, protect, and keep you."

<sup>2</sup> The gloss *lappaç* was certainly in-

tended to explain *дне*, and so the writer of it appears to have thought altogether differently from Mr. Crowe.



"In the same note Mr. Crowe further states that he knew of no word 'án' meaning fire. Perhaps so; but it may mean *blaze*, *corruscation*, or *flame* of fire, which amounts to the same thing. Certainly, whoever inserted the gloss 'lappad' understood it in that way. Moreover, I further think that he looked upon 'áne' as either equivalent to, or an abbreviated form of, the word áitíne, which means a blazing coal, or rather, a lighted brand. If Mr. Crowe turns to O'Reilly's Dictionary, he will also see there the verb áðain=kindle, light, &c. 'bun áðana' (pronounced áine), is an old name, too, of the herb *coltsfoot*, and this appellation, I feel convinced, was bestowed upon this plant from the use to which the dried broad leaves were applied, namely the making of *tinder*. Its present name in some localities is builleabap ppoine, and *sponc* is a term given to a dried material for kindling a fire.

"'Cocuiup' is the next word, and of this Mr. Crowe appears to have had a very inaccurate idea. Dr. Todd's translation of it is plain. The Irish, moreover, is good. He understood it as the perfect relative of the verb 'bo cuip,' to put, place, or send. The perfect of this would be bo cuipeap. There is another verb, however, compounded of 'co' and the same cuip, which means to invite, just as 'coḡairm' is made up of the same initial syllable, joined to the verb ḡair, and means to apply titles to, to summon or convoke to a convention. Mr. Crowe, in his examination of cocuiup, steps out of the way altogether, and invents a word with a formidable number of syllables. There is no such word in the sentence, nor I might say in the language itself, as bo-po-ab-ḡairiup. Who ever heard of bo-po-ab? Besides, 'ḡairiup' is not the same as 'ḡair,' which is a different verb altogether. Ḥair=to call, to style, and ḡair=to shout or laugh.

"He also makes a great ado about the compound pronoun 'ecpum.' Why he should do so is extraordinary.<sup>1</sup> No word is more common. Any mountaineer in Connemara would laugh at the idea of its presenting any etymological difficulty.

"As to 'bpuab' Mr. Crowe has a long note upon it, in which he ascribes a large amount of ignorance to those whom he terms later scribes. This may be so, but he adds little information to our present knowledge. The word bpué is now, I believe, obsolete in Ireland, and is only preserved in an old Scottish proverb. It means a simpleton, while bpaoi is a Druid or magician. Few Irish scholars could mistake between them. As regards paoi and baoi, they are words in common use, and could cause but little difficulty.

"Mr. Crowe explains a pachuiliu<sup>2</sup> by po-a-chuiliu, and also further says that the a following the po is an infixed pronoun. In the text, however, the first 'a' is separated from the p of pacaílu, and thus from its situation, has no connexion with that word. The pa, then, can be easily explained as the ancient particle po, equivalent to the bo of the modern Irish. The a would then be simply an error, and we need not look for any pronoun in such an awkward position to help to explain its appearance there. I have very little faith in either infixed or prefixed pronouns

<sup>1</sup> Is it the vowel 'u' causes the difficulty? If so, vowels are interchangeable. Is it 'm'? What is it but the pronoun mó?

<sup>2</sup> This compound seems to me to have been misunderstood by all, but I forbear to enter into its real composition and meaning.

## PROCEEDINGS.

"In the same note Mr. Crowe further states that word 'án' meaning fire. Perhaps so; but it may mean *cation*, or *flame* of fire, which amounts to the same thing. I ever inserted the gloss 'lappað' understood it in that way. I further think that he looked upon 'dne' as either equivalent or abbreviated form of, the word *dúitíne*, which means a brand, rather, a lighted brand. If Mr. Crowe turns to O'Reilly will also see there the verb *dóan*=kindle, light, &c. 'dne' (nounced *dne*), is an old name, too, of the herb *coltsfoot*, and I feel convinced, was bestowed upon this plant from the fact that dried broad leaves were applied, namely the making of *tin* name in some localities is *builleabap rpoine*, and *spoin* to a dried material for kindling a fire.

"'Cocuipiur' is the next word, and of this Mr. Crowe have had a very inaccurate idea. Dr. Todd's translation of Irish, moreover, is good. He understood it as the perfect verb 'do cuip,' to put, place, or send. The perfect of *cuipeap*. There is another verb, however, compounded with the same cuip, which means to invite, just as 'cozcuipm' is the same initial syllable, joined to the verb *zoiu*, and means to summon or convoke to a convention. Mr. Crowe, in his *cocuipiur*, steps out of the way altogether, and invents a formidable number of syllables. There is no such word in Irish. I might say in the language itself, as *do-po-ab-zoiu* heard of *do-po-ab*? Besides, 'zoiu' is not the same as a different verb altogether. *Zoiu*=to call, to style, to laugh.

"He also makes a great ado about the compound *po-ach-chuilu*. Why he should do so is extraordinary.<sup>1</sup> No word is more mountaineer in Connemara would laugh at the idea of its etymological difficulty.

"As to 'opuð' Mr. Crowe has a long note upon it, and ascribes a large amount of ignorance to those whom he thinks This may be so, but he adds little information to our knowledge. The word *opuð* is now, I believe, obsolete in Ireland. It served in an old Scottish proverb. It means a simpleton or a Druid or magician. Few Irish scholars could mistake it. As regards *paoi* and *baoi*, they are words in common use but little difficulty.

"Mr. Crowe explains *a pachuilu*<sup>2</sup> by *po-a-chuilu* and says that the *a* following the *po* is an infixed pronoun. However, the first '*a*' is separated from the *p* of *pachuilu*, and in this situation, has no connexion with that word. The *pa*, explained as the ancient particle *po*, equivalent to the Irish *po*. The *a* would then be simply an error, and we need not put any pronoun in such an awkward position to help to explain it. I have very little faith in either infixed *o*

<sup>1</sup> Is it the vowel 'u' causes the difficulty? If so, vowels are interchangeable. Is it 'm'? What is it but the pronoun *mó*?

<sup>2</sup> This compound has been misunderstood and entered into its real context.

in such situations. To find them there seems contrary to the genius of the language.

"Again 'Cailiu' cannot be the preterite tense. If so, it is not only ungrammatical, but perfectly unintelligible. Mr. Crowe himself is obliged to acknowledge this, for in his translation he was forced to introduce the words *is wont*—which are not in the text at all—in order to give it sense. The orthography of the word is incorrect, as it appears to me, and there is no use spending labour in vain in striving to make that which is faulty appear as faultless.

"The three last words to be noted here, are 'il liup, i riup, m epur,' and these are undoubtedly difficult, more from their orthography, however, than from any inherent difficulty in the words themselves. Their spelling leaves them liable to be translated in different ways. Each translator prefers his own opinion, and thus a variety of renderings is the consequence; which involves all in doubt. The most unhappy, in my opinion, is that of the last translator, in which he not only offers his conjecture, but actually coins words as yet unknown to the language, and then translates them. Dr. Todd took il liup for i liop *in the fort*: in this there is no overstraining. It might also stand for i liap, which is often met with in the *Sean-chus Mór*, and means out-offices. Epur I have not met with as applied to any part of 'a boat or ship.' It may have such a meaning, but it is unknown to me. What appears most probable is that epur may have been written by mistake for apur, 'habitation or dwelling.' These guesses, if examined, will be found entirely consistent with the context in which the composer prays that Christ may be with him in every possible *personal position*. He then, after this prayer to be about his *person*, asks of him further to be with him in the various places which he might inhabit, such as in the fort or out-offices, and again in the dwelling-house.

"I shall now add a few words as to the internal evidence afforded by the Hymn itself, respecting its genuineness and authenticity; and then inquire into the probable date of the composition.

"Dr. Todd accepts the Hymn as the genuine production of Patrick himself. This opinion he strives to support by three principal proofs: namely, two quotations from ancient authorities, and the internal evidence of the Hymn itself. He thus writes:—'That the Hymn is a composition of great antiquity cannot be questioned. It is written in a very ancient dialect of the Irish Celtic. It was evidently composed during the existence of Pagan usages in the country. . . . Add to this, as Dr. Petrie observes, that in the seventh century, when Tirechan composed his Annotations, it was certainly believed to be the composition of St. Patrick. . . . His Irish or Scotie Hymn (mentioned by Tirechan) is that of which we have just given a translation.'

"'Internal evidence,' Dr. Todd further says, 'is in favour of the antiquity and authenticity of this composition. The prayer which it contains for protection against women, smiths, and druids, together with the invocation of the power of the sky, the sun, fire, lightning,<sup>1</sup> &c., proves

<sup>1</sup> It may be fairly asked why there should be any allusion to heathen practices and customs in a composition, sup-

pose of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but which has hitherto been received as a genuine work of St. Patrick. The

that, notwithstanding the undoubted piety and fervent Christian faith of the author, he had not yet fully shaken off all pagan prejudices. . . . Dr. Todd also adds:—‘The author of the Tripartite life speaks of it very distinctly.’ ‘Then,’ he says, ‘St. Patrick composed, in the vernacular language, that Hymn, which is commonly called *Fedh Fiadh*, and by others *Lorica* of Patrick.’

“Now, first, as regards the internal evidence relied upon by Dr. Todd to prove the authenticity and antiquity of this production, I consider it altogether unsatisfactory. He has not entered upon the structure nor composition of the hymn in its original language. He merely takes some of the expressions, and then declares his belief that they were not inconsistent with the undoubted piety of the author. Such as the invocation for protection against ‘women,’ &c., and against all the elements. Such invocations show plainly that the author believed in their power. Now, when it is remembered who this author was, his parentage and early training, such a belief as these invocations presumes is something very remarkable. It must be allowed, from the consideration of his parentage alone, that he was instructed in the true religion. A youth reared up until the age of sixteen; the son of a deacon, and the grandson of a priest, must have been thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of the truth; and, having witnessed the superstitious practices of his compatriots, must have been warned against such pernicious customs. Even a seven years’ exile in Ireland, during which he was abandoned to himself, could not have obliterated the earlier lessons received. When, again, as it is said, he went to the Continent, there to perfect himself by a further increase of knowledge, under religious and pious instructors, it is improbable that any perverted notion, acquired through his stay in Ireland, should not have been eradicated from his mind, by both the precept and the example of those with whom he had come into contact.<sup>1</sup>

“Such considerations as these, which must have been overlooked by Dr. Todd, are sufficient to throw doubt upon his opinion. More will be added hereafter.

“The quotation from Tirechan would be a very strong argument in favour of the antiquity of the Hymn, if he had directly specified it. But it absolutely proves nothing; nay, more, it indirectly disproves Patrick as being its author, for he mentions the third honour yielded to Patrick in Ireland in the following terms:—‘*III. Ymnum ejus per totum tempus Cantare.*’ This, Dr. Todd translates, ‘To sing his hymn for the whole time.’ And then remarks:—‘His hymn, here mentioned, is undoubtedly the Latin hymn by Sechnall or Secundinus.’ This disposes of the whole affair as to its authenticity; for if a hymn, composed by another, is called

answer is not difficult. Writers in the early ages were not forgetful of the proprieties or unities of time and place, any more than they are at the present day. The “Battle of Magh-Rath,” a work ascribed to the twelfth century, by O’Donovan, affords an example of how Christianity and paganism were considered as co-existent in the seventh century, when the battle was fought; and so both saints and druids

are introduced into the story. If the hymn, however, is to be ascribed to either Patrick or Benen, it may be asked how the allusions to the “false teachers and heretics” can be explained or accounted for.

<sup>1</sup> The consideration of Patrick’s parentage, education, and early-years’ training, confutes all Dr. Todd’s reasoning on this subject.

by Tirechan Patrick's Hymn, then the same author, when ascribing the Irish hymn to him, may have done so in the same way as he did that of Sechnall.

"But above all, Tirechan, who lived in the seventh century, when a hymn may have been in vogue concerning Patrick, does not name any particular one; neither does he say it was the *Feath Fiadha*, or *Lorica*. He mentions, in a very indefinite way, an Irish canticle, or song, without saying what it really was. Thus, as regards Tirechan, nothing positive can be asserted as to the real antiquity of the *Feath Fiadha*, while he would lead us indirectly to infer that Patrick was not its author.

"The second authority relied on by Dr. Todd for the antiquity and authenticity of this hymn is a passage from the *Tripartite Life* of Patrick, already quoted. It says:—'Then St. Patrick composed in the vernacular language that hymn which is commonly called *Fedh Fiadha*, and by others, the *Lorica* of Patrick.'—Todd's 'St. Patrick,' pp. 429–432. This quotation, however, proves nothing more than that, in the time of the writer of the 'Tripartite Life,' the *Lorica*, or hymn, was generally received and believed in as the authentic composition of Patrick. But the question naturally arises, When did the writer of the *Tripartite Life* live?

"Dr. Lanigan powerfully argues and cogently proves, that the *Tripartite Life* could not have been written by the person, nor at the time, to which Colgan attributes it. He says:—'Colgan's want of critical acumen is still more apparent in his maintaining that the "Life," which he has called *Tripartite* (because it is divided into three books or parts), and published under the name of the *Seventh Life*, was written by St. Evin, who flourished about the latter end of the sixth century. . . . From innumerable passages, it appears that it was compiled long after the sixth century. Colgan admits the force of said passages, but pretends that they are interpolations foisted into the text of St. Evin. This evasion will not do; for the compiler or compilers of this work give us the names of the writers whom they followed, and that twice. . . . I have touched already on the age of some of those writers: the others lived at a later period—for instance, Kieran, who died A. D. 770. . . . The work, as it exists at present, was put together at a time when the Irish Church had acquired no small degree of splendour; for we read of the Bishop's Vicar-General, Suffragan, Arch-Priest, Chancellor, Judge in Spiritual Matters, Chaplain, Almoner, &c., &c. It appears to belong to some part of the tenth century, as certain persons are named who lived about that period.'—Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History,' pp. 85–87.

"Professor Curry strives, might and main, to confute Lanigan's arguments, and to prove that the *Tripartite Life* is the composition of Evin, and written in the sixth century; but in this he signally fails. He records it as follows:—'As far as my judgment and my acquaintance with the idiom of the ancient Gaedhlic language will bear me, I would agree in Father Colgan's deductions from the text of the *Tripartite*; but I cannot get over the fact that compilers of the seventh century are mentioned in the tract (*Tripartite*) itself.'—Professor Curry's 'Lectures,' pp. 345–350.

"Hence it may be assumed that there is no evidence of any kind; no proof positive of the *Fedh Fiadh* having been received as a veritable composition of Patrick until many ages after his time; and that Dr. Todd, and all others agreeing with him, had but very slender grounds for maintain-

ing a theory, which a strict scrutiny of the language of would have shown to have been worthless and untenable.

"Mr. Crowe next comes on; and, without the least pre dogmatically asserts that the authorship of the hymn is to Benen. He ignores all previous writers on the by as worthless any arguments offered, and gives no reasonable opinion, which is in direct opposition to all on the subject. This may be very bold, nay, even certainly displays a disregard of the anxious spirit of present day. All the information he vouchsafes on this veiled in the following laconic passage:—' Colgan is not Benignus was our Benen or a fellow disciple of his; but if he must have been our Benen, and that *Feth Fio* was his so, the original name of our charm would be *Faeth Fiadha*! the authorship of it should be ascribed to Benen, as, in fancy it must be.' Now, without the least proof of any kind Mr. Crowe adduces none—he demands that the tradition should be discarded for the reception of his own unsupported respecting the author of this hymn. I don't for a moment understood that Patrick composed it, but rather the direct; however, is evident, that the writer or writers of the Tripartite to have lived in the tenth or eleventh century, and most writers present who have treated on the subject, have considered it as position, and not that of Benen or any other person. In order conclusively refute this traditional belief, Mr. Crowe should have given some strong reasons, some convincing proof, or plausible arguments in favour of transferring the authorship to a new claimant for the honour. This he does not until he does so, his bare assertion must be taken for what it is.

"According to Mr. Crowe, *Faeth Fiadha*, and not as given *Feth Fiadha*, is the title of the hymn. This he explains as 'Guardsman's Cry,' in opposition to the generally received title 'Instruction of a Deer.' This may be correct, but it is I have never met with this word *Faeth* having such a meaning. I say nothing positive about it. Mr. Crowe's note, however, leads me to doubt its correctness. There he says, '*Feth* or *foid*;' if so, *faed* is the same as the common term *f*

<sup>1</sup> After a careful perusal of the last clause in the preface, namely, "ocur paet piada a haimm," I have been led to doubt very much whether it has been at all properly understood. If the text is correct, the literal translation of these words would be, "And *Faeth Fiadha* (is) her name." The *h* before *aimm* shows the gender to be feminine of whatever it alludes to. This cannot be either *umán*, hymn, or *benen*, Benen or Benignus. Both are masculine nouns, therefore, the *h* in *aimm*, which shows that it refers to some antecedent feminine noun, cannot agree with either of the two words mentioned above. Now, *iapnoé*, or as Mr. Crowe writes *iapnoe*, is the only feminine

noun in the sentence. It agrees grammatically with *paet piada* is the name of the hymn and not of the hymn said to have been this "hind," so *paet* proper name when and not *pet pio*, a But what is the name and what can we A man is changed this state of *hindsh* name bestowed upon anything like the true man's Cry" is an instance of the title of the nothing.

to warn.' *Fóid*, too, is a word unknown in the sense in which he uses it. *Fiadha*, he says, means a conductor or guard. The several quotations, however, which he advances in support of this interpretation by no means bear him out. It would be tedious and irrelevant to discuss them all. The following examples will suffice:—*Oc peilg ar cač píab* he translates—'at rushing at every wild animal;' now, *peilg* does not mean 'rushing at,' but hunting or coursing; *cač píab* in a secondary sense may mean every wild animal, but would be generally understood as meaning all of the deer kind. The next quotation is:—*Oo muccaib ocup b'aigib alca, ocup b'epnail gač píaba olčena hī pleib Fuait*, which Mr. Crowe translates thus:—'Of swine, and of wild deer, and of a division of every other *wild herd*<sup>1</sup> in Sliab Fuait.' On this he makes the following observation:—'In this passage we see that *mucc* (pig) is a species of the class *píab*.' This by no means follows, as the concluding part of the sentence will bear another meaning somewhat different from his. It may be thus translated: 'and of deer in general in Mount Fuait.' Besides, if *píab* signifies either a wild animal or herd, how can it mean Guardsman?

"The only difficulty with regard to this word arises from the fact of its bearing three different meanings: *píab* = 'deer,' 'wild,' and 'in presence of.' There is no other word in *Connaught* for deer but *píab*, although Mr. Crowe positively avers that *píab*, simply, never means a deer. The common word now in vogue for *hunting*, namely, *píabac*, is derived from it. Originally applied to the chase of this animal, it came to signify the pursuit of game in general.

"I agree with Mr. Crowe, that the common verb, *pet*, does not necessarily imply instruction; but neither is the meaning he assigns it, namely, 'mental observation, perception,' correct. *Pet* is a waiting, or looking for, in expectation of something. When used for introspection, it has always the syllable in prefixed, as *inpetčeam* = intention.

"Leaving words aside, I will now offer a few remarks on the internal structure and language of the hymn itself. To my mind it appears evident that alterations have been made in it both by interpolation and transposition in some of the sentences. To render this perfectly intelligible, a few observations are necessary. Now, in the first paragraph, or the section marked I., the first line commences with an invocation. The person who composed, or those who afterwards might repeat it, pray for something, or ask the aid and assistance required from a higher power. In the second line, immediately succeeding this, and without warning of any kind, the precativ form is altogether and abruptly changed, and a confession of faith succeeds. This is in the shape of a creed, and not of a prayer. It acknowledges a belief in the beloved Creator of elements. This is in direct contrast with the preceding line, and also different from the remaining part of the hymn. The manner in which it is introduced is too sudden to be in agreement with the rest.

"Again, in several of the other sections, the initiated eye can easily detect several hiatus' and gaps, together with many abrupt changes. These may be perceived in the last clause of the second section, part of the third, and also of the eighth section.

"The sixth section, too, is remarkable, and demands peculiar attention. Who are the *foolish*, or *misleading prophets*, alluded to there? Mr. Crowe

<sup>1</sup> *Píab* never means herd, and there is no such word as *wild* in the quotation.

is rather unhappy in his translation of this passage, which he thus renders: 'Against incantations of *false* prophets.' Now, 'Saoð' is not false, except in a very qualified sense indeed.<sup>1</sup> It always refers to the judgment and understanding, and implies a want of these either more or less, with an intention generally understood of deceiving others. Hence, the country people, when speaking of a person who is silly or not of a right mind, say, *ca ré air fuideicín céille* = he is deprived of, or wanting in, natural sense. This word 'fuideicín,' as it appears to me, is a corruption for 'paobaðan.' Saoð, however, is a very common word in all our printed books, and is never used to express false, but always for what I have said above. Cinceabal, too, in connexion with paobpáde, is a curious word. Incantation, I am aware, is the general meaning assigned it. The root of the word is 'ceab,' which seems to signify, to sing, or intone, or mutter, but generally confined to something taught with respect to religion. From this ceab we have 'póirceabal,' used in the Irish New Testament for doctrine and instruction; cinceabal, as above, for some mysterious mutterings, or uttering of charms, and also clairceabal, applied to an orchestra.

"This sentence, then, when properly weighed, and taken in connexion with the following clause, cannot by any means be applicable to either the incantations or charms employed by the pagan Irish, or any of the heathen rites used prior to the propagation of the Christian religion in Ireland, but must be applied to the devices and inculcations of false Christian teachers, who at that time were either introducing, or had introduced, erroneous doctrines. The method and manner, too, of their introduction are noted here, and the character of the teachers, by the two words, cinceabal' and paob.

"All this will appear, in a far stronger light, when the sentence following<sup>2</sup> the above is examined. It is *Frí paib-pectu hepetecba*, which literally means, 'against foolish or error-leading institutions of heresy.' The word paob I have examined already. Recc is any right, law, practice, or established institution. hepetecba I take as the substantive, and not the adjective. It is merely the Irish form of the original Greek word, but derived through the *Latin*, and means heresy. It is the common term in use at the present day for that word. But why, or for what reason, has Mr. Crowe so far departed from and perverted the text in his translation of this sentence? Why has he translated it 'Against the *black-laws* of heretics,' when no such word as *black*, or anything like it, appears in the text of the original?

"In the time of Patrick such an invocation as this would be premature. It cannot for a moment be supposed that in his age abettors of heresy had been established, and that their institutions were rooted in the country, and found supporters. This sentence, therefore, with the one already noticed, when taken and compared together, prove that both false teachers, entitled paob-páde, and heresies, with their laws and institutions, were prevalent at the period of the composition of this paragraph,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Crowe translates paob in a succeeding sentence as black, thus giving two contrary meanings to the one word.

<sup>2</sup> Cinceabal, undoubtedly, in some way refers to an intoning, or muttering, by which religion (or religious services) was either taught or practised, as has been

already remarked upon.

<sup>3</sup> I omit here:—*Frí bub-pectu geimcluóca*, which Mr. Crowe has left untranslated; he has also omitted paib-pectu from the next sentence, and introduced bub-pectu into his translation, instead.



and that, so far as it is concerned, that it could not have been the veritable production of either Patrick or Benen, his disciple.

"These points might be more fully stated and enlarged upon, and others added; but the above may be deemed sufficient as proofs, at least, that the hymn is not of so early date as modern writers suppose; and that if it contains the writings of either Patrick or Benen, large additions have been made to the original in later ages.

"The approximate age, or period of the composition of the hymn, may be reached by an attentive comparison of the language used in it with that spoken at the present day.

"It appears to me that most modern Irish scholars forget that Irish is not a dead but a living language. And above all, that it possesses two special characteristics of its own, separating and distinguishing it in a manner from other tongues. The first is its stereotyped character for many ages past, in which it has changed but very little. Such as it is now, such it was in the time of the Four Masters, and in the days of Heerin's Topographical Poems. The second characteristic is the exceeding richness of the Celtic tongue at the present hour. Thousands of words may have become obsolete or fallen into desuetude, as the laws are no longer administered, nor the Government carried on in it. Neither have we poets, nor literature of any kind, disseminating through its medium their beneficial gifts. But notwithstanding all these drawbacks, it is still a rich and glorious old tongue, of which any land but this woe-struck one of ours might be proud.

"Now, Irish scholars often overlook this matter altogether, and hence are led into many and grievous mistakes. But I must hurry on.

"To ascertain the probable age of this poem, I have applied the following test, which will be level to the understanding of all, whether Irish, or non-Irish speakers, and from which all can draw their own conclusions.

"In the 'pempocul,' or forespeech, there are exactly 133 words. Of this number 118 are in use at the present day. Of the 133 one is Latin, another, namely, *ecapnatb*, is twice repeated. Another, *luipead*, is known, but seldom used, and *paca*, though somewhat altered in sound, is often heard. Now, deducting these five from the above 133, there are 128 left; and again deducting the 118 now spoken from the same, just ten words remain which have become obsolete.

"Again, in the hymn itself there are 291 words. Sixteen of these are Latin, and deducted from the whole sum, leave exactly 275 words to be accounted for. Of these, *atompug* is repeated six times, *treobatab* twice, *conbatab* twice, and *búileam* twice. Six technical religious terms are used, together with six other words of doubtful orthography, already mentioned. Thus there are twenty terms, for various reasons, to be again deducted from this 275, which will leave just 255 words in the hymn to be accounted for. In it are precisely 225 words, either spoken or in use at the present day. And if these be deducted from the above, there will remain exactly about 30 words in the whole hymn which are now obsolete.

"The case then is as follows:—

	Words.	Doubtful.	Now Spoken.	Obsolete.
Rempocal contains	133	5	118	10
Hymn Do.	291	20	225	30
Total,	424	25	343	40

"According to this examination and comparison of hymn with the language now spoken, it appears that about the terms used in this composition have fallen into desuetude out of the 100 form part of the language used at the pre-hymn, it is averred, was composed about the middle of . But if the aforesaid results are anything like an approximation and if the hymn can be actually proved to be 1400 years show beyond doubt that during all that long space of time language had for all practical purposes remained unaltered, and 'even in its minutest points,' as it was then. This is incredible constitute a miracle quite inexplicable, and besides would by almost every page of our oldest writings which have time.

"The fact is, that this close similarity, and, I may both the language and idiom of the hymn with the spoken excludes any such supposition, and shows beyond doubt cannot by any means be nearly so ancient as commonly all supposed. The preface to the hymn, I would say, is 1 years old. It is not so ancient as the hymn itself,<sup>1</sup> which dress and form may be from 100 to 200 years older.

"There are, however, a few sections of the hymn, such 5th, and 7th, which undoubtedly bear a more antique cast. This I infer, not in the least from the difficulty of understanding but simply from the ancient dress and old-world appearance. They exhibit themselves in the garb of by-gone more to the senses than they do to the intellect, although appeal to it also. We feel and understand, although we to express exactly in words, in what these distinctions. When I read the following idiomatic phrases:—*Críost uapum, Críost beppum, Críost tuacum*, my mind flies to ancient days, and dwells for a moment in sympathetic joy to old fathers of our race. There they are—Greek, Roman, Celt—with their hands still warm, and their hearts still buoyant, from the remembrance of the fraternal embrace had separated, with no great interval of time intervening theory upon which silence, at least for the present, must

"A countryman, hearing such terms as *uapum, beppum*, would not understand one of them. They would be as Take away, however, the last syllable of each, and the sparkle, for he would immediately recognize words of even which he was quite familiar, and in fact the only ones express the ideas and objects they are intended to convey

"In the 'Battle of Magh-Rath,' edited by that prince O'Donovan, we possess a sample of the Irish language belonging to him, to the twelfth century. Now, let the language style of the hymn be compared with this work, and what They differ very little in these points. The style in which described, although inflated and turgid, yet resembles classical

<sup>1</sup> This may arise, perhaps, from its containing fewer words whereby to judge, and also from its being a more literary and rhetorical prose composition.

hymn, and in all essential points they are not very unlike each other. Few words occur in the latter that may not be found in the former; and in many pages may be reckoned more than double the number of words which have become obsolete than will be found in the hymn.

"I have taken (quite casually) a page of the 'Battle,' and counted 424 consecutive words, and in this number detected about the same percentage of obsolete terms as already described. Thus, this test leads to the same conclusion as the former one; and when both are carefully considered and examined, it will be easily seen that the hymn in its present form is more modern than any have hitherto supposed, and that it cannot by any means be referred to either Patrick or his times; except, perhaps, those few passages already referred to, and which evidently exhale the aroma of a quainter antiquity than the other parts. The hymn may be the production of the twelfth century. This is even doubtful; but certainly the eleventh century forms a boundary line beyond which it can scarcely pass, at least in the form in which we now possess it.

"Thus my task for the present is ended. It has been a very uncongenial one to me, and entirely opposed to my tastes. My great object has been to arrive, if possible, at the truth in this matter. This may not have been reached. Still the subject has been partially criticised, and some new, and perhaps novel, ideas presented to the reader's view. These may not have been so elaborated nor so definitely explained as might be desirable; but sufficient has been elicited to show that Mr. Crowe's translation, in the first place, is not free from mistakes and mistranslations. One Irish sentence is altogether omitted. Several other serious defects might have been easily noticed, especially in his notes. To have entered fully into them would have required more time, and occupy too much space in the 'Journal'; and I even fear that I may have already trespassed too much in that way. As the subject has been brought under discussion, it is, perhaps, best that it should be well ventilated. Others, too, may see the shoals and quicksands which endanger the way, but, having received warning, may avoid them.

"I sincerely hope that Mr. Crowe will not be offended at any animadversions of mine. They were not intended to hurt his feelings. We both labour in the same field. It is wide and broad enough. Truth should be our aim. He possesses many advantages and opportunities denied to the dwellers in a lonely island. But I wish him all success in his labours."

The following papers were submitted to the meeting :—

The Pedegree of the Geraldines of Desmond first came to the conquest off Ireland by Richard, Earle Strongbow, in y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> the reigne of Henry 2<sup>d</sup>, King of England from the sayd Maurice to James Fitz Gerald the last Earle of Desmond of together with some other branches families that descended from y<sup>e</sup> said Earle in Ireland.

WALTER of Windsor, the son of Oterus, had issue three sons Robert, and Gerald of Windsor. Of William, Henry the first was descended; and of Robert of Windsor, Robert Earle descended; and Gerald of Windsor, y<sup>e</sup> third son, who married Reese ap Thyder, the greatest Prince of Wales, who had issue two sons (viz.), William and Maurice the eldest son of Gerald of Windsor, tooke to wife Alma, eldest daughter of the Earle Strongbow, upon whom the said Earle bestowed marriage the middle cantred of O'Whelane, and castle of Galloway called Wicklowe; with several other lands. They both dyed in the lifetime of the said Earle.

Then succeeded his younger brother, Maurice Fitzgerald descended all the Geraldines of Ireland. Hee was a mighty man of honour and courage: he exceeded all men of his tyme in martiall and chevalrie, as severall chronicles mention, who, after he had performed greates services in the conquest of Ireland, and returninge in the death of his father, was drowned by sea at his returne Dom. 1192, in y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> yeare of y<sup>e</sup> reigne of King Richard y<sup>e</sup> first Gerald.

This Gerald builded the Abbey and Castle of Sligoe, and after many gallant overthrowes given to the Kings enemies dayes, and was buried in the sayd Abbey, in An<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1206 the sixth yeare of the reign of King John; leaving issue Maurice.

This Maurice succeeded his father; and the King, being contented of the several good and loyall services done by the Geraldines, made him Lord of Tirconnell, and made him Lord Justice of Ireland. Maurice was commanded by the King to goe with forces out of Ireland for the suppressing of the Welsh; and having performed that service with much honour and credit, after his returne into Ireland he found O'Donnell, who by the death of Lacy, Earle of Lincoln was become very strong and grievous to his Majesty's subjects. After he had defeated this O'Donnell, the sayd Maurice Lord Justice forced pledge from O'Neale, and of most of the suspected nobility of the kingdom for the king's peace. This Maurice married the daughter of Walter Fitz Gerald Earle of Vlster and Connaught, by whome he had issue Maurice. After performing the services aforesaid, he at last

the order of the fryars minors, and there ended his dayes, An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>m</sup> 1254, and in the thirty-ninth yeare of Henry the 3, and was buried in the South Abbey of Youghill, whereof he was founder, as also of the South gate and suburbs of the sayd towne. He likewise erected and enlarged the monastery of St. Dominick without the north gates of Youghill.

Then Thomas, son to the said Maurice, succeeded, and proved very famous and greate during his time, in so much that he was commonly called Thomas the Greate. He parted this life in An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>m</sup> 1260, and in the forty-fifth yeare of the reigne of Henry 3<sup>d</sup>, and lyeth by his father at Youghill, leaving issue John.

This John succeeded his father, and proved of noe less courage and fame than his ancestors. He acted many services against the Irish, especially against the Clancartyes, wherevpon Edward, the first prince of that name, haueing had the Dukedome of Aquitaine, the Earldome of Chester, and Realme of Ireland by grant from his father, Henry y<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, granted to this sayd John the country of Decies and of Desmond. The sayd John was married to Margery, daughter to Thomas Fitz Anthony, and by her had issue Maurice. Both the father and the son together were slayne by M<sup>c</sup>Carthy, in a place called Callen, in the 52<sup>nd</sup> yeare of the reign of Henry the 3<sup>d</sup>, and were both buried at Traly, the sayd John haueing been founder thereof. Of this John descended the three famous knights, viz. the White Knight, the Black Knight, which is the Knight of the Valley or Glin; and the Green Knight, who is called the Knight of Kerry, now liueing, by name John Fitzgerald; together with their younger brother, called the Lord of Clonlish.

The abovesaid Maurice was married, in the lyfe time of his father, John, to the daughter of one Geoffry, that was then Lord Deputy of Ireland. She, being left great with child at the time of her husband's death, soone after was delivered of a son, and called him Thomas.

This Thomas, being in his swadling cloaths accidently left alone in his cradle, was by an Ape carryed up to the battlements of the monastery of Traly, where the little beast, to the admiration of many spectators, dandled him to and froe, whilst everyone ran with their beds and caddows, thinking to catch the child when it should fall from the Ape. But Divine providence prevented that danger; for the Ape miraculously bore away the infant, and left him in the cradle as he found him, by which accident this Thomas was ever after nicknamed from The Ape.

This Thomas was afterwards married to Ellen, daughter of Fitzmaurice, now called the Lord of Kerry and of Lixnaw, by whome he had issue 2 sons, viz. Maurice and John. He parted this life in An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>m</sup> 1296, and in the reign of Edward the first. Maurice, the elder brother of these two, was created the first Earle of Desmond; and John, the younger, was created the first Earle of Kildare: yet the Earle of Kildare is the elder earle by some few hours; for Kildare was created in the forenoone, and Desmond in the afternoone. Of this John, Earle of Kildare, is M<sup>c</sup>Thomas of Munster; the Geraldines of Linster, viz<sup>t</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Thomas of Ballyoghanan, and several other brave families, whom for brevity sake I pass for the present, and soe to Desmond.

This Maurice aforesaid, the first Earl of Desmond, was married to Honora, the daughter of great O'Bryen, and by her had issue four sons, viz<sup>t</sup>. Gerald, Nicholas, John, and Maurice. He was Lord Deputy of Ireland during his life, and died at Dublin in An<sup>o</sup> 1355, in the 29<sup>th</sup> yeare of

the reigne of Edward the third. This Maurice made a feoffment of all his estate to the use of his heirs males lawfully begotten of his body, when Sr. Thomas Fitz John, son and heire to John before mentioned, only brother of the said Earle, was in remainder of the said entaile.

Gerald, the eldest son of the said Maurice, succeeded his father, and had issue two sons, viz. John and James. He died An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> 1397, and in the 20th year of the reigne of Richard the Second, or thereabouts.

John Fitzgerald was married to Elizabeth, daughter to the Earle of Ormond and Wiltshire, by whome he had issue Thomas; he was himself drowned in the foard of Ardfinan, vpon the river Suir, after comeing out of Scotland, where he was commanded by the King to goe with an army against the King of Scots in An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> 1401, and in the second year of the reign of Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>.

Thomas Fitz John succeeded his father; he died at Paris, in France, and was buried vpon St. Laurence's day, with great and mighty show, wher the two kings of England and France were present; he was buried with the fryers minors, in An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> 1420, leaveing issue only one bastard son, of whom descended the house of Broughill.

Then succeeded James Fitzgerald, second son to Gerald before mentioned, who married Mary Bourke, daughter to M<sup>r</sup> William Ogther, then (as my author says) a mighty Lord of Lands, of whom (as he sayeth) likewise descended the Earle of Clanrickard; and with this Mary came the galliglasses of the M<sup>r</sup>Shyhyes first into Munster out of Connaught. She had issue by the said James Fitz Gerald two sons, viz. Thomas and Garrett. This James was buried at Youghill, in An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> 1462, and in y<sup>e</sup> second year of Edward the 4<sup>th</sup>. Garrett, the second son of this s<sup>d</sup>. James, is the predecessor of the Lords of Deaces, in the county of Waterford; and afterwards, in progress of time, Maurice Fitz Gerald was created Lord Viscount Deaces, having a grant of that title to himself and the heires males lawfully begotten of his owne body for ever; but he died without bodily issue male.

Thomas, the eldest son of the foresaid James, succeeded his father, and married Elizabeth Barry, daughter to Barrymore. This Thomas was beheaded at Tredagh, by John Tiptoft, Earle of Worcester, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, not for exacting coyne and livery—as Cambden falsely reporteth in his history—for the Earle of Desmond did scorne any such exaction; neither had he any neede thereof, when as he had in his own libertyes from the western coasts of Ireland to the gates of Clonmell, and the chieftest buildings there too belonged to those Earles, who were always provided for in their owne manor houses as they travelled within that compass, and the cheife nobilitie of Munster waited on them as they passed by. But Spenser cometh a little neerer the matter, though a detractor from the nobilitie, in his view of the State of Ireland, saying—At which time the Earle of Desmond, who was then called Thomas, being through falseful subordination (as they say) of the Queene for some offence by her against him conceiued brought to his death at Tredagh most vnjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound subject to the King. Thus sayes he, let the reader (says my Author) pardon me, whilst I deliver the truth of this good Earles death at Tredagh, the 15<sup>th</sup> day of February, 1467; which I had (sayeth he) by the handwriting of one that waited upon the Earle, and was with him in England, and also at the time of his execution, by name Maurice O'Hossy.

King Edward the 4<sup>th</sup> being one day abroad taking his pleasure in the country, who delighted much in the company and good conversation of this Earle, amongst other discourses asked the sayd Earle what fault he perceiued to be in him or his court that was not fit for a Prince to suffer. The Earle, modestly smileing, made answer, that as for his own part he could not apprehend any of the least in his royall person but what by a little correction might soone be repaired, by the amendment of his saddle. His Majesty, who soon vnderstood his meaning, tooke that answer in good part. But soon after, some odd words chanceing to fall out between the King and Queene, the King, the more to vex her—thinking noe other harme concerning the Earle—told the Queene that it was true what his cousin Desmond sayd the other day, that he had neither fault or blemish but what was in his saddle. The Queene, perceiueing that this meant by the Earle concerning herself, kept silence, waiteing for better opportunity to be revenged on him. In order to which, vpon good deliberation she possessed herselfe of the King's priue signett, and gott a commission written and directed to the Lord Deputy Tiptoft aforesaid, as it were from the King, that vpon sight of the said commission he should execute death vpon Thomas, Earle of Desmond, by separateing his head from his shoulders. This was a warrant sufficient to spurre Tiptoft on to prosecute the same, vnderstanding that the Earle was comeing out of England as Lord Deputy in his place; not long after the said Earle landed at Tredagh, whereof Tiptoft hauing certain notice, made speede with forces by night, and marched into the town of Tredagh with torches and lanternes directed to the Earle's house about midnight. Then the Earle's page, by name Baggott, son to the Baggott of the county of Limerick, who was a very comely youth, and endowed with all good manners and conditions—about the age of twenty yeares, and of whome the King himselfe tooke speciall notice with the Earle in England—this youth, I say, being then disturbed in mind, and not able to take any rest that night, rose vp to the chamber window where his Lord and master lay; and, seeing that sight of men and armes, cried out to his Lord, and sayed, O my Lord! O my dear Lord! here are all the men in Ireland marching vp the street in armes; therefore, my Lord, rouse vp your spirits, and bless yourselfe, for my mind tells me they are for noe good intent; whereat the Earle made answer, Alasse, my boy, I wish there were but half the men of Munster only. Suddenly these men forced into the Earles lodging, and barbarously handled and apprehended him; and, without any farther deliberation, in the morning chopt off his head. It would (as mine author sayeth) move the hardest heart to pittie and haue compassion, to see the dolefull lamentations and behaviour of this youth Baggott, seeing the innocent bloud of his Lord and master soe suddenly and inhumanely spilt before his face, to whome, as he said, all Ireland within eight days after would gladly bowe and submitt itselfe. Tiptoft, being advertised of the youths speeches, presently commanded him to be killed in his owne presence. But soone after this, the King, being truely informed of all this v unexpected vproar of almost the whole realme, commanded Tiptoft for England, and examined the matter. Tiptoft then, producing his commission for the Earles death under the Kings priue seale, cleared himselfe of that; but the King, more narrowlye pryeing into the business, and being greiued for the Earles death, brought Tiptoft vpon the stage for killing the page, which he did without any commission; wherevpon Tiptoft was condemned that his head should

be cut off, which was accordingly done. This Thomas call him, had issue by the said Elizabeth Barry five Maurice, Thomas, John, and Garrett. This Garrett is the houses of Maccollop, the Shiane, Kilimocow, Srone others.

James, the eldest son of the said Thomas, succeeded Earledome, and was murdered at Rathkeale by one Jol why, or vpon what commotion, I have not as yet found have enquired of many; but one thing I may boldly Montagh escaped not without revenge. This murder An° D<sup>ni</sup>. 1487, and in the second yeare of the reigne This James had noe issue.

Then succeeded Maurice the lame, being the second Thomas of Tredagh. This Maurice was married to Elles Lord Roch, and died in An° D<sup>ni</sup>. 1519, and in the tenth of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>, and was buried at Youghill, leaveing James and Thomas.

James, the elder of the two sons, succeeded his fat married the daughter of O'Bryen Arra, and died in An° the 17<sup>th</sup> yeare of the reign of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>, leaveing by name Joane, mother to Thomas Duffe, Earle of Or Thomas, the younger brother, died before the elder, leave one daughter, who was married to the heyre of Paulst Kilkenny, being of the Butlers of neere alliance to the I

Then succeeded Thomas, commonly called by the I vppran, which may be interpreted "Victorious in the b third son of Thomas, beheaded at Tredagh. This Thom Giles, the daughter of Cormack M'Carty, Lord of Mus An° D<sup>ni</sup>. 1534, and in the 25<sup>th</sup> yeare of the reign of Hen issue James, his grandchild, for his heire, because y<sup>e</sup> Ma before himselfe, who was father to this James.

This James Fitzmaurice succeeded his grandfather, valliant young man, but not of much discretion; otherw slaine soe vnhappily as he was at Lickseale, but by wh to tell at this present; his death happened on Monday 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1540, and in the 31<sup>st</sup> yeare of the reign of H had no issue, nor was married; but Maurice *an toitane*, was not far of when he was killed. Now, this Maurice Maurice the burne, was soe called because that allway was wont to burne and destroy all that he mett with in ters. He was father to James Fitzmaurice, who in his great traveller in France, Spaine, the Low Country Turkye, and a renowned Irish warrier, had letters of rec the King of France to the Emperour, and from the Emper Poland, where he was honorably entertained, and promoted against the Turks; in that war he behaved himselfe so won greate applause and honor both for himselfe, country. In Ireland he was called the famous Rebell. wonderfull acts and enterprizes of him, almost beyond beleieve, but the brevity of my intent forbids me. In the common souldiers were wont to say that the God of raised again Scanderbegg to be revenged on them. T



Earle: his sister was the mother of Florenc M<sup>c</sup>Cartye, who died in the Tower of London; his daughter was the grandmother of Morrogh O'Brien, the now Earle of Inchiquin, and Honora, the old Lady of Kerry; of Coll. Fitzgerald of Ballymartyr, and of Edmond of Ballymoloe, and of many other noblemen. He was at the last unhappily slain with a shott by an vnworthy person, out of a wood, as he was vpon his journey towards Abbey Crosse, with intent to perform a vow he made to his Redeemer when he was beyond seas. He was pursued by the Burks in the county of Limerick; but after being shot and mortally wounded, he turned back vpon his pursuers, and killed of the chiefest of them the number of eighteen, the most part with his owne hands, and put all the rest to flight being about 400, haueing but 16 gentlemen in his company. After this he stept with his said gentlemen vnto the wood, where he alighted from his horse; and, seeing there was noe recovery of his life to be expected, he desired Gerald Fitz Thomas, his nephew, to cut of his head, that it might not be made a laughing stock to his enemyes, which accordingly he did, and buryed the same at Traly.

Then succeeded James Fitz John, the elder brother of the said Maurice, and son & heire of John Fitz Thomas, y<sup>e</sup> fourth son of Thomas that was beheaded at Tredagh. He had issue by the Lord Roche's daughter one son, by name Thomas, which Thomas had issue James and John. This James is he that was called the titular Earle, of whom Pacata Hibernia makes so often mention. He ended his days in the Tower of London, and his brother John died in Spaine. This James the Earle had issue by the daughter of O'Carroll three sons, viz<sup>t</sup>. Garrett, S<sup>t</sup>. John of Desmond, and Maurice. And by the daughter of M<sup>c</sup>Carty More he had one son, by name S<sup>t</sup>. James of Desmond. This Sir John of Desmond was killed at Bradenearren, not far from Farmoy, by Sir Walter Raleigh, vnawares. This Earle had many crosses and troubles in the beginning; for about the 16<sup>th</sup> yeare of the reigne of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> he was proclaimed traitor, for some had alleged that he had been personally aideing the French king, then in war with England, to bring forces into Ireland, and in like manner the Emperour: it was by means of this Earle that destruction came vpon his couzen, the Earle of Kildare; but, because I am in hast, I refer the reader to that booke of Statutes of Ireland vntil better opportunitye. He died in August, An<sup>o</sup> 1548, and was buryed at Traly, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> yeare of Edward the 6<sup>th</sup>.

Then Garrett succeeded his said father, James, pretending his elder brother illegitimate. He married the daughter of the Lord of Dunboyne, by whom he had issue one son, and three daughters. This Earle defeated the two Earles of Tomond and Clanrickard, as they lay at seige with Enchyquine, the Earl of Tomond intending to depose Teige M<sup>c</sup>Morogh, then Lord of Enchyquine, out of all his inheritance; but by that intent the two Earles lost the number of 2500 of their men, and Enchequine was delivered with the los of one man of Desmonds. This Garrett was betrayed by his owne fosterers, who with theire owne hands did cut of his head at Glunegainhagh, in the county of Kerry; for which inhuman act theyre name still remains odious. They were in those days a strong and mighty familie in the county of Kerry, and that by this Earles exalting—in soe much that Fitz Maurice, the Lord of Kerry, could get noe man to execute the cheife actor who first laid hands on the Earle, being before the gallows, so that he was forced to put the halter about his neck with his

owne hands. It was surely the judgment of God fell on person; for the very father of these murtherers, being over lands about Athskeaton, was wont to destraine two or th the poor fryers had thereabout in a little pasture belonging which cowes, chancing to goe out of it, were by this man them vntil they should pay treble trespass. This fellow chanced to goe into the said fryers little pasture, and was alsoe impounded, they (poore souls !) thinking noe other thing to allay the mans fury, always bent against them. Finding notice hereof, came to the Abbey door, and there knocking one of the fryers came forth, and saluted him according to manner, which was noe satisfaction to him, but called for a friar, who likewise came, and with a religious grave counseled him. There was noe farther discourse; but he asking the friar durst he presume that boldness as to impound his cattle the Earles fosterer, and with him in great estimation? He answered, but presently, draweing out his long skeane, stabbed the prelate to the heart: wherevpon this fellow betooke him thinking by long running to procure his pardon from the Earl, being certified of this heinous murther, was exceedingly n enquiree throughout all parts, but could not find the murderer; after, this man's wife goes to the Countesse of Desmond with a whole cupboards furniture of plate, and with many other things, begging her Ladyship with weeping eyes that she would appease the Earles fury against her husband; but, to be short, being of mercifull and generous disposition, pardoned at malefactor, whose sons, as I sayed, brought him to his ruin.

Then succeeded his son James, who at the time of his death was in England, and came over with letters patents from the King to succeed his father in the Earldome; but he stayed not above a year before he was sent for over againe, where he continued till the death of Some say that he was poysoned in London, in An<sup>o</sup> D<sup>m</sup>. 1541, of Queene Elizabeth. This James was the last Earle of Desmond. I reckon not James Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl.

There was one Earle, as they say, by name Garrett, who was by a chantment carryed away from Newcastle, in Connellough, but he is so be copious, if I followed the vulgar report of him; but in noe thing written of him in any chronicle or history, nor in the genealogye of the Earles, I'll tell nothing of him until I am

## NOTES.

Page 461, line 11.—*Otterus*.

Mr. Thomas Russell states that the ancestors of the Fitz Gerald's during their abode in Italy bore not the surname of Geraldine, and that one of them made his first appearance in England as one of the commanders in the Duke William of Normandy's army in 1067; whereas, it appears, according to the account given by the Marquis of Kildare, in his book "*The Earls of Kildare*" (Dublin, Hodges, Smith and Co., 1858), that "*Dominus Otho*" or Other (one of the ancestors of the Fitz Gerald's), in 1067 (18th Edward the Confessor), was an honorary Baron of England, according to Sir William Dugdale.

"Otho, or Other (the Marquis says), is said to have been one of the Baronial family of the Gherardini of Florence, and to have passed into Normandy, and thence into England." See note, p. 474, *infra*.

This Otho, therefore, seems to have been settled in England previous to the Norman Conquest, where, as the Marquis says, page 2—"He possessed three lordships in Surrey, three in Buckinghamshire, two in Berkshire, four in Middlesex, nine in Wiltshire, ten in Hampshire, three in Dorsetshire, and one in Somersetshire."

"In 1078, Walter Fitz Otho is mentioned in '*Domesday Book*' as being in possession of his father (Otho's) estates. He was Castellan of Windsor, and Warden of the forests of Berkshire." His eldest son, Gerald Fitz Walter, by Gladys, daughter of Rhiwallon-ap-Cynvyn, Prince of North Wales, was appointed by Henry I. Constable of Pembroke Castle, and was father of Maurice Fitz Gerald (who came to Ireland with the Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) in 1169), by Nesta, daughter of Rhys-ap-Tudor Mawr, Prince of South Wales.

Page 461, line 19.—*O' Whelane, and Castle of Guikinloe*.

This grant is thus described in the Norman French "*Geste*" of the "*Conquest of Ireland*" (Ed. Michel) p. 146:—

"Li quens Ricard pus donout  
A Moriz le fiz Geroud;  
Le Nas donat le bon cuntur  
Al fiz Geroud od tut le onur:  
Ço est la terre de Ofelan  
Ki fud al traitur Mac Kelan;  
Si li donat Winkinlo  
Entre Brée e Arklo:  
Ço fud la tere de Kylmantan,  
Entre ad Cleth e Lochgarman."

Earl Richard then gave  
To Maurice fits Gerald;  
The good count gave the Naas  
To Fitz Gerald with all the honor:  
This is the land of Ofelan  
Which belonged to the traitor Mac Kelan;  
He gave him also Wicklow  
Between Bray and Arklow:  
This was the land of Kylmantan,  
Between Ad Cleth [Dublin] and Lochgarman [Wexford].

From Ofelan (*recte* Ui Failghe), the Fitz Gerald's derived their most ancient title of O'faly, a Barony by tenure, still enjoyed by the Duke of Leinster.









**Dominican Friary or North Abbey.**



**Franciscan Friary, or South Abbey.**

**DOMINICAN AND FRANCISCAN FRIARIES, YOUGHAL, FROM AN OLD MAP.**

Page 462, line 3.—*Youghill*.

Henry III., on Sep. 26th, in the 18th year of his reign (A. D. 1234), granted to Maurice FitzGerald, second Baron of Ophaly, and his heirs for ever, a market to be held in his Manor of "Yohyll," on the Saturday of each week—also a fair to be held on the Vigil and Day of St. Michael, and for thirteen days after. (Rot. Claus. 18 Hen. III., M. 6). In 1334, by an Inquisition taken at Youghal, it was found that Maurice, the first Earl of Desmond, had twenty satellites called *Kernes* (*satalitos qui vocantur Kernes*), who feloniously slew certain men at Youghal, and were afterwards received and maintained by the said Earl with full knowledge of their felonious acts; also, that the said satellites took from the men of the County of Cork, with the assent of the Earl, various goods and chattels to the value of £20. (Inquisitions, Public Record Office, London.) That is, they took coyne and livery or horse meat and man's meat, so early had the Desmonds adopted the Irish customs. As Youghal was closely connected with the Earls of Desmond down to the rebellion of Earl Garret, we here give a map, from the original in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin, of the town as it was in the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, and also enlarged views of the two Abbeys from representations on the same map.<sup>1</sup> The sack of Youghal by the Earl, after he had broken out into rebellion (and which is merely alluded to at p. 387, *supra*, by Russell) is thus graphically described in the State Papers of Elizabeth:—

SIR WILLIAM PELHAM TO LORD TREASURER BURLEIGH.

Public Record Office, State Papers (Ireland), Elizabeth, Vol. LXX., No. 33, 28 Nov. 1579.

"My very good Lo. the wind hath bine so littell favorable to y<sup>e</sup> dispatches sent from England as I have not sene eny from thence of latter date then the second of this moneth at w<sup>ch</sup> tyme it semed yo<sup>r</sup> lo: were not enformed of the Rebellion of the Earle of Desmond Since my Retorne out of Mounster and the authoritie given to my very good Lo: the Earl of Ormond to be generall & whill he remained at home to make preparation for the prosecution of the Rebella. I heare that Desmond in persone, accompanied with his brother John, hath sackid Youghall and used greatt furie towards the people and it is given forth by some l<sup>r</sup>es of credible persons that the like outradge is comitted at Kinsall by the Earle of Clancare and his confederatty. I hope God in good tyme by the hand of the Earle of Ormond shall revenge her Ma<sup>ty</sup> of the horrible treasons comitted by Desmond and his bretherne. And like as Mounster is altogether in armes either to offend or defend, which defence as I perceave is not ioynd with any offence of th<sup>e</sup> enemy but in such only as serve in her Ma<sup>ty</sup> paie under the Lo: generall, so I looke for nothing northward but all the ill y<sup>e</sup> their forces can offer; and the neighbours to y<sup>e</sup> pale, as Orelighe Th' Omors and some of the Cavenaughts, are alredie spoiling upon the countrie by night stelthes, &c.

"At Dubline, 28 of Novemb<sup>r</sup> 1579, your lo: assuredlie to commande, &c.

"WILLIAM PELHAM."

<sup>1</sup> This map was lithographed for the Association by S. P. Close, Esq., Architect, who also enlarged the views of the Abbeys from the map. The map and also the transcripts of the State Papers here given were communicated by the Rev. Samuel Hayman. The history and annals of these Geraldine Foundations have already appeared in our "Journal," second series, Vol. iii., pp. 329-336; and formed a portion of "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Youghal," a series of papers contributed by the Rev. Samuel Hayman. Of the South, or Franciscan Friary, not a vestige now exists; while of the North, or Dominican Friary, the only remnants are the western wall of its church, with some small attached portions of the side walls, and a mutilated pier towards the S. E., from which sprang arches that connected the nave, choir, and south aisle. Through the Messrs. Fitzgibbon's generosity, we are enabled to give in the opposite page representations of both Friaries, as they stood, after the Reformation, unroofed

and deserted, but not as yet overthrown and desolate. These curious and hitherto inedited drawings have been carefully enlarged from the picture map of Youghal above referred to. They are done in fac-simile, and, like the originals, are deficient in shading and perspective. Lodge ("Peerage of Ireland," Vol. i., page 60, note) mentions, without citing his authority, that Maurice FitzGerald, the founder of the South Abbey, intended originally to have erected a castle on the site, "and the workmen who were digging the foundation, on the eve of some festival, requesting a piece of money to drink his health, he directed his eldest son to give it, who, instead of obeying, abused the workmen; at which he was so concerned that he altered his design, by changing the castle into a friary, and taking upon himself the habit of the order." It is to be feared that the original draughtsman of the map has not given a very accurate architectural elevation of the abbeys, but the general grouping is probably in some degree correct.



## THOMAS EARL OF ORMONDE TO THE SAME.

P. R. O.  
State Papers (Ireland)  
Eliz. Vol. LXX.,  
No. 64, 27 Dec. 1579.

"My very good L. Although ye L. can not be unacquainted with the reports of y<sup>e</sup> successes of the service in this Province since I entred into the charge, I sending over l<sup>r</sup>es to y<sup>e</sup> L. & the rest of the L<sup>ts</sup>: of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> counsell in generall w<sup>ch</sup> shall come to y<sup>e</sup> sight: yet I thought mete somewhat in particuler to touche unto y<sup>e</sup> L. howe thinges have passed under me sithence I entred into the service referreng y<sup>e</sup> L. for the circumstance of the matter unto the generall l<sup>r</sup>es.

"I was in Onalo the 6 of this moneth between Asketten & Newecastell (ii of the Erles chief houses) & marched there all the day & prayed, spoiled & burned the countrie even to the mountain of Slew logher & returned to Adare w<sup>th</sup> out sight of the Rebelles. In the countie of Cork I burned John of Desmonds towne & castell called Leafynen w<sup>th</sup> all his lands in Cosbride together w<sup>th</sup> a castell named the Shean belonging to Morrice M<sup>c</sup> Gerot a kinsman of the Erles.

"I finde by examinations taken by me & her Ma<sup>ty</sup> Justices & comissioners in this province that the townesmen of Youghall were contented the traytours should enter the towne, who not onely spoiled all their goods brake downe their houses & the walles of the towne, But also (w<sup>ch</sup> is most intollerable) the trayterous Erle w<sup>th</sup> his brother John & the Senescall like most unnaturall & spitefull traytours caused her Ma<sup>ty</sup> armes in the court house of the towne to be pulled downe & they w<sup>th</sup> their skeins or daggers thrust it through in many places & out it in peces as an argument of their canckred & alienated harts, But for the townesmen I meane ere longe to make an example by some of them according to their deserts, for that they shewed their goodwill to the Traytours in helping them over the walles into the towne w<sup>th</sup> ladders & ropes. And so I take leave of y<sup>e</sup> L.: At Clonemell this 27 of December 1579.

"Y<sup>e</sup> L. to cōmand assuredlye,

"THOMAS ORMONDE."

(Superscription). "To the right hono<sup>r</sup>able my very good L. my L. Treasurer of England."

P. R. O.  
State Papers (Ireland)  
Eliz. Vol. LXXI. No.  
3-1, 4 Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1579-80.

"An Abstract drawen out of divers Examynacions taken before the right hono<sup>r</sup>able the Erle of Ormond & Ossorie &c. and others her Ma<sup>ty</sup> Justices & Comissioners in the provinces of Mounster whereby may appere what treachery hath ben used by the Inhabitants of Yoghell & how careless they were of there defence at & before the wynneng of that Towne by the Rebells 1579.

Frances Aynes an  
alderman of that  
Towne & now a pri-  
soner & divers other  
do testifie this.

men called Morrice

That the erle had  
the ferry bote by or-  
der from the maior  
appereth by the de-  
position of divers &  
himself confessed to  
have delyvered hit  
in this manner.

This is confessed  
by the maio<sup>r</sup> & James  
Gellway of that  
towne.

Hector Portingall  
of Yoghell one of the  
bretheren do testifie  
this, and divers do  
wittnes that candle &  
victuall went frely  
out of the towne.

"The Erle of Desmond came towards Yoghell on the afternone of the friday next before the taking therof, before whose commyng in sight of the Towne one of his horsmen came towards the gate, geveng out, that the Erle came not to hurt the Towne, but to have a testimoniall of his loyaltie, and afterward came one of the erles Meagher to the maior sayeng that the Erle will prove he was uniuistlie proclaymed & will send l<sup>r</sup>es therof to the L. Justice & to Thierle of Ormond praing to have the ferry bote to convey his messenger to the Deeses, wher upon the maior commanded the ferryman Morice Ofollow to lett hem have the bote wherby the passage was taken from the rescue of the towne.

"On Satterday the Erle sent for ii of the Aldermen to confer w<sup>th</sup> him, the maior assembled his bretheren who concluded to send James Galwan & Morice White, w<sup>ch</sup> together w<sup>th</sup> one William Neale who kept them company of his owne hede went to th<sup>e</sup> Erle carrieng w<sup>th</sup> them a flagon of secke at the comon chardges. They sgre to pay to tonnes of wyne to the Erle for goeng away & upon theire retourne in company w<sup>th</sup> Morrice Sheghan and Th<sup>e</sup> Erles butler a parcell of the wyne was conveighed to the Erle by his men.

"The Erle & his company had as moche victualls & candles for there money as they neded by order of the maior & his bretheren.

## THE EARLS OF DESMOND.

W<sup>m</sup>. Yordan Henry Philipps & John Handell of Mylbroke do depose this & the maio<sup>r</sup> confesseth to have sene som so do.

The men of Milbrocke do wittnes this & the maio<sup>r</sup> confesseth it.

The men of Milbrocke & Ric. Keally of the passage do w<sup>it</sup>nes this.

W<sup>m</sup>. Walshe deposeeth that Morice White went downe over the walles & sent ii ladders. Frances Anyas is charged by divers & himself confesseth to have pulled up one Rebell w<sup>it</sup> a rope.

The Milbrocke men & Richard Keally of the passage & divers others do w<sup>it</sup>nes this.

Divers are proved to be of this sort & among the rest one James Renan is taken in Waterford whom the maio<sup>r</sup> Hector Portingall & others do charge: one Robert Walshe was helping S<sup>r</sup> John to cary 2 sacres of her Mat<sup>e</sup> from the key & many more are w<sup>it</sup> them in rebellion This the maio<sup>r</sup> & divers others do testifie.

"The men & women on Satterday & Son<sup>d</sup> w<sup>it</sup> the Rebells over the walles.

"The maio<sup>r</sup> comanded the men of Milbrocke the rounde towre at the key not to shote of shold begin w<sup>it</sup> them in the towne; and after, w<sup>it</sup> by the wynde mill on the south side of the tow would have shott of a sacre chardged w<sup>it</sup> a ro<sup>u</sup> shott & a hand speake of an elle long, where to have spoiled many of them, one elderly ma<sup>n</sup> mandated not to shoote of least the Rebells w<sup>it</sup> & thretned to kill the gonner if he wold gi

"Some of the Townesmen have gone over on Sonday and sent some ladders to help the : some haled up rebelles w<sup>it</sup> cordes.

"The assault contynued first & last but one & towres defensible being yealded ymediatly saving the rounde towre w<sup>ch</sup> was yelded the ne ing.

"After that the Rebells entred in, divers ioyned w<sup>it</sup> them spoyling as egerly as any of t other like traitoureslek offices, notw<sup>it</sup>standing ravisheng of there women the spoile of there | there houses, & that (w<sup>ch</sup> is a moste detestabl standing that they sawe the Erle, S<sup>r</sup> John the kellye, & divers others draw downe in the o Towne her Mat<sup>e</sup> armes & moste dispitefully w other weapons to cut it & trust it through

"Ex copia,

(Endorsed by Burghley).

"An Abstract of examinations towchyng the betrayinge of Youghill in Ireland."

### SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER TO THE ERLE OF ORMOND.

P. R. O.  
State Papers (Ireland), Eliz. Vol.  
LXXI., No. 3—III.

"My dutie don to yo<sup>r</sup> L. It may pleas yo<sup>r</sup> the ix<sup>th</sup> of November last hether came to me : ander Goegh preest, chanter of Yoghell, and in William Aynes of that Towne, who were sent to poracion there unto me w<sup>it</sup> a lettre for powder & municion, to whom I delivered 23 stone & 3<sup>lb</sup> of serpentyne powder, putting in sufficient summe to answe<sup>r</sup> for the same to the quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>. At w<sup>ch</sup> tyme I offered t Aynes for the better defence of there Towne, that captain Rogers, this haven w<sup>it</sup> a ship of S<sup>r</sup> Homfray Gilberts (called the Releef) w<sup>it</sup> ordinance shot & powder & 24 harquebusiers in her, shold goo to the haven of Yoghell, and there lay his shipp at ancre alongest the shore where there wall was fallen downe, who would have under taken w<sup>it</sup> men to have flanked & defended that side of the Towne requir<sup>ing</sup> but onely meat & drinke for the sustentacion of his soldiours. And mating of them to embrase this offer I told them it was not hal chardgs for everie howsholder in the Towne; and further I said to take the said shipp along w<sup>it</sup> them that I would be a meanes either to yo<sup>r</sup> L. that the quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> should beare the chardgs therof, or if that her highnes would not beare the same that they should cause t to bee contributors to that chardge who had there goods & corne Towne: w<sup>ch</sup> offeres they refused, being the x<sup>th</sup> of November afor

before the loss of the towne. So not having further occasion at this tyme to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> L. I humbly take my leave. From Corke this first of December 1679.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> L to cōmand

"WARHAM SENT LEGER.

"I wrote sondry letters to the said mai<sup>or</sup> of Yoghell willing him in eny wise to entrench & fortifie there Towne and to make it lesse whereby they might w<sup>th</sup> there smal number defend the same, willing them in enywise not to abandon there walles till by force they were driven from it.

"Ex<sup>d</sup>. BURGATE."

There is great obscurity as to the precise manner in which the Desmond Fitz Gerald obtained Youghal and its district. The Inquisitions preserved in the Public Record Office, London, distinctly make out the conveyance from the Fitz Gerald, Barons of Ophaly, to the De Clares, through their heiress to the Badesmesmeres, and by the heiress of the latter eventually to the Tiptofts. After all it is most likely that the Desmond title, originally, was occupation by the "strong hand."

Page 462, line 8.—*Thomas the Greate.*

Sir William Betham, in his "Irish Antiquarian Researches," p. 226, says that this Thomas the Great was second son to Maurice Fitz Gerald, the companion of Strongbow. He died in 1218. "This Thomas Fitz Maurice married Elinor, daughter of Jordan de Marisco, and niece of Hervy de Montmarisco, before mentioned, by whom he had—

"John Fitz Thomas, founder of the Abbey of Tralee, who acquired the lands and lordships of Decies and Desmond,<sup>1</sup> by marriage with Marjery, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Fitz Anthony, lord of Decies and Desmond, and was slain 1260 (at Callan); he was father of Maurice Fitz John, second lord of Decies and Desmond, who was slain with his father in 1260; he married Joan, daughter of John lord Cogan, by whom he had Thomas Fitz Maurice, commonly called *Nappagh, or the Ape*, third lord of Decies and Desmond, who married Margaret, daughter of Walter de Burgo, son of Walter, earl of Ulster. He was summoned to Parliament in 1296, and accounted for 500 marks, the rent of his land in Decies, 18 Edw. I., 1290; and dying before 1299, was succeeded by his son, Maurice Fitz Thomas, fourth lord of Decies and Desmond, who was created earl of Desmond, and lord of the palatine regalities of the county of Kerry, by patent dated 27 August, 1329. This Maurice, and John, who was created earl of Kildare, in 1316, because they were both sons of a Thomas, and consequently in those days were called Fitz Thomas, have been named as brothers by Mr. Lodge, and others, an error which any one might fall into, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary. "The truth is, that Thomas, the great-great grandfather of the first earl of Desmond, was brother to Gerald, the great-grandfather of the first earl of Kildare."

It will be seen that, lower down, at line 42, our Author has fallen into the same mistake as to the relationship existing between the first Earls of Desmond and Kildare.

Page 462, line 19.—*In a place called Callen.*

In the obits of the Fitz Gerald attached to Grace's Annals, this John, usually called John of Callan, is erroneously styled Lord of Ofaly. The battle of Callan, as we learn from the Four Masters, was fought at Callainn Gleanna O'Ruachtain, about five miles eastward of Kenmare, in Kerry, between the Mac Carthys of Carbery, led by Finin of Reanna-Roin, or Ringrone, and his two brothers, Donal Mael, and Cormac of Mangerton (whom Dr. O'Donovan calls "the most heroic of the Eugenic line of Desmond since the English invasion") and the Fitz Gerald, assisted by William Denn, the Justiciary, Walter de Burgo, Walter de Riddlesford, and Donal Roe Mac Carthy Mor, the son of Cormac Finin, who took part, upon this occasion, against his own sept. This battle cost the Fitz Gerald the life of their chief, and of his son Maurice, "eight Barons and fifteen Knights, besides an infinity of others." After the battle Finin burned and levelled the castles of his enemies, and killed their English warders.

<sup>1</sup> They were confirmed to him by King Henry the Third, by patent, dated in 1256, in the forty-

fourth year of his reign, in as ample a manner as they had been held by Thomas Fitz Anthony.

Page 462, line 49.—*This Maurice aforesaid, the first Ear*

Gilbert ("Viceroy of Ireland," p. 171) states, that through Fitz Anthony's heiress "John Fitz Thomas . . . . added to his 'O'Connelloe,' or Connello, in Limerick, the lands of Decies in Ws of Dungarvan . . . . together with estates in *Deas Mhuima*, or Soe by the settlers 'Desmonia,' 'Desmun,' 'Deesemond,' and 'Desmos the title of the Earldom conferred in 1339, on his great grandson M

"The Earl of Desmond [having been arrested by the Viceroy leased from custody at London, in 1349, on the joint bond of his fat Lord Stafford, Thomas de Berkeley, Richard Talbot, and Reginald d whom personally undertook to produce him within eight days from be demanded from the king.

"Edward III. and his council pronounced D'Ufford's proceedi erroneous, and ordered the restitution of the lands and properties whi from the Earl and his bailmen. Eighteen knights are, however, lost their estates through these transactions, from which Edward, ac statement, did not derive any profit.

"The king took the Earl under his special protection, ordered to defend his possessions, and decreed that all questions in connexio be referred to the Council in England.

"Desmond, nominated to the Viceroyalty in 1355, governed wit tating to hang some of his own kindred, convicted of plunder or "Viceroy of Ireland," pp. 210, 211.

The Pedigree of the Earls of Desmond preserved in the Harlei fol. 40, states of this Earl, that "he tooke Morrice Fitz Mietus Lord and sterved him in prison. He was the first of the English blood th & liverie upon his tenants. The first peere of Ireland that refu Kinges Parliament, being summoned. The first that by extortion larged his territories, and the first that made distinctions between English birth. This Maurice Fitz Thomas attended John Darcy land when he invaded Scotland, Anno 1384."

In the foregoing extract *Fitz Mietus* should read *Fitz Maurice* Kerry, and the whole Seigniorie thereto belonging" (see p. 363 dower to Earl Maurice by his second marriage with Ellenor, daugh third Lord of Kerry and Lixnau. In consequence of his havin termed "rhymer" by Baron Arnold le Poer, at a public asser embarked in a fierce intestine strife, the nobles of Ireland bandin opposite sides. Such ravages were committed that the towns wer garrisons for their own protection, and Royal writs were issued fro the Le Poers and Geraldines to desist from levying forces for the each other; but to little purpose.

Page 463, line 5.—*Gerald.*

Gilbert, in his "Viceroy of Ireland," states that—"On the Lionel, in 1367, the Viceroyalty was committed to Gerald, fourth styled 'the poet,' who, from his learning and acquirements, was g a magician. Some fragments of Anglo-Norman verse, entitled ' of Desmond,' still survive.

"Becoming closely allied with the natives, the Earl obtain send his son James to be fostered and brought up among the O'I notwithstanding the prohibition under the 'Statute of Kilkenny.'

"The native writers describe Earl *Gearroitt*, or Gerald, as a bounty and mirth, cheerful in conversation, charitable in his dee witty and ingenious composer of Gaelic poetry, a learned and prof one of the foreign nobles that held the learning of Erin and its reverence. The Earl lived long in Irish legends, according to whi years revisited his castle in Lough Air, or Gur, near Limerick." thus mention him :—

"A. D. 1398. Gerald, Earl of Desmond, a man of gaiety an distinguished of the English of Ireland, and also of many of the ments and knowledge of the Irish language, of poetry, history, and literature which he had acquired, died after he had gained the vi

Page 463, line 14.—*Thomas Fitz John.*

In Grace's Annals the death of this Earl is thus recorded:—"Died, Sir Thomas, son of John Earl of Desmond, in the realm of France, in the city of Rouen, in the province of Normandy, in the year of our Lord, 1420." At this date the city of Rouen, after fierce siege and gallant defence, surrendered to Henry; and it would not be surprising if the Earl perished under or within its walls; but if he died at Rouen he was in all probability buried in Paris—if, as this narrative asserts, the Kings of England and France attended his funeral, for we know that Henry was in Paris for some time in the winter of 1420, as guest of the French King, whose daughter he married; but we have no mention of the presence of Charles in Rouen after that city had surrendered to the English.

Page 463, line 19.—*James Fitz Gerald.*

We learn from Gilbert's "Viceroys of Ireland" that—A. D. 1416—despite the interference and opposition of the Viceroy, at this period, James Fitz Gerald succeeded in deposing his nephew, Thomas, Sixth Earl of Desmond, on the pretext of his having married the beautiful Catherine Ni Cormac, in the house of whose father, one of his vassals, he had been benighted while hunting near Tralee. Under the "Statute of Kilkenny," marriage with the native Irish was penal, without the royal permission, which was usually accorded, and would in this instance have been of little moment, had the Earl contracted an alliance with one of the powerful clans, whose aid might have enabled him to resist both the Crown and his intruding relative. The usurper thrice expelled him from his lands, and obliged him, in the presence of the Earl of Ormond and others, to make formal surrender of the earldom, a portion of land being assigned to his son Maurice.

The deposed Earl died at Rouen, and his kinsman, King Henry V., is said to have attended his funeral.

While the territories of the English Crown in Leinster became daily more limited, James, Seventh Earl of Desmond, who had expelled his nephew, acquired, in the south, important additions to his estates and rights.

From Robert Fitz Geoffrey de Cogan he procured, in 1438, a conveyance of all lands<sup>1</sup> claimed by him in Ireland, comprising about one half of the so-called kingdom of Cork.

The Earl married Mary, daughter of Ulick de Burgh, or Mac William *Iochtar*; brought into the county of Cork the sept Sheehy, whom he retained as his body-guard; and reduced to obedience the Barretts and other strong Anglo-Norman families of Munster. The fame of Desmond reached Tuscany, whence his remote ancestors were said to have migrated.

In 1440, the following letter was, in the name of the Florentine Republic, addressed to the Earl by their secretary, the learned historian, Leonardo Bruni, or Aretino, one of the associates of Cosmo de Medici:—

"Magnificent lord and dearest friend,—If it be true, as is publicly stated, that your progenitors were of Florentine origin, and of the right noble and antique stock of the Gherardini,<sup>2</sup> still one of the highest and greatest families of our State, we have ample reason to rejoice and congratulate ourselves that our people have not only acquired possessions in Apulia, Greece, and Hungary, but that our Florentines, through you and yours, bear sway even in Ibernia, the most remote island of the world. O great glory of our State! O singular benevolence of God towards our people! from whom have sprung so many nobles and dominations, diffused over the entire orbit of the earth.

<sup>1</sup> The Harleian Vol., No. 1425, recites the names of these lands, and adds "ac etiam manerium de Cogan in Wallia." The Irish lands read are as follows:—"The manors of Carrickprohan, Downedrinan, Rathcoogan, Novam Villan de Monnore, Muskrie, Mitten Benvar, Columord, Dulois, Shandon, Ocarbhallaghan, Flaloe, Killourhie, Kinalbeckie, et Muskrie cum omnibus suis pertinenciis in Corn. Corke, ac reversion' de Muskrie Cogan, vis. Rathcoogan, Ballaclath et Jorrell cum acciderit."

<sup>2</sup> We are enabled by the kindness of Charles G. Napier, Esq., of 2, Eaton Villas, Putney, to give the arms of the Gherardini of Florence, as blazoned in a Florentine armorial MS. of the year 1302, in his possession. They are as follows:—*Gules, three bars vair*. The dissimilarity of arms is not conclusive, one way or another; but it is likely that the similarity of name led to the assumption that the Geraldines of Ireland and Gherardini of Florence were of the same family.

"Truly are we bound to give thanks to God for so many and such great benefits conferred upon our State. Therefore, most magnificent lord, although in regions far away, yet nigh to you in good will and affection, we willingly offer you our all with cheerful hearts. At this moment there sets out for your parts Giovanni Betti de Gherardini, a noble youth, the bearer of these letters, whom his father sends to become acquainted with you and his kinsmen of your stock. We therefore certify by these our letters, that this Giovanni, now about to pass over to you, is, as well as his father who sends him, descended, by the sire, grandsire, and great-grandsire, from the family of Gherardini.

"We heartily commend this youth to you; but as the journey is long, and the distance great, we here set down the marks and appearance of this Giovanni, the bearer of our letters, so that neither error nor doubts may arise. He is aged twenty-three years, above the middle stature, with a well-complexioned countenance of honest expression. Impressed, as it were, on the right region of his forehead he bears a wound, and on the back of his left hand he has a scar caused by fire. Farewell, magnificent lord, and expect all that can be desired from our citizens, your well-wishers."

By Royal Patent, in 1443, Desmond was appointed Governor and Custodian of the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kerry. Two years subsequently, the Earl obtained exoneration from personal attendance at the Parliaments of the Colony, in consideration of the great labour, pains, and care which he had devoted to the preservation of the rights of the Crown, in the counties under his jurisdiction; the king having regard to the fact that the places where the Parliaments usually sat were remote from the territories of his cousin, the Earl of Desmond, who could not travel to such councils without the greatest danger in passing through the intermediate districts occupied by strong Irish enemies. This privilege was surrendered by Earl James Fitz John, 32nd Hen. VIII.—"Council Book of Ireland," quoted in the Carew Calendar, Vol., v., p. 455.

On the 21st of October, 1449, the Duke of York's ninth child, George of York, afterwards Duke of Clarence, was born in Dublin Castle, and the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde stood sponsors at the Font.

A. D. 1462. The young Earl of Ormonde [*recte* Sir John Butler] arrived in Ireland, with a powerful host of Saxons, and a great war arose between the Earls of Ormonde and of Desmond, in which Gerald, the son of the Earl of Desmond, was taken prisoner by the Butlers, who also took possession of Waterford. Both parties finally resolved on giving each other battle, and it was against the will of the Earl of Ormonde that the son of Richard (Butler) went to fight the battle on that day; however, he was defeated in the engagement, and he himself taken prisoner, and some state that 410 of them (the Butlers) were buried on that day, besides all that the dogs and birds [of prey] devoured. The Geraldines, after gaining the battle with great slaughter, took Kilkenny, and the great towns of the territory, from the Butlers. The young Earl of Ormonde, with his English, were in a fortified town, which could not be taken from them. Another brother of the Earl (of Ormonde) arrived in Ireland, and seized on four ships belonging to the Earl of Desmond, at sea, with all they contained, through which the Butlers gained great power.—"Four Masters."

Gilbert's "Viceroy of Ireland" thus mentions the same event:—

"A. D. 1462. Sir John Botiller, heir to the Ormonde Earldom, a strong Lancastrian partizan, landing in Ireland in 1462, with a body of English soldiery, was joined by his kinsman, Edmund Botiller, surnamed 'Mac Richard.' Combined with their Irish allies, they assaulted Waterford; but the Yorkist Earl of Desmond having advanced against them, they agreed to 'a sett battle, meeting each other with odious and direful countenances.'"

Desmond encountered Sir John Botiller at Piltown, or *Baile-an-Phoil*, in the county of Kilkenny, defeated his forces with great carnage, and took his chief commander, Mac Richard, prisoner. According to the native annalists, Mac Richard engaged on this occasion against the desire of Sir John Botiller; for they added, "Englishmen were accustomed not to give battle on Monday, nor after noon on any day; but Mac Richard respected not their superstitious observances."

*Ib. line 33.—This Thomas was beheaded at Tredagh.*

Gilbert, in his "Viceroy of Ireland," says, that Thomas Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Desmond, eldest son of the usurper, James, and Mary De Burgh, daughter of Mac William, had succeeded to the earldom in 1462. The native writers describe this Earl Thomas as valiant and successful in war, comely in person, versed in Latin, English,

and Gaelic lore, affable, eloquent, hospitable, humane to the needy, a suppressor of vice and theft; surpassingly bountiful in bestowing jewels and wealth on clerics and laymen, but especially munificent to the antiquaries, poets, and men of song of the Irish race.

Thomas Earl of Desmond having been, by King Edward the Fourth, nominated as Deputy Governor of Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence, on assuming the government was opposed in the field by five thousand of the English of Meath, whom he soon reduced to obedience, as his kinsman Mac William, with O'Donnell and other powerful English and Irish allies, gave in their adhesion to him at Dublin.

The custody of Lord Shrewsbury's seignory of Dungarvan, which had been "almost finally destroyed" by the neighbouring Irish, was committed to the Earl of Desmond. He was also appointed custodian of the wasted castles and towns of Carlow, Ross, and Durbar's Island; and authorised to collect the customs at Dungarvan, to be applied to the reparation of its walls.

In the summer of 1463, Sir John Botiller and his adherents made another attempt to establish themselves in the Ormonde Country, but the Earl of Desmond advanced against them with a numerous force. At the head of his troops, Desmond, during seventeen days, burned, wasted, and destroyed the Ormonde lordships, till the people submitted to him.

Variances having arisen in 1464, between the Deputy and Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, the Earl of Desmond and the Prelate proceeded to England with the intention of arraigning each other before Edward. Letters in commendation of Desmond were ordered by the Parliament of the Colony to be transmitted to the King, his Council, the Chancellor and Treasurer of England.

The Parliament referred to the great services which Thomas Earl of Desmond, the King's Deputy, had, at "intolerable charges," and "in jeopardy of his life," rendered to the reigning Monarch, as well as to his father, "the right noble and famous Prince of blessed memory, Richard Duke of York." They certified that he was and ever had been the King's true and faithful liegeman, governing himself always by English laws, and by those that were well-wishers to his Highness. By God's grace, and the great travail and labour of the Deputy, the land, they wrote, was in a reasonable state of peace and tranquillity. The Parliament prayed that it might please the King to bear in remembrance the great services, costs, and charges of the Earl Thomas, to have him in tenderness and special favour, and to reward him according to his wisdom and bounty. They requested that credence might not be given to those who impugned Desmond, nor to any subsequent accusation against him, till his Highness had certified the Earl, and the latter had addressed the King, on the truth and lawful answer to the charge. They also prayed that Edward would not make further grants of his Irish revenues, which, they recommended, should be employed by the Deputy in defence of the land.

Edward, satisfied with Desmond's representations, granted him six manors in Meath; admitted him, apparently, to his confidence; and the Earl returned to Ireland as Deputy Governor with many tokens of royal favour.

Edward had, apparently, at this period, grounds to suspect Desmond, and his brother-in-law, Kildare, of favouring the projects of the Earl of Warwick, which originated in dissatisfaction at the royal marriage with Elizabeth Grey, and the consequent advancement of her obscure relatives. In 1467, Desmond was deposed from the Deputy Governorship, which was committed to the King's trusted confidant, John Tiptoft, or Tiptot, Earl of Worcester, whose ancestors had claims upon the manors of Inchiquin and Youghal, in the vicinage of the Munster Geraldines. Gilbert's "Vice-roys of Ireland," p. 385.

The ancient possessors of the district were the *Ui-Cuinn* [O'Quins]. When Christianity became the accepted Religion of the people, Inchiquin was made an appendage of the See of Cloyne.<sup>1</sup> Even in the fifteenth century homage was done to the Bishop as feudal lord.

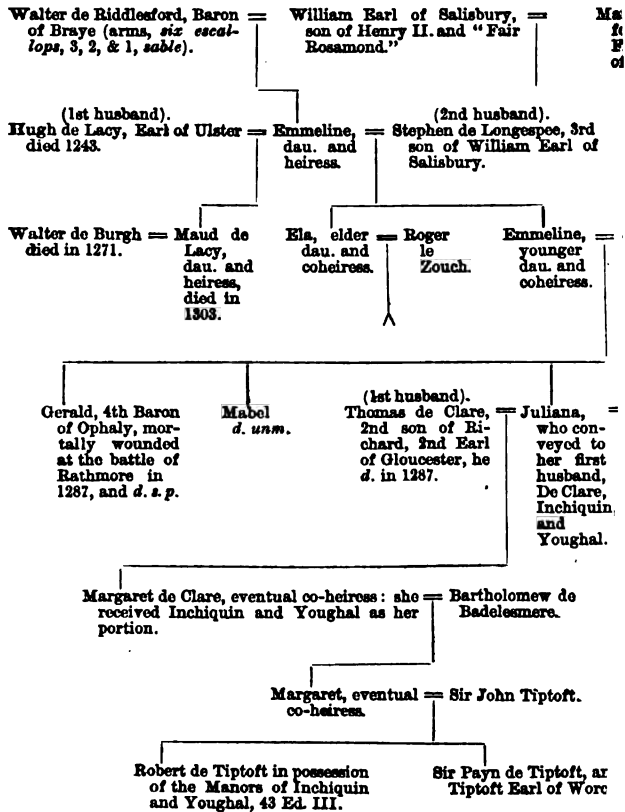
In the distribution of lands by King Henry II., Inchiquin fell to the lot of Robert Fitz Stephen. To him, along with Milo de Cogan, the king granted the kingdom of Cork. The two grantees, in 1180, divided their portion. Of the ten cantreds near Cork, de Cogan obtained the seven to the west and south; and Fitz Stephen the three

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Cork, vol. i., page 124; and Archdeacon Rowan's "Olde Countess of Desmonde," p. 16.

## THE EARLS OF DESMOND.

eastern.<sup>1</sup> including the fertile district of Imokilly, of which Inchiquin was the chief town.

Fitz Stephen conveyed to Maurice Fitz Gerald a moiety of the escheat received from the king.<sup>2</sup> With other lands came the manors of Inchiquin—the latter to be held of him and his heirs, at 100<sup>s</sup>, when the king was proclaimed.<sup>3</sup> Maurice Fitz Gerald's son, another Maurice Fitz Gerald, was the founder, in 1224, of the Franciscan Friary of Youghal, and his grand son Maurice married Emmeline de Longespee, through Juliana, Inchiquin and Youghal passed from the Kildare Fitz Gerald. The following table will show the connexion of the Tiptofts with Youghal:—



For the proofs of the above, the reader is referred to Sainthill's *Desmond*, Vol. ii., p. 47, where the original records supplied by the man, are printed. Robert de Tiptoft assigned the manors of Inchiquin to John de Harkyn, King's Sergeant, by whom they were assigned to Ormonde and Elizabeth his wife; but although the latter conveyance

<sup>1</sup> Girald. Cambr., Hib. Exp. lib. ii., c. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Vide the Decision pronounced at Cork by Sir Anthony Lucy, the Chief Justice, on the 31st of

August, 5 Edward III.

<sup>3</sup> Post Mortem Inquis [1321-22], about Thomas I



Edward III. (Nov. 15, 1371), it is certain that the Earl of Desmond held possession of the manors; and it is probable that when James 3rd Earl of Ormonde, constituted the 7th Earl of Desmond Seneschal for life of Imokilly, Inchiquin, and Youghal, it was because Desmond was the virtual possessor of the manors, and would not allow any one else to interfere with them. One cannot help suspecting that this claim on the fertile tract extending from Youghal to Cork Harbour may have had something to do with the execution of Thomas, 8th Earl of Desmond, at Drogheda, after being tried and convicted of treason by a Parliament summoned by Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, the Lord Deputy. The execution is accounted for in a very circumstantial way in the text; a similar explanation of it will be found in the "Book of Howth;" and, as may be seen from the passage above quoted from Gilbert's "Viceroy of Ireland," that accurate writer inclines to the same view, and there may be some truth in it. We add our own conjecture as to motives which may, also, have had something to do with an execution which was evidently looked on at the time as harsh and uncalled for.

Page 465, line 6.—*James, the eldest son of the said Thomas.*

We are informed by Gilbert, in his "Viceroy of Ireland," that king Richard the Third dictated special measures to be pursued by the Bishop Thomas Barrett (a cleric of Somerset, who had been appointed to the Bishopric of Enachdun, in Connaught), for the purpose of securing the attachment of James, Ninth Earl of Desmond. That nobleman, then in his twenty-fifth year, exercised almost independent authority over the English in Munster, was allied with the powerful Irish dynasts in his vicinity, where his rights were recognised by Sixtus IV.; but the execution of his father, the Earl Thomas, had engendered among the Southern Geraldines a distrust of the Kings of England and their Viceroy.

Richard commissioned the Bishop to intimate to Desmond his desire "to receive him into tender favour, both from his nobleness of blood, and for the manifold services and kindnesses rendered by the Earl's father, at great jeopardies and charges to himself, to the famous Prince, the Duke of York, the King's father, at divers seasons of great necessity." The King, it was added, had "inward compassion" for the unjust execution of the Earl's father; but that his own brother, the Duke of Clarence, and others of his "high kinsmen and great friends" in England, had similarly suffered; and he was content that his cousin Desmond should seek satisfaction by law against those who had been implicated in the death of his sire.

With the object of detaching Desmond from his Irish associations, the Bishop conveyed to him the royal wish that he should not contract marriage without the advice of his cousin, the King, who intended to "provide for him in such wise, and of such noble blood, as should redound to the weal and honour of himself, and of all his friends and kinsmen." The Earl was informed of Richard's desire that he should renounce the "wearing and usage of the Irish array," and adopt English apparel, after the fashion of the gowns, doublets, hose, and bonnets which he sent to him. He was also enjoined to maintain the rights of the Church; to repress spoliation and extortion; and to provide that the English subject might safely pass on the common highway, so that, "according to the King's great trust, he might appear and be named a very justicer, as well for his proper honour and weal, as for the common weal of those parts."

The Bishop was authorised to receive Desmond's oath of allegiance, and to deliver to him, "in a convenient place and honourable presence," the King's livery, consisting of a collar of gold, with his cognizance, or device, of a white boar, pendant from a circlet of roses and suns.

In addition to the collar, weighing twenty ounces, the following "parcels of clothing"—were transmitted from the King's great workshop, by the Bishop to the Earl:—A long gown of cloth of gold, lined with satin or damask; two doublets, one of velvet, and another of crimson satin; three shirts and kerchiefs; three stomachers; three pair of hose—one of scarlet, one of violet, and the third of black; three bonnets, two hats, and two tippets of velvet.

Notwithstanding these overtures, Desmond augmented his alliance among his Irish neighbours, married Margaret, daughter of Tadhg O'Brien, Chieftain of Thomond; while his sister, Catherine, became the wife of Finghin, head of the powerful Munster sept of Mac Carthy Reagh. A large vellum volume of Gaelic writings, compiled by Aengus O'Calladh, for this Lady Catherine and her husband, was discovered, in 1811, secreted, with an ancient crosier, in part of the building of Lismore Castle, in the county of Waterford, and is now known as the "Book of Lismore," or of Mac Carthy Reagh.

# THE EARLS OF DESMOND.

Page 465, line 13.—*Maurice the lame.*

The following curious record relative to this Maurice is preserved in the Record Office, London, Hibernia Bag :—

"Toe alle thos toe whome thuse presente wryttenge comythe Co'es of the towne of Yoghylle Sendyth grettynge in God eva ase Moryce Erle of Dessemond hath made hyse solempne othe up mente, Evangelistes, ande othere Releques, to be faythfulle and troweste noble excellent and dredfulle Soverayne Lord Kyng of Englande & of Fraunce and Lord of Irland, before the Worlde Maystere Rychard Hatton Clerke & Doctoure in bothe lawes, tressarye Depute and Attorneye toe oure sayde Soverayne Lorde, Worshipfulle thene beyng presente to hyer the sayd othe an thyngges in our sayde Soverayn Lord ise name, as more playnlier wryttengese sealed & subsigned in his name, We the sayde M the sayd Yoghylle promytted and faythfully swerryth that we shal liegmene un toe oure said Soverayne Lorde, and feythe & trowt so God use helpe & all Sayntes, and be the Evangelysts, Sacrament Releques &c. And over thuse we wylle exorth and as well toe pouere, Therlle of Dessemonde toe accupyshe his faythe of his a toe kepe the t. no' & effecte of thendentures tripartyd made attw Rycharde Hatton Comysarye, the sayde Erle, ande the Mayr cownautes of the lyv'e of the said Erle ise sone, as be the playnlier hyte shalle appiere. And yf the sayd Erle wold nat th any poynte, other the hole sayde Endentures, thate thene the Co'es of Yoghylle toe theire powere shall ayde assyste and mayn Ballyf ande Co'es of Corke in that behalf: the premises ande to be fully holde and trowlye peremplexed. We the sayd Mayr Yoghylle thus presente wryttenge hath leythe our co'ene Yoghylle the xiiij day of Marce the xj yer of the reygne o Lorde &c."

I hereby certify the above to be a true and authentic copy having been examined therewith, and being sealed with the Seal Office, pursuant to Statute 1 & 2 Victoria, c. 94.

14 Aug. 1862.

H.  
Assistant K

*Id.* line 25.—*Then succeeded Thomas.*

It seems to be of this Earl that Sir John Fitz Gerald, of Henry VIII. in the following letter, preserved in the Irish Record Office, London.

"TO THE KING MY SOVEREIGN LORD.

"Ryght hie and myghty and my synguler and graciose pr mend my unto your nobyle grace. It [ ] the sam graciose last letter send unto my, I have not onlye suffered gr Erle of Desmond unto my tenants, but have as well secked maner of Dongarvan as others, and to my grette costs and da the tyme we dryven the sayd Erle unto the mayn se yn sertey whiche have landed at Youghull with as gret a company as he vesselles, and fro thens scape when he sawe his tyme; the m of the same, yn as muche as I ame the next neighbore havyn secretis, trustyng that [your] grace wyll regard my record yn t me for to enforme your grace of the trouthe of the same, wh sayd grace that the sayd Erle came soudenlie at full see u yngnorancye and symplenesse that the watergatt was not fast good wyll of the sayd enhabytanses, afterward affirmyng the Jamys Butler, Cormok oge and my, with others your adhe res puting us yn sufficientt surance to by faythfull and trywe u

gyving not onlie noe maner suportation nor socor unto the sayd Erle, but all so wyll envade hem to ther power: wher for I humblye desyre and pray your sayd noble grace for to pardon the sayd enhabytances of ther offences hider to, and wyl by borne of ther forsayd fydelyte by the wyche I dubt not shortlye to sye the sayd Erle is envacion and the moe for the [ ] of the sayd enhabytances by the grace of God, whom I pray enstantlie to send your grace victory of all your enemyse. Wrytten at my maner of Dromany the xxiiii day of Febrary the xix yer of your noble reyne

"Your faythfull Subject and [ ] to his power

"SIR JOHN FITZ GERALD, Knyght."

Page 465, line 36.—*Being the 16th July, 1540.*

It would appear from the extreme precision of the date here given of the murder of James Fitz Maurice that there could be no possibility of doubt as to its correctness; and yet it is inexact. The crime was thus reported to the king shortly after its perpetration on the 4th of April, 1540, by the Council of Ireland, who had not the same delicacy as the writer of this narrative in naming the murderer:—

"James Fitzmaurice of Desmond has been slain by Maurice, the brother of James FitzJohn, whereby the latter has concentrated in himself the whole title to the earldom."

Maurice, the murderer, lived to be 80 years of age, and lost his life in an attempt, for some offence taken with his son-in-law, Sir Dermot MacTadhg MacCarthy, to plunder the lands of Muskerry. This disastrous attempt of Maurice Duv, and its result, is thus chronicled by the Four Masters:—"Maurice Duv, the son of John, son of the Earl of Desmond, went upon a predatory excursion into Muskerry. The sons of Tadhg, son of Cormac Oge, son of Cormac, son of Tadhg MacCarthy, namely, Dermot and Cormac, overtook him and beheaded him; though the profit of sparing him would have been better than the victory gained by his death. He who was there slain was the firm steel of the Geraldines in the field of danger, the plunderer of his enemies, and the destroyer of his opponents." Maurice Duv left one son, James FitzMaurice, usually designated the Arch Traitor; and, besides the daughter mentioned above, as the mother of Florence MacCarthy, other two; one married to Lord Roche, and the other to Sir Dermot MacTeig MacCarthy, Lord of Muskerry, by whose followers he was slain.

Page 466, line 5.—*Unhappily slain.*

The account left us by O'Daly of the conflict of James Fitzmaurice with the Burkes is sufficiently wonderful; but it approaches a little nearer to the limits of credibility than that of this narrative, though both the one and the other read like an episode from the "Orlando Furioso." O'Daly, in his history of the Geraldines, informs his readers that "James had about a hundred foot, and very few horse; he cared not to bring more with him, as he never foresaw any danger. When the two parties came to blows, bravely fought they both, until at length some vile hireling discharged a gun at Fitzmaurice, who was easily recognized by his yellow doublet, and struck him to the ground. Wounded as he was in the breast, he carefully concealed the injury he had received, exhorting his men to stand firm . . . then in the last effort he dashed into the midst of his enemies, like another Achilles, foremost in the battle front, striking about him with sword and lance, until he made a lane for himself to where Theobald stood, and with a single blow cleft his skull in twain, and with another stroke killed his brother William." (O'Daly's History of the Geraldines, translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan).

As the narratives of the Russell MS. and O'Daly are in substance the same, and in language and detail so nearly identical as to force their readers to the belief that the one copied from the other, it may be well to endeavour to ascertain what authority, other than theirs, can be found for performances so marvellous as those they have related; but it may first be permitted to us to remark, that the behaviour of the Burkes was treachery of the darkest kind, and influenced by the basest motive. In the first place, they were nearly related to the gallant FitzMaurice, whose wife was one of their own family, but this very Theobald had been present at the assembly of the relatives, friends, and followers of the Earl of Desmond, when it was decided that the Earl should defend himself against the Lord Deputy; and all present engaged to assist, with all their followers—that is, that rebellion should be at once begun; and he had placed his signature with the

rest (and that of James Russell, the father probably of the Russell been already printed (see p. 361, *supra*), amongst them) to a certain rebellion then drawn up; and until this attack upon his cousin of the chief leaders of the rebels in arms. That Tibalt Burke was is certain; that he may have received his death from the sword of FitzMaurice, by possibility, after the latter was mortally wounded, is not "with a second blow FitzMaurice slew William Burke, the brother difficult of belief. On the 29th February, 1584, Sir William Bur showing how "his sons Theobald, Edward, and Richard fell in the 8th May, the Lords Justices wrote to the Privy Council, "com Ulick, son to the Lord William Burke, Baron of Castleconnell, a tall and forward gentleman, had been slain in Her Majesty's service; mention of any son William; nor is it expressly said that the other even present, in the encounter with FitzMaurice. The reward was, for the widow of Theobald, the head-money promised by the W. Drury, the Lord Deputy, for the slaying of the Arch Traitor, father, which nearly proved as fatal to him as the sword of FitzMaurice. On the 20th May, 1580, the Lord Deputy, Sir William P. Queen—"By virtue of your Majesty's last commission, I created a Baron; and rewarded such as had faithfully served you. The impression of overmuch joy, had like to have resigned your pen after his creation, being, in all our sights, dead, and with great. Another correspondent wrote "that the joy of his heart and the death had nearly killed him." The assertion of the writer of this narrative, aver many wonderful acts and enterprises of FitzMaurice almost hard to believe," no one who reads his narrative can doubt; but that "from the French King letters of recommendation to the Emperor, and to the King of Poland, who promoted him for his fighting against his bravery, thought him to be Scanderbeg restored to life to be real, unfortunately, not so evident, brevity preventing him from giving this portion of his story. O'Daly could have known nothing of FitzMaurice against the Turks, or he would surely have given it of the glories of the FitzGerald. We have no reason to believe that he was absent from Ireland at any time before the year 1568, when he and his brother, Sir John, were sent prisoners to the Tower, and the country devolved upon him. In the exercise of this authority that he remained in Ireland till the earl's liberation, for he kept the whole time. We know that he left Ireland—for the best affirmed—in March, 1576, and returned in 1579. During the whole time is pretty well accounted for; and he certainly had other and prospect of abundant fighting, without entering the service of search of it. The intelligencers whom Sir Henry Sidney put on track kept the Lord Deputy well informed of his movements, from land until the day of his return. He went from Limerick to St. Court (of France), thence to Spain, to Rome, back to Spain, and on the 17th August, 1580, Friar J. O'Hare, whose evil fortune had brought him into the hands of the Irish authorities, was taken before Sir Lucas Dillon's house, when he deposed that:—

"1. The cause of his flying over to Spain was his habit. 2. Of James FitzMaurice in France, or at Rome, he knoweth nothing out of this land into France, and thence to Rome, and from Rome into Spain, and from thence went again into France to visit his father and there came one John Fleminge, in company with Stuckelie and afterwards went into France to James FitzMorris to Bilboa, in company of the said James, his wife, his son, and himself after their landing at Bilboa, James FitzMorris, John Fleminge, together to the Court (then at Madrid), where he remained four months and returned without speaking with the king. He left his wife in Bisquay, five leagues from Bilboa; and she was lodged at Sarnosa, being so bare that she had not money to pay for her stay; such time as her husband sent her 1000 ducats from the Court; returned from the Court; Doctor Sanders came in company with him; thither they understood of the death of the King of Portugal

that at the time of his landing in Ireland FitzMaurice "was in total ignorance of Stukely and the fleet," and that at the time of his death "he was ignorant of Stukely's violation of his oath and honour," i.e. in lending the troops destined for Ireland to King Sebastian, and himself joining that monarch in his expedition against the Moors. If the deposition of Friar O'Hare was correct, that "Fitzmaurice heard of the death of the King of Portugal when at the Court of Spain," he must have known of Stukely's "violation of oath and honour" before he sailed for Ireland, and have been fully aware how hopeless it was to look for further foreign aid. His speech to Dr. Sanders, before leaving Spain, clearly proves that his mind, and the minds of the Geraldines and their allies, were fully made up to a struggle with the Queen's Government. When Dr. Sanders informed him that the King of Spain would not furnish him with ships or soldiers, he answered—"I care not for soldiers at all; you and I are enough; therefore let us go, for I know the minds of the noblemen in Ireland."

See, also, an interesting series of letters written by James Fitz Maurice, and edited for the Association by the late John O'Donovan, LL. D., "Journal," Vol. ii., p. 354, second series.

*Ib. line 33.—It was by means of this Earls.*

The destruction that came upon the Earl of Kildare arose out of the insubordination, not of James Fitz John, but of James Fitz Maurice, the eleventh Earl of Desmond.

*Ib. line 36.—He died in August, An. 1548.*

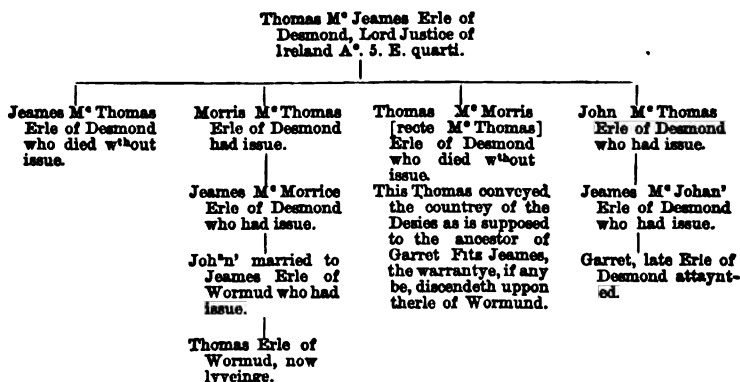
This is a mistake of our author; not, as at first sight might appear, a mere clerical error—a 4 for a 5. James Fitz John died, not in the reign of Edward, but ten years later, in the last days of Queen Mary.

On the 4th of August, 1558, the Lord Deputy Sussex wrote to Mr. Secretary Boxal, "The Earl of Desmond is not dead, but past recovery." And on the 31st October he wrote to the Queen, "The Earl of Desmond is now certainly dead."

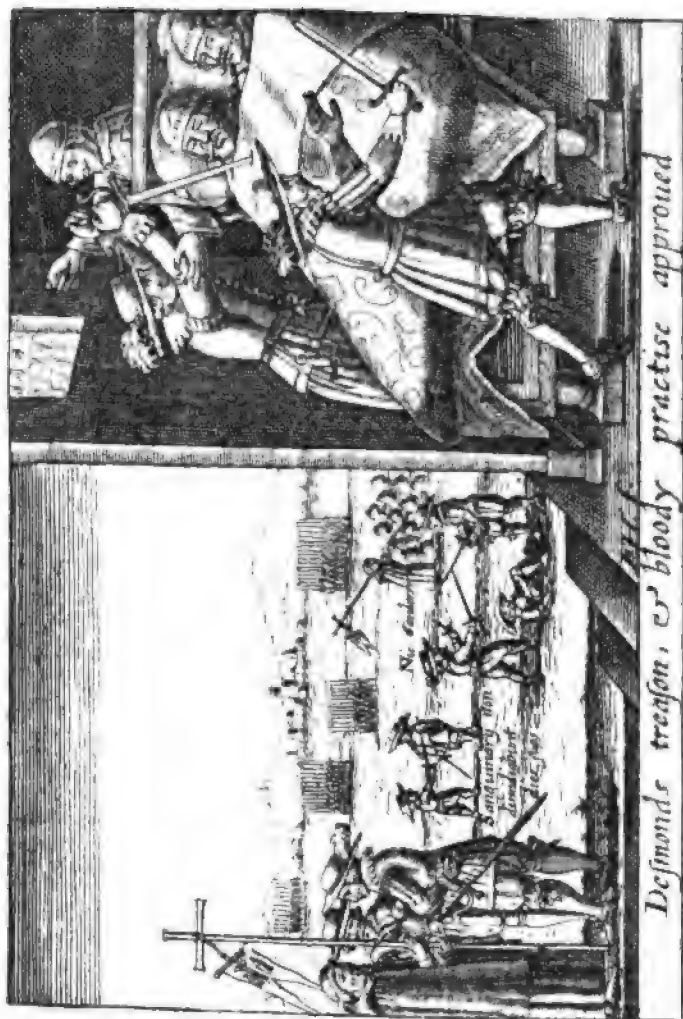
*Ib. line 39.—He married the daughter of the Lord of Dunboyne.*

Elleanor, daughter of Lord Dunboyne, by his wife Ellen (or Shilie), daughter of Cormac Oge Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry, and widow of Cormac-na-Haoine Mac Carthy Reagh, was the second wife of Gerald, Earl of Desmond; he had been previously married to Joan, widow of the ninth, and mother of Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde, the "Lord General" who pursued the unhappy Earl to his death in the cabin of Glaneguinty.

The following pedigree from the Carew MS., Vol. 616, p. 155<sup>a</sup> shows the relationship already existing between the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde, before the marriage of the former with the mother of the latter took place:—







*Desmonds treason, & bloody practise approved*

"MURDER of HENRY DAVELLS by IOHN of DESMOND."

Page 466, line 45.—*This Garrett was betrayed by his o*

The Four Masters, under date 1583, support this statement as follows:—  
 “The Earl of Ormond, i. e. Thomas, the son of James, son of Piers, Lord of the two provinces of Munster this year; and the Earl of Desmond, who was firm in his treason and insurrection; and he proceeded to ravage the neighbourhood, during the winter, and the spring of the following year, however, were so much in dread and awe of the law, and of the Earl of Desmond, that they began to separate from him—even his own married friends—so that he had but four persons to accompany him in the one cavern of a rock or hollow of a tree to another, throughout the province of Munster, in the summer and autumn of this year. When, during the winter and the long nights had set in, the insurgents of Munster began to collect about him, and prepared to rekindle the fire, the God thought it time to suppress, close, and finish this war of the Desmondians in the following way:—A party of the O’Moriarty’s, of the MacCarthy race of the Aedh-Beannan, took an advantage of the Earl of Desmond being in an unprotected position; he was concealed in a hut, in a cavern of an an-Ghinntigh. This party remained on the watch round this Earl from the beginning of the night to the dawning of day; and at twilight, they rushed into the cold hut. This was on Tuesday, the 11th of November [11th of November]. They wounded the Earl, and for he had not along with him any people able to make fight of one woman and two men servants. They had not proceeded far when they suddenly beheaded the Earl. Were it not that he was given to insurrection, as he really was, this fate of the Earl of Desmond would be the mournful stories of Ireland.” Dr. O’Donovan adds in a note:—*Ghinntigh*, now Glanageenty, a townland situated in the east of the barony of Troughnamacmy, and county of Kerry, and the east of Tralee. The spot where the Earl was killed is still known to the natives by the name of Bothar-an-Iarla, and the trunk of an old tree, in which his body was thrown, still remains. They also show what they call the place where the body was for some time concealed; certain that his body was finally interred in a small chapel at Kilnashinny, in the parish of Kilmacurragh, and county of Kerry.” The same author is also of opinion that Owen O’More took the Earl’s life, he having set out with his party to recover a sister by some of the Earl’s followers; that a soldier, named Kelly, killed the Earl severely before he knew who he was, and that he was beheaded, as was evident he would have bled to death from the wounds he had received, by the State Papers that £1000 had been set on Desmond’s head, paid to the E. of Ormond, to be distributed by him, m. marka.—Aug

Page 467, line 25.—*The mild Earl, being of mercifull gener*

Russell, at p. 391, *supra*, refers to the murder of Henry Davells, who, by mistake, Davells had been very intimate with the Geraldines, and as would have been a foul stain in the Earl’s memory had he been cognate. It is a curious copperplate representation of the murder printed in the fourth edition of which was published in London, A. D. 1630, entitled *Remembrance of Gods Mercie*. In an *Historicall Collection of the Deliverances of the Church and State of England, since the Gospell began from the beginning of Queene ELIZABETH*. Collected by Geo: Carlton, and late Bishop of Chichester.” This plate, after the fashion of the old Irish, is divided into three scenes at one view: 1st. The Murder of Davells; 2nd. The Slave; 3rd. Sir John of Desmond glorying in his crime. A facsimile of this plate, by the photo-lithographic process, is presented to the Association by the Dublin Society, and will be found opposite to this page. The following, from p. 44, is Bishop’s account of the murder:—

“The Lord Deputie understanding by certaine Messengers, that the English, who disembarked at Smerwick Harbour] were landed, sent Henry Davell, a man, a man of valour, and who had good acquaintance with the Desmondians, and to his brethren, commanding them presently to set upon the



enemies had raised. But that they refused to do, as a thing full of dangers. And as *Davil* returned, *John Desmond* followeth him; and overtaketh him at *Trally* in an *Inne*. And in the night time, having corrupted the host, came into his chamber, with some other cut-throats, having drawn swords in their hands; where *Davilus* slept in securitie with *Arthur Carter*, an olde soldier, a man of worth, Deputie Governor of Monmouth. But being awaked with the tumult, when he saw *John Desmond* with a naked sword rushing towards him, What is the matter, my sonne, quoth he (for soe hee was wont familiarly to call him;) Nay, said *Desmond*, *I am no more thy son, nor thou my father, for thou shalt die*. And presently thrust him and *Carter*, which lay with him, through with many wounds, and killed them both. *Davilus* his foot-boy defended his Master with his naked body, receiving many wounds to save his Master if he could. Then he killed all *Davile* servants, which lay scattered in divers places. And returning to the *Spaniards* all imbrued in blood, hee gloried of the slaughter which he had made. *Let this*, said he, be a *pledge of my faith to you and to the cause*. Doctor *Sanders* commended this action, as a sweet sacrifice before God. *James Fitz Maurice* blamed the manner of the slaughter. He would have had it rather in the way then in their bed. *The Earle, when he heard of it, utterly detested it.*"

Page 467, line 28.—*Then succeeded his son James.*<sup>1</sup>

It has been questioned whether we may receive it as matter of certainty that this young FitzGerald, known as the "Queen's Earl," or the "Tower Earl," was, as Lodge asserts, born in London; and it has been remarked that in none of the correspondence from Ireland, nor in any of the letters of Sir R. Cecyll, when so much was written about him, at the time of the experiment of sending him to Ireland in 1600, does there occur any mention of his age; this, and the very puerile style of his letters to the Queen and her ministers, appear to have suggested cause for uncertainty on these points. The events and dates following afford all the information that can be collected on these matters, and are sufficient to guide us to a judgment that may be deemed satisfactory in an enquiry of no great historical importance.

Joan, the dowager Countess of Ormond, the first wife of Gerald fifteenth Earl of Desmond, died in January, 1565; the Earl then married Ellinor, daughter of Edmond Butler, Lord Dunboyne, half-sister of Donal Pipi, Mac Carthy Reagh. The ministerial correspondence of the time, which is mainly occupied with the concerns and conduct of the Earl, make no mention of any son by this lady up to January, 1568, when he was separated from her, and sent prisoner into England: nor did she, until the month of November, 1569, succeed in obtaining permission to rejoin her husband. She then procured letters to the Queen on her repair to England. The precise time of her arrival in London is not discoverable, but she was there in June, 1569, for the Earl then wrote from the Tower that she was kept there for want of money, and thus hindered in her suit for his deliverance:—

#### THE COUNTESS OF DESMOND TO HER HUSBAND.<sup>2</sup>

"My dutie to yo<sup>r</sup> good L. p'mised, having of late obtayned I'res from my L. Deputie here in my favor to the quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>, I was therupon in full purpose, as I am yet, to repaire towards yo<sup>r</sup> L. to be humble sueter to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> according my dutie, for yo<sup>r</sup> enlargement. But so it is when I made myn accompt to take shipping I fynd myself utterly unp'vided of eny furnytur for my chardgs thither, yo<sup>r</sup> contrey being utterly distroied and wasted by the unhappie rebellion of James Fizmorish, that by like attempted the same not onely to bring you yf he could in further displeasor, but also usurpe all yo<sup>r</sup> enheritance to himself by the leude example of his unfortunate father, that dyve's tymes (as I am enformed) sought the death and distruction of yo<sup>r</sup> father. The distruction of yo<sup>r</sup> contrey is so great as I can gett no p'te of yo<sup>r</sup> rents or other duties that maye enable me to repaire toward you, wherby I am enforced to staye tyll I gett farther habilitie, as I cannot tell wher the same is to be had unles my L. Deputie do helpe, to whome I have eftsones written in that behalf, thoughte

<sup>1</sup> This note, as well as the matter comprised in the Appendix, is contributed by Daniel Mac Carthy Glas, Esq., author of the "Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy," whose kind aid in compiling the Pedigree of the Earl of Desmond, given at p. 461, *supra*, is here thankfully ac-

knowledged by the Editor.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly all the documents quoted in the following pages are taken from the Public Record Office, or the Published State Papers. Where the sources of information are different, they are noted accordingly.

entire disapproval of the project of Carew, and thrown upon him a responsibility of a recurrence of all the scenes of the last Desmond; left such painful scars in her memory, she seemed to take a perverse doing her utmost to render the project a failure. The youth should be the most evident "mark of a prisoner," under the authority of the state be found; the title borne by his ancestors was to be rather lent than pending the experiment; for the patent extorted from the Queen's hands of Carew until "suitable earnest of service had been rendered" not a foot of land was given to him; and as to his retinue and person, not on such scale of magnificence as would be within compass of the £500, to be obtained for him by the discharge of a company of foot transfer of the sum thus saved, to his exchequer.

Notwithstanding the unyielding displeasure of the Queen, and the givings of the minister, it was at last decided that the young Earl was to be turned to such use as that wily ruler should find. It had been a cause of much anxiety to Cecyll to find a suitable person to be so precious a traveller. On the 24th of September, 1600, he wrote: "I have had many propositions who should go with the yonge Erl, but I have been that noe such man should be employed as should retourne without honour, from that which you deserve. Sir Thomas Wilford refused some that would have employed p. f. 6. v. o. y. y., of whom you know not reason to be jealous in your behalf. At the last I bethought me of a man, Captayn Price, to whom I pray you give good usage, for he is fit to perform the Queene's command, and retourne as soon as he can." There were eventually added these other men, viz.:—Miler M'Grath, Cashel, Patrick Crosbie, John, the son of Sir John Fitz Edmond Cloyne, and John Power. It might be more interesting to the reader to read this youth's own writing, the impression made upon him by his fortune, than to read of the doubts and fears which his restoration occasioning to all who had any share in procuring it. An active intercourse between him and Sir R. Cecyll commenced, but we look in vain through the expression of any emotion other than a nervous desire to ascertain the minister, as to his conduct, and a childish apprehension of displeasing to Captain Price. From the few interviews Cecyll had with him in his letters, it was not difficult for that able man to sound the shallow character. From the few touches with which he sketched what the essentials of that character, for guidance to Carew, it is evident that the mischief connected with him arose, not from the youth himself, but might be made of him by those around him; hence, writing to the minister, he intimated him to be vigilant lest his person should be seized by any of his followers.

"In the observation of the yonge gentlemans disposition," he wrote, "I fynd this to be in him; a mynd easylye raysed, but professinge to be grownded, and soe truly I thinke he is, but spendfull beyond measure, you must have a warye eye over him." In another letter he wrote: "I told that he shall come over, when he hath don any good, and now I wonder whyther it seems he longeth to return; and I assure you, in my opinion, much like an Irishe lyfe, for he is tender and sickly; but time will tell."

Of the political condition of his native land, the young Earl could not be ignorant. The fiery passions of the men, and sons of the men who had fought for years, and who had seen their estates parcelled out amongst English and Irish, after the death of the Earl, who had recovered them by the sword, and were engaged to retain them, all this his languid temperament rendered him unable to understand. A few feeble paragraphs, occurring in his letters to the minister, concerning the events passing around him, cause absolute and manifest incapacity of the writer to appreciate the importance of the actions of the actors. With Myler M'Grath, valiant Captain Price, and the restored Earl took his way to Bristol, where he had been at school, and whence, when tide and wind served, with his various keeper, armour, his nurse and sister, he took ship for Cork. In the meanwhile, letters concerning him were passing between Cecyll and Carew. Carew scarcely be astonished to see to what extremity of "curious precise" sentiments of the minister at last impelled him.

## JULY 11, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"Much adoe we have had to persuade her [Majesty] to have sent him, because she feareth that when he shall be there it is not unlike but he and his cousyn [the Sugan Earl] may be reconciled, the rather if the counterfayt erle shall pretend that he never meant to hold it agaynst him, but agaynst the Queen."

## FROM THE COURT AT NONSUCH, 2 AUG., 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"For the other poynt, I must deale playnly with you, that I am infinitely to seeke what to write in certainty; for I doe fynde Her Majestie wonderfull tickle in it; some tyme fearinge the storme of sendinge him over if noe good successe should follow, and other time doubting if he should be at lyberty there that he would be harder to be pulled downe than any other. To these have been returned the best answeres that could be thought of; and yet I proteste unto you, I fynde Her Majestie is still brauste in the poynt, and though I think feare of his playing Robin-hood be a great impediment, yet the other conceipt that little would be done for him, is some tyme as stronge a perawasion. He [the young Fitz Gerald] still injoyeth of liberty, that, though he lyeth in the Tower everie night, yet he goeth everie day where he will. Send me word if Desmond may be sent to you without being created first; and only promised, which shall be indeed performed. Whyther it will do any good to send him to you I wold know it, for I shall never gett the Queen to do it first, till somewhat be don. Write to me w<sup>th</sup> all speed secretley."

## AUG. 6, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"I must confess that I am of opinion that it is fatal to us probare meliora, et deteriora sequi; for besides that Her Majesty deferreth to doe anything at all in that matter, all the credytt wee have not beinge able to procure him yet to lye out of the gepher [Tower] I doe protest unto you, in myne opinion that all the Queen wilbe brought unto wilbe to send him to you, but with some gentleman to looke unto him by the wayes; and neither to create him afore he goe, nor so much as to seale him a patente and send it with him, but onely write a lettere to you, intenticall, whereby you shalbe able to assure them that yf his frends will leave the other party, and come in and serve him, that she will make him an Erle, and geve him competent living to dwell amongst them."

## SEPT. 24, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"None is the houre come that you shall receaue the person of the Erle of Desmond, soe called here by curtesye already, and soe resolved by Her Majestie to be. For the matter I must now speake to you my opinion, that you and I have made a great adventure to presse and importune for a thinge soe subject to ill successe, in a time when most thinges are iudged by effect; and shall especially be applied unto us, because the mallice of some, and the ignorance of others have taught them this odd sentence to hinder anythinge (they would not have, or understand not) by sayinge Yea but he may proove a Rebelle hereafter. I pray you therefore, when you have him take this counsell of me, whensoever you fynde any cause to doubt him, never feare to lay holde of him, for therein we will never blame you, but we will take it for a thinge that was necessarie, quoniam ipse dixit."

## OCT. 8, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREW.

"I pray you let us be wyse as serpents though wee be as simple as dones, and yf, upon his coming over you find no great taske to be done by him, rather take a true and wise way, and make sure of him that he cannot escape; and advertise hether what you thinke; for take this from me upon my lyf, that whatsoever you do to abridge him, which you shall say to be done out of Providence, shall never be imputed to you for a fault, but exceedingly commended by the Queene, for God doth know it, the Queen hath ben most hardly drawn unto it that could be: and hath layed it in my dishe a dozen tymes 'Well I pray God you and Carew be not deceived.' Besydes Sir, it shalbe an easy matter for you to cullor whatsoever you shall doe in that kind by this course:

You may ether apostate some to seek to withdraw him who may betray him to you, or rather then fayle, there may be some found out there to accuse him, and that may be sufficient reason for you to remande him, or to restrayne him, under cullor wherof they wilbe more greedy, peradventure, to labour for him. As soon as you may, lett me heare from you, for methinks it very long; and still remember what I say unto you—blame shall never betyde you for any caution (how curious soever) in the managing of this young Puer male cinctus, and so leave you to God's protection. Inn my lodging at the Savoy, this 8 October 1600."

The only important service rendered by the young Earl was the surrender of Castlemang, a strong place, which had been starved into surrender by the Sugan Earl, and was held for him by Thomas Oge Fitz Gerald. Of this event the Earl gives the following account:—

DEC. 18, 1600:—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO SIR R. CECYLL.

RIGHT HONNORABLE,

The dutye that I owe unto that Sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> that hath rayseed me from nought to be her creature (in which tytyle I doe onely hold myselfe happie) maketh that the least defect, which might be a hindrance unto the aduancement of Hir Highness seruice, soe greuous unto me, that I come soe farr short of intymatinge myne humble thanckfullness for soe exceedinge a mercy, as the greatest seruice which I might doe, even to the sacrefysinge of my lyfe, weare but tooe litle for her gratiuous favour towards me. Not withstandinge, lest Yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: should hold your expectation of my endeours altogether frustrated, may it please you to be aduertised, sithense my last letter unto your ho:, Thomas Oge, who was Constable to James Fitz Thomas in Castlemayne, yelded the same unto me, whereof I tooke possession by my seruant John Power the xiiij of November, and kept it for som feu dayes, untill it pleased my uerie good Lord, the Lord President to haue it yelded into his owne handes; to whom I comaunded it should be deliuered, and his Lordship is now possessed of it. When it was perfectly knowen in Ireland that I landed, James Fitz Thomas his company that remayned, dispersed themselves, and himselfe being sicke, kept him close in solitarie places; for which cause I sent my spialls to trackt him out, who brought intelligence yt he was kept in Arlough, untill the verie first night that I came to Kilmallocke; at w<sup>ch</sup> time he was conueyed from Arlough, by a feu horsemen, to one Morris Power's house, as they informed; but I hope by my spialls shortlie to finde his trackt, if he be within Mounster . . . Now I humbly beseech youe to consider my estate w<sup>ch</sup> is so deseperat in this kingedome that my person is not here secured by these inhabitants great or litle, nor able to do any seruice by reason I want meanes to execute it . . . I finde my Honourable good Lorde kinde unto me, but I am contemptible unto the contry, in regard that they see my meanes, under my Lorde, not soe much as a privatt captains to follow the rebelles, if there were present occasion of seruice, nor in their good carriage to geve soe much countenance as a farr mener man then a Erle . . .

R<sup>t</sup> Hon: sithence the writing of my l<sup>t</sup>res Thomas Oge hath brought unto me Piers' Lacyes two sonnes. I doe find him the trueste follower I haue since my coming over . . .

Your Ho: in all humble and faithfull affection,

DESMOND.

Moyallou the xvij of Dec: 1600.

These sons of Pierce Lacy,—whelps as Carewe called them,—were liberated after their father's death. A letter or memoir, bearing date 1598, but evidently written in 1600, or 1601, contains in a brief paragraph the narrative of the deaths of their father and three uncles:—"At this time (an<sup>o</sup>. 1597) Davie Lacie and his brotheren Pierce, Ulick, and William played the rebelles, being once pardoned. Davie was after killed in seruice, Pierce was hanged at Limerick, Ulick and William were hanged at Kilkenny by the commaundment of the Earl of Ormond. Fair riddance of such rebelles!"

A gallant and successful charge of Cavalry, made by Captain Richard Greame, upon the forces of the Sugan Earl, when making their way by Connelloe to the fastnesses of Arblow, in Tipperary, removed all necessity from Carew of using any curious precautions against the cause of the anxiety which harassed the mind of the English

Minister. A despatch informed him that "Captain Greame had fought with the pretended Erie of Desmond, as he was marching unto Arklow [Arhlow], slew his sons, and sixty of his cheefest men, with two or three of the Captains of his Bonnaughts; he took his cowes, his sheepe, his garrons, his munition, and all his baggage; he fetched them out of the woods, and neuer leaft followinge of him until he drove them into Leix with 300 rascalls with him, not having scarce a ragg about him."

There remained nothing after this, for the young Earl to do. The "*Pacata Hibernia*" (Lib. I., Cap. 14, p. 890), sums up in few paragraphs the narrative of this brief stay in the land of his great ancestors:—

"It was thought by all men, that the coming of this young Lord into Ireland, would have bred a great alteration in the Province, and an absolute revolt of all the old Followers of the House of Desmond from James Fitz-Thomas [the Sugan Earl], but it proved of no such consequence; For the President, [Sir George Carew], to make triall of the disposition and affectione of the young Earle's kindred and Followers, at his desire consented that hee should make a journey from Moyallo into the Countie of Limerick, accompanied with the Archbishop of Cashell, and Master Boyle Clearke of the Councell, (a person whom the Lord President did repose much trust and confidence in, and with whom he then communicated, and advised about his most secret and serious affaires of that Government). And to Master Boyle, his Lordship gave secret charge, as well to observe the Earle's waies and carriage, as what men of quality or others made their addresse unto him; and with what respects and behaviour they carried themselves towards the Earle; who came to Kilmallock upon a Saturday in the evening, and by the way, and at their entry into the Towne, there was a mighty concourse of people, insomuch as all the Streets, Doores, and windowes, yea the very gutters and tops of the Houses were so filled with them, as if they came to see him, whom God had sent to bee that Comfort and Delight, their soules and hearts most desired, and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signes of joy, everyone throwing upon him Wheat and Salt, (an ancient ceremony used in that Province, upon the Election of their new Majors and Officers, as a Prediction of future peace and plenty :) That night the Earle was invited to supper to Sir George Thorntons, who then kept his house in the Towne of Kilmallock; and although the Earle had a guard of Souldiers, which made a Lane from his lodgings to Sir George Thorne-ton's House, yet the confluence of people that flockt thither to see him was so great, as in half an hour he could not make his passage through the crowd; and after supper he had the like encounters at his returne to his lodging.

"The next day being Sunday, the Earle went to Church to heare divine Service; and all the way his Country people vsed loud and rude dehortations to keepe him from Church, unto which he lent a deafe eare; but after Service and the Sermon was ended, the Earle coming forth of the Church, was railed at, and spat upon by those that before his going to Church were so desirous to see and salute him. Insomuch, as after that public expression of his Religion, the Towne was cleared of that multitude of strangers, and the Earle from thence forward, might walke as quietly and freely in the Towne, as little in effect followed or regarded as any other private Gentleman.

"This true relation I rather make, that all men may observe how hatefull our Religion and the Professors thereof, are to the ruder and ignorant sort of people in that kingdome: For from thenceforward none of his Fathers followers, (except some few of the meaner sort of Free-holders), resorted unto him: and the other great Lords in Mounster, who had evermore been overshadowed by the greatnesse of Desmond, did rather fear than wish the advancement of the young Lord: But the truth is, his Religion, being a Protestant, was the only cause that bred this coynesse in them all; for if he had been a Romish Catholick, the hearts and knees of all degrees in the Province would have bowed unto him; Besides, his coming was not well liked by the Vndertakers, who were in some jealousy, that in after times he might be restored to his Fathers' inheritances, and thereby become their Lord, and their Rents, (now payed to the Crowne), would in time be conferred upon him. These considerations assured the President, that his personall being in Mounster would produce small effects, but only to make tryall what power hee had."

This account, given by the author of the "*Pacata Hibernia*," was written many years after the occurrence of the events therein recorded. It may be interesting to the reader to compare with it the description of his reception, written by the young Earl himself at the time, to Sir Robert Cecyll; and the account of the same event by Patrick

## THE EARLS OF DESMOND

Crosbie, who was with him, and assisted him to make his way thither. One singular circumstance it may be permitted to point out to the reader. The "Pacata Hibernia" informs us that the Earl arrived at Kilmall and that the next day his repairing to the church to attend divine service cost him all the indignities recorded. The letters of the Earl, of Patrick Price, state that they embarked at Bristol, on Monday, the 1st, arrived at Youghall, the next day at 7 o'clock in the evening, where they were welcome took place; the next day all the rural populations came out to welcome him in like manner; that night he slept at Clone, Fitz-Edmond's house, the next day they went to Cork, where the Mayor and Magistrate but coolly; and so on Thursday, to Mallow, to my Lord President. The day spent by the Earl in Ireland was the 19th of October, and he was at Mallow, or Mallow. Had the scenes, attending his repair to church, which they must have been acted, as it were, in the presence of the President.

On Tuesday, the 21st, both Patrick Crosbie and the Earl despatched Patrick Cecyll, with a detailed account of their reception. Is it credible that the express duty it was to report the minutest circumstance concerning the Earl, who was so susceptible of the least apparent affront, as the Mayor of Cork, for not providing him with a repast and lodging, should have written glowing descriptions of his reception, as if he were still in their ears, and have concealed so important a matter, a version of unbounded worship into contempt and hatred? A cool consideration of such events might have thrown Sir Robert Cecyll into a dangerous mind and body, but can we believe that Patrick Crosbie would have been such a matter? On the 22nd, the third day following the event, M'Grath wrote to Cecyll, "Howsoever the successes shall prove the appearance of gladness, and good will shewed in every place where the Earl of Desmond came, Corke only excepted, whose Magistrates seemeth not to tinge that might induce more strength or possibility in the English to be as it is, nor so much in itself." No mention of the scenes attending and returning from the church! If they did occur, they must have occurred later Sunday, or all the correspondents of the Minister must have mentioned them.

### MALLOW, 21ST OCT., 1600.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO

"My pen not daring to presume to approach the piercing and : my Sovereigns eyes, I have imboldened myself to commend my humble affection by you.

"Let me advertise you of my progress since my departure from day, the 13th of October, we set sail from Shirehampton for having so fair a passage as the honest gentleman this bearer can tell and saylers said they neuer for this time of the yeare knew the like course for the place appointed by your Honors instructions, but sick as whilst I live shall neuer lose that element, being two dayes besought them to land me any where; so being not able to reach Cork night being the 14th of this month, we fell in at Youghall, where we know the truth of my proceedings, I had like, comming new of the somewhat weak, to be overthrowen with the kisses of old calleaks; with that joy of the poore people as dyd well shewe they joyed in the of hir Sacred Ma<sup>y</sup> shewed towards me. From thence we went to Edmonds house at Clone, where we had a great deale of cheere fashion, and shewe of welcome, and thence to Corke."

### MALLOW, 21ST OCT., 1600.—P. CROSBIE TO CEC

"It may please y<sup>r</sup> Honor, on Mondaye the 13th of this instant month with his retynue and attendants were embarked at Bristoll, and the next day, about 7 of the clock at night. At whose entry it was so great and wonderfull allacrytye and rejoicing of the people, men, and children, and so mightie crying and pressing about him, onlie much adoe to followe him, but also a great number ourthrow

the streets on striving who should come first unto him; the like whereof I neuer heard or sawe before, nor woulde think it coulde euer be, excepte it were aboute a Prince.

"So likewise (though unmette to be done to a subject) the harts of the people, yea the very infants, hearing but this Desmond named, could not contayne themselves from showing th affec'on they beare to his house."

With the capture of the Sugan Earl, all interest in the existence of the Queen's Earl ceased. He had himself written to Cecyll:—"My good Lord is kind to me, but all the gentlemen of Munster despise me." No hand was raised to injure him, no man befriended him—"he walked the streets of Kilmallock as quietly and freely, and in effect as little followed or regarded as any other private gentleman;" his own people were ashamed of him, and the undertakers dreaded lest a portion of the lands which his father had forfeited, which they called their Seignories, and which they were now crowding back to repose themselves of, should be assigned to him to maintain the dignity which the Queen had restored to him. His health was failing, and it is not difficult to perceive, from the tone of his letters, that the little spirit or joyousness his nature had ever possessed had broken down under the misery of his situation. He was allowed to quit the country, into which he had been welcomed by the people in a manner so enthusiastic as to be "unmete for a subject," and made his way back to London. No trace is discoverable in any Irish writer of the date or place of his departure, and we are indebted to Mr. Lodge for the information that, "on the 22nd of March he left the kingdom, and after a few months died in London, unmarried." Sir R. Cecyll, who had doubtless enticed, or commanded his return to England, wrote to Carew tidings of his arrival and reception into safe hands; all that we learn more about him is that the mean pittance assigned to him was reduced, that what remained was grudgingly continued, and that the unfortunate youth, with only such experience of the value of money as was to be acquired by a life spent in the Tower, where there was, in his instance, none, and no use for any, found himself without even the means to attend the Court to solicit the Queen for alms. In his last melancholy letter to Cecyll, which was a petition for relief in some humble fashion, that was to benefit the Queen as well as to relieve himself,—probably the sale, for some present small sum, of a portion of his yearly allowance, or the exchange of it for some small scrap of the Sugan Earl's forfeited lands,—there occurs an expression which, used by one so subdued and passionless, may give the reader some idea of Tower life. Comparing his present state,—pennyles, despised, and dying,—with the past, he calls it "happinees compared to that hell!" In this happiness he languished four months beyond the date of that letter, and died in the last days of December.

#### APRIL 30TH, 1601.—CECYLL TO CAREWE.

"I am ueray gladd y<sup>t</sup> th Earle of Desmond is heer; he is well used, and shall haue the same some w<sup>ch</sup> growes by the lendynges, but not by the apparell; att the least, he shall not knowe see muche, because he is every daie lookynge for more than his allowance. Other newes heere are none but y<sup>t</sup> the Queen is well, and goinge to Greenwich."

"ROBT. CECYLL."

#### THE EARL OF DESMOND TO CECYLL.

"MY MOST HONORED S<sup>r</sup>.—It is no smale greefe unto me that I cannot attend hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> nor so often accompanye yo<sup>r</sup> Honor as in all affection I woulde; for in both those courses only, under God, my hopes doth rest; but before I begin these fewe lines of my demongstratinge necessities I knowe not whither to turn me; if into tyme past, I behold a long misery; if into the present, such a happines in the comparison of that hell, as maye be a stopp to anie farther incroachment. Yett, pardon, I beseech you, this my humble sute, who wayhinge with my self hir Ma<sup>ties</sup> liberalltye unto me, and yo<sup>r</sup> honorable favours towards me, that I may not be distastinge to either in ouerpressinge receaued bounties, I haue, heere inclosed, sent yo<sup>r</sup> Honour a note of a sute wherof no disbursement shall growe foorth of Hir Highnes purse, but an increase of £20 yerely to hir cofers, w<sup>ch</sup> by the aire of yo<sup>r</sup> breathe into Hir sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and the blessednes of hir graunt maye supplye these my wants, w<sup>ch</sup> never hereafter shall importune you. If it be my misfortune not to haue it, soome other shall; and where can Hir Highnes charity more perfectly shine then vpon Hir humble creature, who hath receiued life from hir, and grace by you; wherin as







*James (the Queens) Earl of Desmond.*

*James (the Queens) Earl of Desmond. 1600.*

*James Fitz Maurice de Geraldine*

*James Fitz Maurice, from his submission in the Church of  
Kilmallock, 23<sup>rd</sup> February. 1572-3.*

*James Geraldine*

*The Sugar Earl of Desmond, from his petition for pardon 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1607.  
to which Signature the following Note is appended. "He first signed his name  
James Desmond w<sup>ch</sup> I sent back unto him, & then he blotted it out & hath  
written his name in a hand nott accustomed nor yett w<sup>ch</sup> the orthographie w<sup>ch</sup>  
before he assumed the name of Fite he wrote, w<sup>ch</sup> was Fitzgeralld whereby it  
appears how loathe he is to leave the name of Desmond."*

*"George Carew"*

*( From the Originals in the Public Record Office, London. )*

*F. G. Wierzbicki, Esq.*

you have begun with me, so I maye not herin find you wanting to me that submits all his ends to your liking, and in all humblenes doth rest much assuredly bound to you.

“DESMOND.

“Greenwich, this last day of August, 1601.

“I do heere that yo<sup>r</sup> Honor shalbe earnestly solicited for certaine lands in Ireland, especially James Fitz-Thomas lands. I beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Honor not to procure anie graunt to anie boddy untill the land w<sup>ch</sup> shall stand at Hir Highnes fauour to bestow uppon me, be passed.”

When news of the death of the Queen's Earl was communicated, by order of the Privy Council, to the Lords at Dublin, the official voice replied, “As your Ll. have directed, upon notice of the decease of the Earl of Desmond, the Company allowed for him is discharged; saue what yt hath pleased you to continue to the Arch-Bishop of Cashell, the Erle's sisters, and John Power. Jan<sup>r</sup>. 14, 1602.”

Three days later followed a plaintive appeal from William Power to Sir Robert Cecyll, in his own behalf, and that of four poor sisters of the deceased:—

“ . . . and least my l<sup>r</sup>es have not come to yor Honors hands, and that the best frend I had, the young Erle of Desmond (whom yor Honor had raised) is latelye dead (as it is credibly reported), so as nowe I am altogether destitute of any frend there to countenance my honest desart, &c. The late unfortunat younge Erle of Desmond hath left here fouer poore sisters; the Lady Roche best able of them, but of mean estate, to live; and the rest, albeit having some annuity of Her Majesty, yet for the smalness thereof are much distressed, without any other frend or means to help them. You have been a father unto him (as himself often told me), and I think yor Honor should add much to your immortall fame, to be so unto them in p<sup>r</sup>ecuring Her Matt's most gracious goodnes towards them for their reasonable matching there or here.

“Yor Honors humble dependant,

“WM. POWER.

“Cork, 17 Ja. : 1601.”

Sir Robert Cecyll had been awakened from a trance of a year's terror, and it may be hoped that in the rejoicing at his relief, he may have paid some attention to this petition. Carew had long since ceased to concern himself about the failure of the later, as of the earlier, “drafts,” and henceforth no further mention occurs, in the despatches of these Statesmen, of the Lord President's project, of the Queen's Earl, or of his destitute sisters.

That he died by poison, as hinted by the author of our MS., seems to have been a rumour void of any foundation.

A Seal graven with the device—an oak growing from a grave-stone, with the motto “De marmore exeo”—is in the possession of Colonel Fitz Gerald of Auckland House, Clifton, a descendant of the Kildare branch of the Fitz Gerald; that is, from the fourth son of the Seventh Earl. He inherited it from his father, but is unable to trace the manner or period of its acquisition by his family. Relative to it, Colonel Fitz Gerald thus expresses himself in a note to this writer:—“I wish I could give you more information connected with the seal. I had often heard the anecdote of Queen Elizabeth's giving it to the young Earl on his restoration, from my father. What he possessed was evidently a copy; it is on brass, as a wafer seal.” This writer is informed by the Rev. James Graves, whose authority was the Rev. Samuel Hayman, of Doneraile, that some years since the late Crofton Croker caused a plate to be engraved for some work not eventually published, with a copy of this device thereon represented. Whether a seal thus engraven was in reality ever given by Queen Elizabeth to the young Earl, on his restoration to the peerage forfeited by his father, or whether a mere heraldic device, not unfrequently in easy language called a seal, symbolical of the resurrection of the fallen family, was with the Queen's authority assigned by the heralds of the day for the Earl's use, we have, as far as is known to this writer—no documentary evidence to show: what precise tradition had reached the popular Irish author above named is also unknown to him; but he is informed that subsequently to the engraving of the plate mentioned diligent search was made by the present courteous and pains-taking Assistant Keeper of the Public Records—Hans C. Hamilton, Esq., through the letters written by the young Earl, and that no single instance is discoverable of any such impression on any of them; whilst frequent instances occur of an armorial seal, *ermine a saltire gules*, surmounted by an Earl's coronet—the ensigne of his race. A fac-simile of this seal will be found on the Plate which faces this page. Had such a seal been indeed given by the Queen, or even had Her Majesty caused the device to be appointed for his use, it is very unlikely

that he would have neglected to make use of it when corresponding with her principal Secretary of State, much less when writing to herself. Nevertheless the tradition current in at least two known channels so distinct, and the careful preservation, as an heirloom, in the family of the Fitz Gerald, of a seal thus graven, is evidence of a nature not easily overthrown by the negative objection of the non-appearance of the impression of any such seal on the letters of the Earl, preserved amongst the State Papers.

Page 467, line 35.—*Was by enchantment carried away from Newcastle.*

It is much to be regretted that our author did not give these legends. He evidently alludes to Gerald, the fourth Earl of Desmond, for a notice of whom see p. 463, *supra*.

Id., line 40.—*This James was the last Earle of Desmond of the Geraldines.*

Thomas the 10th Earle of Ormonde, in right of his mother, Joan Fitzgerald, daughter and heiress of James, 11th Earl of Desmond, claimed this Earldom after the death or attainder of all the heirs male; and when Earl Thomas's only daughter and heiress was bestowed in marriage by James I. on his Scotch favourite, Sir Richard Preston, Groom of the Bedchamber, this claim was revived, and Preston was created Earl of Desmond by Patent dated A. D. 1619. Carte ("Life of Ormonde," vol. I., p. 8) states that by a curious clause in the Patent it was provided, in case Preston died without heirs male, that the Earldom of Desmond should descend to George, a younger son of William Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, a marriage being at the time purposed between the Earl of Denbigh's son and Preston's only daughter and heiress. Although this marriage fell through, the *proviso* nevertheless took effect, and, on the death of Preston, Earl of Desmond, without heirs male, the title passed into the Fielding family, by whom it is enjoyed to the present day along with the Earldom of Denbigh.

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## APPENDIX

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS) ESQ.

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IN the perusal of the Geraldine Documents recently published in the pages of this Journal, through the liberality of Messrs. M. and A. Fitz Gibbon the attention of the reader has been almost exclusively occupied by the acts and fortunes of the great central figures of the historic group therein presented to him; but there were other actors, and other incidents in the mournful drama traced in those pages which merit scarcely less his attention; and there exists other material than that already made use of, for completing the history of the melancholy struggles with which, after a glorious career, and rare prosperity lasting through four centuries, the dignity, scarcely less than regal, of that illustrious Anglo-Norman House sunk to its extinction.

It has been deemed undesirable to interrupt the course of these Geraldine documents by the introduction into their pages of foot-notes unavoidably so long as to imperil, in the memory of the reader, the continuity of the narratives they are intended to elucidate and develop; it has therefore been judged more convenient to leave the original MS. unencumbered by frequent annotation, and to place in an appendix such additional matter as it is hoped may render more complete a narrative, of which the accessories possess nearly as much interest as the leading subject. Of the minor but still exciting incidents of the great Geraldine tragedy which lasted through a desolating party-war of several years, through two rebellions, and kept Munster in convulsion for a century, none possess greater historic interest than The disputed succession to the Earldom of Desmond, at the death of Thomas the 12th Earl; The part taken by the two principal members of the family of the Fitz Gerald of Cloyne and Ballymartyr in the Desmond wars; The episode of the young Sir James Sussex Fitz Gerald; and The half-hearted rebellion of James Fitz Thomas, called the Sugan Earl. These four chapters of the history of the Fitz Gerald are now offered to the reader, with the mere premonition that, as they are purposely compiled from materials not hitherto published, or not till now brought together under notice, they are rather supplementarily than directly narrative.

### CAP.: I.—THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION TO THE EARLDOM OF DESMOND, A. D. 1534–1540.

When in the Spring of the year 1520, Henry the Eighth sent into Ireland, as his Lieutenant, one of the ablest statesmen, one of the bravest soldiers, and, by blood, the noblest of his subjects, Thomas Earl of Surrey, to govern such portions of that land as, by courtly benignity, it was usual to style his Kingdom of Ireland, it pleased his Majesty to instruct him to make it his first care "as well by policie as by exploite of warre to repress the temeritie of his Irish rebelles there," and he added "forasmoeche as we perceyve right well that the powers of our Irishe enmyes be assembled in soo many sundraye places, soo ferre distaunt the oon from thoder in woddes, and other strong groundes, that it is not possible for fotemen to encounter theym for resistance of their invasions, but that of necessitie ye must be furnished of moo horsemen for that purpose," he was graciously pleased to place at his command a body of a hundred light horsemen under the leading of the son of Sir John Bulmer. Such was His Majesty's first solicitude, and such the means furnished for remedy of the mischiefs which caused it; how proportionate to the evil the reader will speedily perceive. But the rebellious spirit of his Irish enemies was even a less anxiety to His Majesty than another evil to which he directed the notice of his Lieutenant with equal earnestness; this was the private feuds of certain great English families to whom he should naturally have looked for assistance in controlling the Irish enemy, and keeping peace in the country, but whose quarrels led them constantly into alliances with the septs around their respective borders, not seldom into armed participation in their party conflicts, and whose irreconcilable discords and variances kept the country in a state of endless disturbance. Chief amongst these family feuds in the province of Munster was that between the Fitz Gerald and the Batlers. Traceable to the utmost limits of the memory of man, since the settlement of their

families in Ireland, their rivalries and contentions had passed as an inheritance from generation to generation, and continued growing in fierceness and frequency till they reached their climax on the fight of Affane, and their extinction in the blood shed in the cabin at Glennaquinity. The earnestness of the language with which the king recommended these matters to the attention of his Lieutenant and the Council was justified by the magnitude of the mischiefs they occasioned. "And with your politike and substanciall direction taken by your mutuall consentes for the sending of the Archbishop of Dublin, our chancelour there, to Waterfourde, for the pacifying of such discourdes, debates, and variaunces betwixt the Erle of Desmonde [James the 11th Earl, who had lately succeeded his father Maurice], and Sir Piers Butler [who claimed to be Earl of Ormond on the death of Thomas the 7th Earl, in 1515, but was not acknowledged till 1538], we geve unto you our speciall thanks; and right comforttable newes it shulde be unto Us, to here and understande of a goode concorde betwixt theym, so that they being soo pacified mought, with their preysaunces, joyne, and attende personally with, and upon you our Lieutenante, for your better assistance in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irishe enemyes." But lest his Lieutenant should make an indiscreet use of the powerful body of light horse placed at his disposal, His Majesty cautioned him that "at the begynning, politike practises might doo more goode than exploite of warre, till suche tyme as the strength of the Irishe enemyes might be infebled and diminished, as well by getting their capitains from theym, as by putting division amonges theym, soo that they joyne not togeders." And for this purpose he added that, if his Lieutenant thought "Our writinges to theym, or any other thing to be by Us doon, may be advaillable to further and advance those matiers, upon knowlege of your meyns therin, we shalbe glad to spede, and doo the same with all convenient diligence." In compliance with these royal instructions the Earl and his Council immediately occupied themselves with the endeavour to give effect to them. Their first proceeding was to select certain of their own body to repair to Waterford, where the rival Earls of Desmond and Ormond were invited to meet them, and urge them to an instant, and thorough reconciliation. The mode of dealing with the Irish enemy would much depend upon the success of this first attempt at peacemaking.

It was not long before the Lord Lieutenant had to report to the King the result of the first effort made in accordance with his instructions; the politike practices entered upon with the Irish enemies led to the discovery of a condition of things throughout the entire realm of Ireland which greatly surprised the Lord Lieutenant, and must have equally astonished and afflicted the Royal personage, to whom a detailed description, free from all courtly ambiguity of phrase, was at once despatched.

"Pleas it your Most Noble Grace," the Earl of Surrey wrote to the King on the 23rd of July, 1520, "to understand that The Archebischop of Dublyn, the Vyeount of Gormanston, the Lord of Trymlettiston, and the Chief Justice retourned from Waterford the 10th day of this month, where, with mouche difculty, they have takyn a day of truis between the Erles of Desmond and Ormond, to endure until Candylnas next comyng; and have takyn the othes of theym truly to serve your Grace, and in like wise they have takyn the othes of the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, Sir John Fitz Gerot, Sir John of Desmond, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Cormok Oge [MacCarthy, 10th Lord of Muskerry], Sir James Butler, Sir Edmund Butler, and Sir Piers Power."

This list of powerful Lords of countries, ranged on the respective sides of the rival Earls, and the difficulty with which they could be kept asunder for even six months, was the earliest insight which the Lord Lieutenant obtained into the social condition of the King's Irish subjects, and of their notions of the obedience they owed to their sovereign.

It seems also to have excited in his mind some doubt of the sufficiency of the body of light horsemen placed at his disposal, for any great exploit of war against the Irish enemy, or even to compel a prolongation of the truce between the Earls, who had assembled around them all the Chieftains, Irish and English, and all the fighting men of Munster; but not only had he doubts of the adequacy of this force, but its efficiency was matter of equal doubt; even its leader had not his entire confidence. On the 25th of September, 1520, the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland wrote to Cardinal Wolsey:—

"And where the Kinges Grace hath now sent hither oon hundrieth horsemen with Sir John Bulmer, yeving us auctoritie to discharge as many of his Grace's Garde as may pay the wagis of theyme, after 9d. a man by the day, we have not yet seane theym all; for many of theym arryved not tyll yesterday, which by the reaport of our servauntes, and others that have seen theyme, bee not soo good personages as were here before, and many of theym right ill horsed, and amonges theym all not passing 30 speres. Oure desire was to the Kingis Grace, and you, to have furnysshed us with Northumberland speres, and with summe Walsh speres, and not with bowes on horsbak."

On the 3rd of November, 1520, he reported to the same minister the intention of the Council to remodel this royal force so as to obtain more effectual service for the money which it was costing his Majesty; his own professional opinion of these horsemen accompanied his report:—

"I have been so bolde to discharge 50 of the horsmen that came with Sir John Bulmer, which were no worse in appaurance than they bee in dede, wherof I sawe good lyklyhode in O'Byrnes cuntry this last weke, where I made oon invasyone. And with the wagis of the said 50 I have wagid 20 good English horsmen and 30 of this cuntrey, which shall doo mouche better service then they. Hors-mete is soo skante to be gottyn in this cuntrey that it is thought by me and the counsaill. here that it is better to wage for this wynter, good horsmen of this cuntrey, which have provysion for their horses, than to kepe suchie rascalles as the others were.

"Also please it your Grace to understand that Sir John Bulmere hath, seth his comyng into this land, been sore vexed with siknes; and forsomouche as he doubtith that he shall not perfectly recover his helth in this cuntrey I have therfor lycensid hym to departe. The King's Grace shall save by his beeing hens £45 a yere; and for the nombre of persons wee bee here, we have ynagh of suche yonge capitayns."

Quickly following upon the Lord Lieutenant's scheme for the reorganization of the Royal forces, there reached the hands of His Majesty a despatch most minutely describing the condition of the country which this force was intended to overawe and keep in order. His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland contained, as we know, four spacious provinces, with millions of acres of fruitful land, with many noble rivers, some walled towns, countless castles, and a warlike population. Within this realm the King's sheriffs were received, and the King's writ travelled through the entire extent of six halves of counties, viz., "Half the countye of Uriell, by estimac'on; Halfe the countye of Meath; Half the countye of Dublyn; Halff the countye of Kildare, and halff the countye of Wexford." Within this royal zone lived the "King's English subjects," around it, and beyond it till land and sea met, lived numerous populations variously designated; but classified generally as "the King's English rebels," and "the King's Irish enemees." In the happier regions prevailed the King's law; beyond it "no law at all, but only the lewd usage of Tanistry or Brehon law," a mere assemblage of traditional juridical decisions of Bards and Ollams, administered, not in any becoming court of justice, but upon hills, and in glens under the open heavens; traditions which had been collected eleven centuries before by Laoghair the King, and Dubhtach his Arch Brehon, and reduced by St. Patrick to conformity with the law of the Gospel which he was then preaching.

"And fyrst of all," said this remarkable treatise on the state of Ireland, "to make His Grace understande that ther byn more than lx. countreyes, called regyons, in Ireland inhabited by the King's Irish enemies—some region as bygge as a shyre, some more, some lesse, unto a lytyll—where reygneith more than lx. chief capytaynes, that lyveyth only by the suerde, and obeyeth no other temperall person, but only to himself that is stronge; and every of the said Capytaynes makeyth warre and peace for himself, and holdeith by suerde, and hathe Imperiall jurydsyction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person Englyshe ne Irishe, except only to such persones as maye subdue hym by the suerde.

"Also, ther is more then xxx. greate captaines of the Englyshe noble folke that folowyth the same Irishe ordre, and kepeith the same rule, and every of them makeith warre and peace for himself, without any lycense of the King, or of any other temperall person, saive to him that is strongeyst, and of such that maye subdue them by the suerde.

"Also all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes ben of Iryshe babyt, of Iryshe language, and of Iryshe condicions, except the cyties, and the wallyed touunes. Also all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes, for the more partye, would be right gladde to obey the Kinges lawes, yf they myght be defended by the King, of the Iryshe enymyes; and by cause he defende them not, and the King's Deputye maye not defende them, therfor they are all turned from the obeysaunce of the Kinges lawes, and lyvieth by the suerde, after the manour of the Iryshe enemies; and though that many of them obey the Kinges Deputye wheu it pleaseith them, yet ther is none of them all that obeyth the Kinges lawes."

This description of Ireland was enlarged fourteen years later, when Sir William Skeffington was Lord Deputy, by certain "Artecleis and Instructions to the King for his land of Ireland," which contained truths even more unsatisfactory.

"Item, Wheras your Grace is subjectes in every shire wher any of the Erles of Kildare, Desmond, or Ossery have dominion, beth now attendant and dyevydyd betwix them, so that if your Grace or your Deputie dyd entend to envade any of your Irishe rebels, you must make peticion to euery of the said Erldees, for your own subjectes: and if it please them your Grace shall haiv men and streinth to go and envade wher it shall please your

Grace or your Deputie; and when they will have no envacion made then your Grace must abyde ther farther pleasur."

But the outer regions were not exclusively inhabited by the Irish enemy; there were poor families of English or mixed descent engaged in the pursuits of husbandry; there were also walled towns capable of some defence, but with no means of protecting a foot of ground beyond their walls; these populations were, as we have seen, well inclined to obedience to the King's laws, but as the King's governors were unable to protect them, they were reduced to purchase protection from the Irish Chieftains whose countries surrounded them. Forty pounds yearly appears to have been the sum paid by the larger counties. O'Neill received that sum yearly from Uryell; O'Brien of Arragh the same from Limerick, Cormac (Oge) M'Teige, whose lands surrounded Cork on all sides, and whose numerous castles frowned around it, and almost within sight of its walls, received also forty pounds. How these Irish Chieftains kept faith with the tributary cities and counties, and how the king's English subjects fared in their occasional disputes when set to rights by enlightened lawyers within the Pale, and by rude Brehons without it, the reader may judge. And first in matters of law.

His Majesty was informed "ther be as many Justices of the Kinges Bench, and of the comyn place, and as many Barons of the Exchequer, and as many officers, ministers, and clerkes in every of the said countye, as ever ther was when all the land, for the more part were subgett to the lawe. Wherefore the saide subgettes ben so grevously vexyd dayly with the said courtes, that they be gladde to sell ther freholdes for ever rather than to suffre alwaye the vexation of the said courtes, lyke as the freholders of the marches, wher the Kinges lawes be not obeyd, byn so vexed by extortion that they be gladde in lykewise to sell ther landes and freholdes to such persons that compelleth them, by means of extortion, to make alyenation therof rather than alwaye to bere and be under the said extortion. And so, what with the extortion of coyne and lyverye dayly, and wyth the wrongful exaction of osteing money, and of carriage and cartage dayly, and what with the Kinges great subysydye yerely, and with the said trybute, and blak-rent to the Kinges Iryshe enymyes, and other infynyt extortions, and dayly exactions, all th Englyshe folke of the Countys of Dublyn, Kyldare, Meathe and Uryell ben more oppresyd than any other folke of this land Englyshe or Iryshe, and of worsse condition be they athyside than in the marcheis."

If such were the lot of the King's loyal subjects resident close to the chief city of his government, and under the eye of his Lord Lieutenant, what might we expect it to be in the wild regions of glen and mountain, or under shadow of fortresses where the will of a Chieftain was supreme law? What their condition really was, would almost suggest the possibility of there having existed some inchoate elements of justice in the Brehon traditions, and some humanity in the hearts of these wild Chieftains. The King was informed that "many an Irish greate capytayne kepeyth and preservyth all the King's subgetes of their rome and countreys in pease, withoute any hurte of ther enemyes, so that ther landes be tyllyd, and occupied with the ploughe as well as ever they were; and the said capytaines hath the over hande of ther enemyes Englyshe or Iryshe on every side, as O'Broyn, The great McCharrye [Mac Carthy Mor], Marek Charry Ryvaghe [Mac Carthy Reagh], Cormak Oge [Mac Carthy of Muskerry], and O'Donolde; in as much as some of those hathe tribute yerely of Englyshe men; and this notwithstanding all ther comyn folke, by their Iryshe rule and ordre, be but poor capytaynes. Every Iryshe captaine defendeythe all the subgetes, and the comyn folke, within his rome, fro ther enemyes, as muche as in hym is." Such was His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland when the Earl of Surrey assumed its government.

It may have occurred to the reader that the King had not provided his Lieutenant with sufficient force for much exploit of war, should such be required; but His Majesty had been informed that "All the wyld Iryshe, with all ther galloglagheis, and Iryshe Scottes called Ketyryns, have no more power ne myght to stande in the fylde, ne to mayntayne ther warres ageynst the Kinges subgettes, then have the wolffe ageinate lyon, or the kyte ageynst the fawken." The knowledge of this great superiority of the royal forces over any that his Irish enemies could bring against them will account for the limited numbers of the horsemen sent under Captain Bulmer into Ireland to scour the woods, and strong grounds where it was not to be expected that footmen could follow the rebels.

The endeavour of the Lord Lieutenant to reconcile the Earls of Desmond and Ormond was not wholly unsuccessful; for he had taken their oaths to maintain peace amongst their followers and allies for six months. Not six weeks elapsed before he was compelled to write to Wolsey: "To advertise your Grace further of newes here; there is summe bissyenes betwene the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond, and their parttakers, which I have sent to pacify; and yet have noon answer, whate shal come thereof. Shortly I entend to goo in thos parties to set them in good order. All Irishmen of this land bee at pease, and shew theym self desirous of my good wil. I cannot assure your Grace of long contynuanee thereof,

for there is small trust in their promyses." What the Lord Lieutenant had next to report of the business between the Earls was not long delayed. Two months of the Truce had not elapsed when the following despatch, bearing the signatures of the Lord Lieutenant and his Council, was placed in the hands of the King.

Sept. 25, 1520.—THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO KING  
HENRY VIII.

Pleas it your most noble Grace to bee advertised, that this day came unto me a messenger from the Erl of Ormond with a letter expressing of a great discomfiture lately gevin upon the Erl of Desmond, on friday last past, by Cormok Oge, McCarry Reagh, and Sir Thomas of Desmond, as by the contynue of the said letter, which I send unto your grace herein closed, pleyner it may appere. And as the messenger reoporteth, in the sayd cōflict were slayne of the said Erl of Desmondes party xviii. banners of galoglas, which bee commonly in every baner lxxx. men, and the substance of xxiv. baners of horse-men, which bee xx. under every baner, at the leest, and under some xxx., xl., and l., and emonges others was slayne the said Erl is kennesman Sir John Fitz Gerot, and Sir John of Desmond takyn, and his son slayne, and Sir Gerald of Desmond, another of his uncles, sore wounded and takyn; with many others wherof the certainte yet apperith not.

Sir oon ways it is no great hurt that he is punyshed, for of late he hath lent more to the counsail of Irishmen then of me your Graces Lieutenant, and of others of your Gracis Counsail here; and contrary the direccion lately takyn at Waterford by my Lord of Dublyn and others, hath invaded thoos that now have overthrowne him, which bee swoore to your Grace, and woud not forbere soo to doo for divers commaundementes sent by me your Graces Lieutenant, to him, upon his alligeance to desist. A nother way his discomfytur and losse may bee right hurtfull: the moost part of theym that overthrew him bee Irishmen; and I feare it shall cause theyme to wex the more prowder, and also shall cause other Irishmen to take pryde therin, setting the less by Englishmen. Notwithstanding the said Cormok, who was chyef capteyne is the man of all the Irishmen of the land, save O'Downyl, that I thynk wold moost gladly fall to English order; and undoubtid yf the said Erl had not invaded his cuntrey, and brent and destroyed the same, he wold not have attemptid any thing against him; and this discomfeture was in the same Cormok Oge's own cuntre.

Writin at your Castell of Dublyn the 25<sup>th</sup> day of September.

Your most humble subjectes,

(Signed)

JOHN STILE.

T. SURREY.  
PATRICK BERMINGHAM, Juge.

The description of the state of Ireland already referred to must have prepared the King to receive without much surprise the news of such an encounter as this just related. The private quarrels of great chieftains, either Irish or English, were usually settled without troubling the King or his Lieutenant; the humiliation of either party was rather a gain to the Royal authority; and though such encounters were not usually encouraged, they did not provoke the interference, otherwise than by counsel and mediation, of the authorities. Within six weeks the victor in the recent engagement himself waited on the Lord Lieutenant, presented by the Earl of Ormond, as was also his relative the young MacCarthy, Chieftain of Carbery, who had been with him in the fight. The former was the most distinguished and powerful chieftain that his race had produced since the days when Finin of Ringroan scattered the FitzGeralds in the battle of Callan, a battle scarcely more sanguinary than that which had just taken place between these same clans. Cormac Oge was the chieftain who has been already mentioned as the Lord of Muskerry to whom black mail was paid by the city of Cork, for sufferance to exist in peace under the walls of his Castle of Blarney. What his power was, may be gathered from the narrative of the battle lately fought, and the anxiety shown by the Lord Lieutenant to attach him to the Royal cause. Young MacCarthy Reagh was the son of Eleanor, sister of the great Earl of Kildare, then prisoner in the Tower of London; and notwithstanding his modest demeanour in presence of the Lord Lieutenant, speedily proved himself equal in pride and petulance to his cousin, Silken Thomas. An expression in the despatch of the Earl of Surrey that these chieftains were of Ormond's band, must have excited some misgiving in the sagacious mind of Cardinal Wolsey: for although Surrey reported well of the loyalty of Ormond, it must have suggested the likelihood of there being other chieftains *not* of his band, but of his rival's, whose loyalty was by no means so assured.



Nov. 3, 1520.—SURREY TO WOLSEY.

"Pleas it your Grace to be advertised that sith my last writing to your Grace, I, and others of the Kinges counsaill being at Waterford, did our best devour to bring the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond to good concord and amytie, and hath theyme both solempnely sworne to kepe peas, and to help eche other in all their lawful causes; and also they bee bound with collaterall suerties with theyme soo to doo. There came thidder unto me Cormok Oge and McCarty Reagh, twoo Irish Lordes of great power, and were brought unto me by the Erll of Ormond, for they bee of his band; and they have put in their pledgis in my hand, to kepe peas to the Erll of Desmond, and his adherents, and to be orderid by me in all causes between theyme. They bee twoo wise men, and I fynde theyme more conformable to good ordre then summe Englishmen here. I have mocioned theyme to take their landes, and to hold theyme of the Kinges Grace, and they wol bee content soo to doo, soo they may bee defended.

"Written at Dubline,

"The thirde day of November.

April 27, 1521.—SURREY TO WOLSEY.

"Pleas it your Grace to understand;—

"Also a great Captyn of Irishmen called Cormoke Oge, dwelling nigh Cork, who is a sadd wise man, and very desirous to become the Kinge's subject as an Englyshman, offering to take his landes of the Kyng; but whate yerely rent he wol gave I am not certayne; desyring also to bee made a Baron, and to come to parlamentes and counsailes, hath shewed me a charter graunted to his grauntfather by the Kinges noble progenytours, under the great seale of England; the veray copy wherof, at his request, I have sent nou to your Grace, duely by me examyned, to the entent, by your Grace's favours, the same may bee conferred by the Kinges Grace, which may encourage him to the better service. Suerly he is substanciall of his promyse; and without any saufconduct hath come to me, tending his service, and very willing to confourme him to the Englysh order; and hath no parcell of land wherunto the Kinges Grace is entytelyd; wherfor I beseeche your Grace to tendre his desire in obteyning the said confirmacion. And Almighty God have your Grace in his moost tendre tucion.

"Written at Dublyn the 27 day of April.

"Yours most bownden,  
(Signed,)

"T. SURREY.

(Superscribed.)

"To My Lord Legate's Grace."

Although the effect of the defeat of the Earl of Desmond, and the slaughter of so many of his followers, was to render him much less a cause of anxiety to the Lord Lieutenant; and although the Earl of Ormond had given constant proof of his loyalty by attending in person, and with numerous followers in various minor exploits of war, against the northern Irish chieftains, and Irish Scots, the Earl of Surrey had not been in Ireland longer than a year and a month,—he was appointed Lord Lieutenant on the 20th April, and landed with his family in Dublin, on the 23rd May—when he arrived at the painful conviction that the country would never be brought to due subjection but by a re-conquest; and so, on the last day of June, 1521, he wrote to the King:—"After my poure opinion this londe shall never be broght to gode order, and deu subjeccion, but only by conquest." It had been made evident by the late battle that the similitude of the lions and kites was not to be universally relied upon as a law of nature, or as figurative of unfailing fact, and he found himself compelled to propose to His Majesty an increase of his force to not less than 2,500 men. He informed him that at the time of writing "all the Irishmen off the west parties off this londe had confedered, and bounde to gyders to do all the hurtes they might unto your Grace's poure subjectas here." He concluded his despatch—"Fynally, in the moost humble wise that any poure subject can thynk, I beseech your Grace to command me, your poure servaunte, to serve your Grace in Inglande, or in any other place then here, where my poure well-wylling servyce may appere."

This petition he continued to urge until he received permission to deliver up his authority into other hands.

On the 18th of June, 1529, James the Eleventh Earl of Desmond died; his latter days had been employed in a treasonable correspondence, at one time with the French King, and at

another with the Emperor Charles V., to induce those monarchs to invade Ireland; and when he died, he left, with the Earldom, an unfinished intrigue with the latter, which was instantly taken up by his uncle and successor, Thomas, the Twelfth Earl; and as readily made known to his own Sovereign. This was barren knowledge to the King, for he had no means of punishing the traitor. Nothing, however, came of the Earl's design, and the King, without hesitation, established him in his Earldom, merely endeavouring by friendly phrases to induce him to send his grandson and heir to His Majesty's court, which, with phrases equally amiable, the Earl showed the impossibility of his doing. What loyalty would certainly not have obtained from the Earl, his own peculiar circumstances extorted from him; and they proved of more avail to the King's service than many companies of light horse; they procured his peaceable behaviour during the whole time of his Earldom, and that reconciliation which the King had so greatly desired between the rival potentates of the south of Ireland. The Earl was aged, he was the third of the sons of Thomas, the Eighth Earl of Desmond, beheaded at Drogheda sixty-two years before. He had had an only son, Maurice, who had been married to a daughter of the White Knight, by whom he had a son James. The validity of this marriage, and, consequently, the legitimacy of its offspring, was denied by the great body of the FitzGeralds. The parties, they said, were too near of kin; the legitimate successor to the Earldom would one day be John, the fourth son of Thomas. Maurice died, and the aged Earl his father saw before him a certain contest for succession to the Earldom, as soon as he should himself be taken. The means instantly adopted by this able man to secure the succession for his grandson, though not calculated to gain the good-will of his clan, he knew would secure for him support even more available. His first care was to solicit, by professions of fervent loyalty, the King's favour for himself, and the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of his grandson. His second was to seek reconciliation and indefinite truce with the rival house of Ormond; and the third, which proved the most politic of all, to obtain a daughter of Cormac Oge in marriage for his grandson. James the Eleventh Earl, his predecessor, had left an only daughter, his heiress Joan, and this lady was given as wife to the Earl of Ormond.<sup>1</sup> Thirty years later, when the Earldom of Desmond had passed into other

<sup>1</sup> This lady was daughter and heiress of James 11th Earl of Desmond. She was married, first, to James 9th Earl of Ormond, by whom she was mother of Thomas the 10th Earl; secondly to Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Marshal of Ireland and Lord Deputy. Sir Francis died in 1550, and the lady set her heart upon a hasty marriage with the young Earl of Desmond. Whether this desire proceeded from love or from ambition we can scarcely tell; but from "certain instructions written by Lord Chancellor Allen to his brother to declare to the Government of England," we learn that it was an old longing of the lady, and that, could she have had her way, she would have sought this marriage in her first widowhood, but it was judged matter of State policy to prevent it then; the vigilance of the Chancellor discovered the revival of the desire now, and he warned the Lords of the Privy Council that if they did not quickly interfere to stop it, she would surely accomplish it this time. Either the officious warning of the Chancellor was disregarded, or the matter was indifferent to the Lords, or the wit of woman "in soche a case" was quicker than the wisdom of the Statesmen who had interfered and thwarted her before, for the dowager accomplished her purpose, and married the Earl.

"Remembrances for my broder Thomas Allen. Forthe.—After my Lorde of Desmonde toke an excuse of his com'ng so as we were in desperation of him, whiche I iudging to com' (as it ded in dede) of a displeasure betwixt my ladie of Ormond, and my ladie of Desmond, I tempered the matter so, be it spoken w<sup>th</sup>owte boast, as at last he came, and after his dep'ture to rescue a castell (as ye knowe): aduertised by me of the lorde Justice dethe, he returned, and by p'suasion made to him by me secretalie, he came w<sup>th</sup> us to the buriall, and woll repaire w<sup>th</sup> us to Rosse (which his doeng no doubt shall do grete good in this perillous tyme); wyshing

that he sholde have bothe thanks, and some gift of apparell, or other token sent him from the King's Ma<sup>ty</sup> bothe to anymate him, and confirme him in his well doeng.

"Sixt.—Ye shall (if it shall be demanded of you), declare the maner of the Lorde Justices (Sir Francis Bryan's) dethe, which I have amply declared unto youe, myself lying in his house, and being then w<sup>th</sup> him; and where it had been reported that he sholde dye of a purge'on it is not true; for he wolde by no means be p'suaded to take any medicine. I was at th'op'peneng of him, wherupon the physicians, by the serche of his hart, and other his entrailles, defyned that he died of gref; but wherof so euer he died, he dep'ted veray godly. I have the rather made menc'on of his dethe, because when he bade me farewell, he desired me to haue him com'ended to all his frends in England, and speciallie, saithe he, to my Lorde Pryvale Seall [Lord Cromwell] my Lord of Warwick, and Mr. Herbert, and pray them to be good to my son the poore boy; whiche my chardge I com'it to youe to doo, if yo can attelyn to their presens, to declare it.

"Seventh.—Ye shall put my Lords in remembrance howe upon the late Erle of Ormonds dethe it was suspected as thing wolde happed in dead, that the Countes of Ormonde intended to marry therle of Desmonds Sonne and heir; whereby therle of Ormonde being not in age sholde not only be so hindered, that when he came to age he sholde not be able to serve the King as his auncesters had doone; but also the same sholde be a mean to make all his rule incyvil and Yrishe: For avoyding wherof she was sent for into Inglande, and bestowed as she was [i. e. as wife to Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Justice of Ireland], and now she is againe at lib'tie, and as farre as I can p'ceyve, as moche (if it be not more) bent to marye that waye then she was befor; whiche if it shold take place it were not

hands, and the fires of the ancient feuds were rekindling, a similar attempt was made for their extinction, and, strange to say, the same lady, Joan, daughter of the Eleventh Earl, who had been given as a peace-offering to the rival Earl of Ormond, was then restored, for the same sacred purpose, to the family from which she had been taken, and was remarried to Gerald, the Fifteenth Earl, the great rebel. At the time of her last marriage she was for a second time a widow, and was mother to the Tenth, or Black, Earl of Ormond, who in the end effectually extinguished all possibility of further rivalries in the blood of his mother's husband. The following letter was the Earl's endeavour to gain the good-will of the King for himself and his grandson, even whilst he was evading the King's wish for the presence of his heir at court.

May 5, 1532.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"Mooste highte and mighty Prince, and my mooste reduplithe Sovereigne hyghe Lorde, I in my mooste humble wise recommaunde my unto your mooste noble and haboundaunte

only a playne undoeing of therle of Ormonde, thinking it better for the King to haue two Eries then oon, and therto somewhat coequall as thei were before, but also if the saide Erie (whom I take newtheles to be an honorable subiect, after his educac'on, and oon that must be cherished) or his sunne, sholde digresse from their duties, thei had so instreynd the King in Ireland, as the remedy wolde be bothe dangerous and chargeable, as it maye be p'ceyved at the eye of him that will consider the chartre of Ireland, with the said Erie's rule, and this added into it. I judge undoubtedly the saide Erie wol be a suter in it, and p'chance hereafter desire this counsell to write in his favore, for whiche cause I thought good to p'monish my Lords beforehande, wher in if his desire be graunted the p'elles before menc'oned ar lyke to ensue; and playnely to denye him is the mean to loose him, or make him strange; and upon this w<sup>th</sup> myself premeditating, the daie after her husband's dethe, I toke oportunitie to com'ne w<sup>th</sup> hir to comfort hir, and so takyng som' occasion, what honor God had called her to, in this worlde, first to haue to husband so noble a gentleman as this was, by whom she shold enioye an honest portion of lyving for lytle more then a yeres payne, remembering hir of the goodness of the King, and the Lordes to preferre hir to the same, I advyced her not to marye w<sup>th</sup>owte his Graces license by the aduice of his noble counsell, adding diuerse p'euasions more to confirme the same, so as in thende she p'mised me upon hir honor that she wolde lyve sole for oon yere; and sithens, before p'te of this counsell she p'mised neuer to marye w<sup>th</sup>owte soche liens, and that she wolde by hir wryting to the Lordes confirme the same; neuertheles I wolde my Lordes (if thei take hir mariage of any moment) trusted a woman's p'mise no furdre then in soche a case it is to be trusted; but the soner thei p'vent hir the better."

Unfortunately the evil passions of the rival Houses were not appeased by this marriage; and when, in 1563, the Earl of Desmond was summoned to England to answer for his open warfare with his rival, and was for a while kept there "sequestered of his liberty," evil tongues were not wanting to attribute his restraint to the intrigues of his wife.

The Countess appealed at once to the Queen's principal Secretary of State, and requested no less than the testimony of all the members of the Privy Council to assure her husband of the untruth of such a charge:—

"Right hono'able after my right hartie commendac'ons may it please the same. Yt is beaten in my L. my husbannes hedde by certein yll

disposed p'sons that hath bene aboute his L. that I shulde be the chief stayer of my L. my husbando in Englande, in taking my sonnes p'te against his L. towching their variaunces, and that I shulde haue wrytten also to yo' hono' in that behalf, which thing if I dyd, yo' hono' knoweth, and if I dyd it nott, and that yo' hono' may suppose I am giltye in the p'mise, I shall most hartely beseeche the same that of yo' courtesie through myne olde acquayntaunce ye wolde woodsaule, at this my contemplac'on, to stande so moche my frinde in my defence and p'gac'on, if ye thinke it so good, as to procure the residue of the queanes Ma<sup>ty</sup> moste honorable Counsaill to declare to my said L. whether euer I sent to any yo' hono' any suche l're or whether euer ye p'ceiued from me by any kynde of meane to be that woman that procured any suche thing against my said L., wherby he may be brought owte of that suspcon so conceived against me in the behalf of my said sonne, for their variaunces, w<sup>th</sup>owte my des'te. As nowe I protest before God I never thought ne ment any suche thing against my said L., butt alwayes wysahing them bothe to be p'fight frinds, as two whome I love as myself, whose humble request eft sonnes most hartely beseeching yo' hono' t'accept in good p'te, butt also to extende yo' favo'able goodnes to my said L. for his dispatch over in her Ma<sup>ty</sup> favo' & yo' hono'. And then not doubting, god willing, his L. following good con'sail shall doo good s'vice to her highenes in thies p'ties. And once he being here shall nott waunte to satisfie his creditors at thannys of his adherents and others his s'vents and freinds, that being in dispayre of his coming ar nott wyllyng to sende him any thing over as farr as I canne lerne. That knoweth the Lorde, who send yo' hono' long l'yt w<sup>th</sup> thencrease of moche hono', w<sup>th</sup> my harty commendac'ons to my good lady yo' Bedfellows. From Youghall this xii of Julij 1563.

"Yo' hono' assuredly co'mannde in that

"I may,

"JOHAN DESMOND,

"ORMOND & OSS.

(Superscribed). "To the right honorable S<sup>r</sup> William Cicill Knight chief Secretary to the Queanes Ma<sup>ty</sup> and one of her graces most hono'able Privie Counsaill.

(Dorso). "Countes of Desmond to my M<sup>ty</sup>. 22 July, 1563."

By this lady, who died in 1565, the Earl had no issue.

Grace. . . For I have submite myself to your Grace, as I dude unto your noble direst fadere of fames memory, whose soule Jhesu pardon; trusting for to shaue my self the same man accordinge to my bounden duetie of alleageaunce, during my lyf, with fullfilling of all my promessis to my power, savinge one, of the which I desyre your Grace my to pardone, while that it is recensusye and necessary, and more ease for your Grace, and for my, so to dowe, thense otherwise; as, be all experiaunce it may be well known; as heir after doth exsprime; that is to say: wher as I have promist for to send myne herre unto your Grace, I, being well stricken in age, having none others but only he, my lordshipe, under your Grace, beinge ferr asondere, having sundry mortall enemeyes, considringe myn anciente, and his tendere aige, your Grace may considere, that we bothe has moche adowe for to keepe our ouns; and if he were absent, bothe in danger of the see, and other myschaunces, I shaulde hade moche adowe, then I may well away with. Also that I wile fere that your Grace wile take more pain in the defenence of hym in his absent thene to soffore hym, as he is, for a while. At your Grace is commaundement at all tymis.

"Written at Youghal the 5<sup>e</sup> day of May, the

"24<sup>e</sup> yere of your noble rainge."

In 1534 the writer of this letter died; and then burst out, as it was long foreseen there would, a conflagration through the whole of Munster, a fierce contest for succession to the Earldom of Desmond, in which were engaged every family of following, or influence in the province. The claimants were apparently three; for the Earl of Ormond pretended some claim to succeed in right of his wife Joan, the daughter of James the Eleventh Earl; but, in reality, the claimants for whom men were ready to shed their blood were James, son of Maurice, grandson of the late Earl, and John the late Earl's brother, fourth son of Thomas the Eighth Earl, beheaded at Drogheda in 1467. The Annals of the Four Masters have enumerated for us the various chieftains who took part in this furious struggle; and when are added to them the names of the Butlers and O'Briens, and the multitude of petty septs owing allegiance to them, the reader will perceive that no name historical in Munster was wanting in the general uprising of all the septs and populations, whether English or Irish, in the south of Ireland.

"The chiefs of his army [that is, of James, the son of Maurice, the heir to the Earldom, say the annals], were MacCarthy Cairbreach, Cormok Oge, Cormac the son of Donogh Oge MacCarthy Lord of Ballu [Duhallow], the White Knight, the Knight of Glyn, the Knight of Kerry, Mac Maurice, O'Conor, and the sustaining tower of the army, Mac Carthy Mor [Cormac Ladrach]. John the son of the Earl [the rival claimant] went to complain of his distress to the Dalcaies [the O'Briens], for there existed friendship and affinity between them; for More, the daughter of Donogh, son of Brian Duff, was the wife of this John."

The King had long before been made aware of the irregularity of succession to coveted dignities in his realm of Ireland. The same pen that had conveyed to him so much unpleasant information on the state of that kingdom, had written—"Also the sonne of eny of the said capytaines shalle not succeed to his fader, withaute he be the strongeist of all his nation; for ther shalbe none chief captayn in eny of the said regiones by lawfull succession, but by fortmayne, and election; and he that hath strongyst armye and hardeyst swerde among them hath best right and tytill."

But Cormac Oge, justifying the character given of him by the Lord Lieutenant, of being "a sadd wise man, and very desirous of becoming the Kinge's subject," before entering into actual battle with a man supported by all the power of the O'Briens, and the greater part of the FitzGerald, and knowing in his heart that the chieftain of a race must derive his right from the free election of his followers, not from the accident of primogeniture, determined to appeal to the King in favour of his son-in-law. Of this intention, and of the opinion of the Council in Ireland respecting the matter in contention, His Majesty was made aware, before any letter of Cormac Oge could reach him.

#### April 9, 1535.—LORD CHANCELLOR AUDELEY TO KING HENRY VIII.

"Pleaseth it your Magestie to be advertised, that the Iryshe man, who sued to your Highness at Mr. Secretaries, hath enfourmed me, that ther is a prist commyng with letters to your Grace from James of Desemounde, of your land of Ireland, and from one Cormoke Ogge, a knight, whois daughter the saide James hath married; and the effectes of the letters shold be, to make sutes to your Highness that the saide James mought be Erle of Desemount, as heir to his graundfather, late Erle of Desemount; and hath likewise enfourmed me, that one Sir John Decemount, Knight, uncle to the saide James, pretendeth to be Erle; which Sir John, as this Irisheman reporteth, in this tyme of hostilitie in your land of Ireland, hath put his good endeavour in assisting your subject, the Erle of Ossery, agaynst the rebell, and

traytour Thomas FitzGarrard [Silken Thomas,] and hath gotten part of the countie of Lymeryk, and diverse of the castelles of the saide rebell and traytour. And this Cormok Ogg and Jemes daily warr upon the saide Sir John Decemount, wherby he is the lesse able to pursue the said traytour, bycause he is compelled to defend him self and his cuntry agayne them; so that the opynyon of this Irisheman is that whatsoever sutes shalbe made to your Magestie by the saide Jemes and Cormok Ogge, or the saide Sir John Decemount, that your Highnes shold, in this tyme of contention, in your saide land of Irland, abstayn to graunt your favour to any of theym, to be Erle of Decemount; but to giff the priest that shall come to your Highnes on this behalf, faire dulce wordes, till your Grace maye knowe more of their demeanours, and service towards you in your saide land."

At the time this letter was written the Lord Deputy Skeffington despatched the force at his command, consisting of the hundred bowmen on horseback, which had been originally sent into Ireland under Captain Bulmer, but which the Earl of Surrey had since remodelled by discharging fifty of their number, and replacing them by an infusion of Welsh speers, twenty good English horsemen, and thirty fighting men picked up on hire in Ireland, under the command of Stevyn Ap-Parry, to observe the proceedings of the claimants and their followers, then face to face, and ready for battle. The instructions of Ap-Parry were to place himself under the orders of Lord James Butler, who, at the head of a powerful force of his own people, was about to endeavour, even by force if he should find it discreet to attempt it, to prevent collision between the hostile parties; we fortunately have the benefit of Captain Ap-Parry's account of that expedition, and in it incidental evidence of the jovial life of a soldier of fortune in those stirring times.

#### OCT. 6. 1535 — AP-PARRY TO CROMWELL.

"Right werschypfull, my dewte rememberyd, Plesythe yt vower Masterschyp to be advertyzed, that apone my Lord my Masters [Lord Leonard Gray's] departynge with Thomas Fygh Garrett [Silken Thomas], owght off Ierlond into Ynglond, he commandyd me, beyng captyn of a hunderythe of hys men, that I schold take my company, and too go in too my Lorde of Osserys cuntery, with my Lorde James Butlere, and too be at hys poyntment to gooe apone the Kynges enymes, where hys plesuer was to apoynte us, tyl my Lorde my masters cummyng bake agayn. . . . And so my Lorde Jamys plesyr was that I schold prepare my self in a redynes to go with hym to comen with a young gentylman, chalengys to be Yerle of Desmond, and with Cormak Oge, and with meyne other, and to se O'Breyn's cunterey. . . . The first nyght frome Dungarvyn we went onward ower journey to a toyne callyd Yowghol, wher we had very good cher, and onestly receyvd; and ther they did sell a galond of Gasgoyn wyn for ivd. sterling. The second nyght we campyd by a castell, the wych is calyd Cahermon, and ther my Lorde Jamys nusteryd his ost. . . . And upon a hyl half a myll a thys syde Corke, ther my Lorde Jamys commandyd me to put my men in too aray, and he lykwyse commandyd all hys captyns too put ther men in too a ray. And apone a hyl, halffe a myle ore more, Cormak Oge was with hys oste, and soo downe came Cormak Oge in to the valey with a certyn, and my Lord Jamys with a certyn, with hym, as ther was apoynted and soo they met too gether, and fyl to parlyng; and after they had parlyd, my Lorde Jamys went in to the towyn with all his ost, and the Mere of the town ther dyd receve hym, with hys bretherne, in ther skarlet gowns, and ther typettes of velvett, after the Englysche faschyon; and was very glad of us Ynglyschmen, and mad us the beste chere that ever we had in ower lyves; and on the morow came Cormak Oge in to the towyne end, to my Lorde Jamys, and browght with hym the ywng gentylman the wyche chalengys to be the Yerle of Desmond; and so thys yeong mane spekes very good Ynglysche, and kepthe hys here and cap, after the Ynglysche faschion, upone hys bede, and wolde be, as far as I can perceve, after the Ynglysche fashion. And heys saying was as thys, that he never ofendyd the Kinges Grace; and that londs that he hade, ore schold have of ryght, came by the Kings yeft, and that he was a treu Ynglysche mane borne, and wold be content with all his bert, yf Sir John a Desmond, hys uncyll, wold cume and submyt hymeself un too the King, and hys counsell, and to open his tytyll, as he wold doo; then he wold be content to cume in too Yngland, ore in too Yerlond; or wher so ever the Kyng, or hys counsel woyl apoynt hym; he ys very well content withall. And as for Cormak Oge, he is very well content that he shold soo doo. More over ther came in to my Lorde Jamys, one, the wyche ys callyd my Lorde Barrow, [Barry] that cane speke very good Ynglysche, the wyche is a very young man, not past 17 or 18 yere of age, that is a gret enberytor and yff he had ryght, and leyd very sore too Cormak Oge, and to one Macarte Ryghe, the wyche is one ilaw to Cormak Oge, and ys my Lorde off Kildars systers-sonne. And soo the awn-

sware of Cormak Oge was thys, that he wold be sworn too doo the Kyng trewe servys, and too put in hys plegys too abyde the jugment of the Depute of Ierland, or the counsell of Yerl-nd, between hym and eny man in Yerland, that can ley to his charge that he hathe done hym eny wrong in londs or goods. Macarte Ryagh came in apon a saff cundewte, and hys answar was, that he wold not be sworn unto the Kyng, nor put in no plegys for to doo eny man eny ryght, that he had don wrong to; for that, that he hathe won with hys sworde, he wyl hold yt with hys sworde. And then my Lorde Jamys, beyng sore moryd at hyme, sayng untoo hym, yt schold be un to his payn; he makynge awnswar, he wold a byyd ytt; with a prouwd countenance, lyke the Garadyns, as ever I saw.

"Therefore, my Lorde Jamys thought best to recoylt bake agayn, and to bryng the Dessemontes, and Cormak Oge, with hys company, to a stay, ore that he wold pase eny further. And so in Leymeryk we had very good cher; but nat nothyng lyke the cher that we had in Corke.

"This day came in Sir Jhon a Desmond, and he is a very old mane, and cane spek very good Ynglysche, and as far as I can perceve, hee hathe bene full of myscheff, and ys yet at thys ower; and hys awnswar ys thys—'What schold I do in Ynglond to met a boy ther? Let me have that Iresche horson Cormak Oge, and I wyll goo in too Ingland before the Kyng.'

"From Waterforde,

"The 6th day of October.

"Your poer Bedisman,

(Signed)

"STEVEN AP. PARRY."

In the month of June, 1536, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland wrote to Cromwell that "Sir John of Desmond had attayned into his possession the hole Erldom of Desmonde, and all the powre of the Englisherie of Mounster; that he was combynd with O'Brene and others, the Kings auncient enymies, intending by their aydes, forcible to retayn the same agens the Kinges will and pleasure, dayly consoulting togethers, and preparing themselves to abyde playne batell ayenste the Kinges poure."

In the middle of the same month Walter Cowley wrote to the same minister, "Sir John of Desmond is dead, and also Cormak Oge,"—brief notice of the withdrawal of two personages on whose conduct depended the lives of so many of their countrymen!

The death of Cormac Oge is thus recorded by his own people:

"The age of Christ, 1536. (Annals of the Four Masters).

"Cormac Oge, the son of Cormac, son of Teige Mac Carthy, the choice of the Irish of Leath Mogha, died, after having gained the victory over the Devil and the world; and was interred at Kilcrea."

Into the high place and pretensions of Sir John of Desmond stepped immediately his eldest son, James, who was supported by the choice, if not by the formal election, of his clan. With the death of Cormac Oge, fell all hope for his son-in-law, James, the son of Maurice. This unhappy claimant at once repaired to England to carry his complaint to the King; and to the King also wrote James Fitz John, the son of the late so-called Earl of Desmond, showing how little claim the fugitive could have either to Royal favour or to the Earldom; for that he was of base birth, and himself a rebel, as his father and grandfather had been, as His Majesty well knew.

#### March 3, 1539. — JAMES FITZ JOHN OF DESMOND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"In moste humblewise shewith unto your mooste excelent Highnes, youre true and faithfull subjecte, James Fitz John of Desmond, right inheritor of the Erldome; that where James Fitz Morice, lattalye pretending to be heir to the said Erldome, usurped the name, rule, and auctorite of the said Erldome, and commytted dyvers abhominable and detestable treasons to your Highnes, and published and declared dyvers sklanders and traitorous wordes against your noble person, and commytted many and grevous homycides, murders, theftes and robberies, upon your poor subjectes; the forsaid John, father of your suppliaunt, then beinge in youre moost noble service, made their tytill unto the said Erldome, as next heyris to the same Erldome, for that the said James Fitz Morice was, and is bastarde, for soo moche as there was noo lawfull mariage solempnyshed between the said Morice his supposed father, and the mother of the said James Fitz Morice, being daughter to the late White Knyght deceased, whoo was cossyn germaine to the said Morice; and for the specialtie of the sayd tytill, the father of your said suppliaunt submytted hym to the determinacion of William Skeffington your late Deputie in Irelande, and your consaill there; whereunto the said James Fitz Morice beinge requyred, utterlie refused to stand to, and obey the same;

therefore your said suppliant, and his father, by the comandement of your said late Deputie, as well for the atteyning of his saide right and tytill, as also for the punysshement of the abhominable treasons, and other detestable crymes and offences commytted by the said James Fitz Morice againste youre Highnes, and your subjectes, with such power as he could make, invaded the said James Fitz Morice, and fynally expelled hym from the said Erlidom; and the same dignite, tytill, and honoure used, with his owne right, and so died, beinge seaisid and possessid in the same Erlidome. After whose dete the said Erlidome descendit to your suppliant as sonne and heyre to the said John, and your said suppliant hath entred and occupied the same accordingle. And for as moch as the said James Fitz Morice whoo, beinge in power and streyngt, used himself in treason, and robberies against your Highnes, and your subjectes, as is aforesaid, now beyng, by your said suppliant and his father expelled, and put from his said possession and rule, thynkinge by fayr wordes, frendship, and colorable hydinge of his said detestable crymes and offences, and humble submyssion of hymself, which came never but by compulsion, to achive his purpos, hath repaired to your Highnes, therby trustinge to be by your Highnes restored to the said Erlidome, whereunto he hath noo tytill nee right. . . . and finally it may please your Highnes to ordre all things touching the premyssis, soo that all tytill, contraversies, and debate that may or shuld hereafte growe, or ryse, touching the premyssis, may by your Highnes discrete wysdom, and ordre, redounde to a good ordre and knowledge. And your said suppliant shall dailie pray for the prosperous contynuanse of your noble estate long to endure.

"Written the third day of Marche,

"Your mooste bounden subjects

"and Servant,

(Signed)

"J. of D.

(Superscribed)

"To our Sovereigne Lorde the Kinges mooste  
"Excellent Highnes."

The several despatches following trace the remainder of this struggle to its abrupt close by the death of the weaker claimant. The letter of James Fitz John, and his offer to aid in the pacification of Munster, excited more of sympathy in the heart of the King's ministers than the sorrows of the fugitive; and Cromwell made known to the Council at Dublin His Majesty's inclination to recognize the claim of James Fitz John, and "to benefitt the young man [James Fitz Maurice] in some other way." This sudden stroke of state craft was not in accord with the designs of the great House of Ormonde, or with the nicely poised policy of the Council at Dublin. In an evil hour these Lords persuaded his Majesty that, to keep the hands of Fitz John full of troubles of his own, and to force him to some show of submission, and reverence for His Majesty's laws, it would be expedient to send the fugitive—"the young man"—back to Ireland, and afford him some means of reviving his claim.

#### 1537.—CROMWELL TO SENTLEGER AND OTHERS.

"After my right hartly commendations. This shalbe to advertes you that the Kinges Mageste hathe receyved suche another letter frome Jamys of Desmonde, as the copy wherof was sent to you enclosed in my letters, addressyd by Patryk Barnwell. And forasmoche as by his wryting ther aperith not only a great conformyte in hym, but also an overture of reducyng of hole Monaster within two yeres to a perfect obediens, having therunto the asistens of 300 men for that tyme. His Highnes desireth you to handell the sayd James in a gentyll sorte, declaring that His Mageste takyth his letters in gode parte; and to enter with hym upon the pointes of the same, that you may the better fele hym and his purpose; and, therapon devising with others, way what service he shall be abyll to do, if His Mageste shold take suche an order betwen hym and the young man, the said young manne's title notwithstanding, whiche most men do preffer, as he might contyneu in his extenuacion, which I suppose assuredly His Grace wolde do, what recompens so ever he shall make to this man, if the said Jamys will contyneu a feythfull obedyent corespondent to the lawes ther, and can therwith accomplishe that he wrytith, touching Mounster, if His Grace shold beare as moche with hym for the same as he desirith. And what you shall fynde herein His Graces pleasur is, you shall advertes accordingly. And thus fare you hartely well.

From Ampthill, the 9th day of August.

"Your lovinge Frende,

"THOMAS CROMWELL."

## JULY 20, 1538.—ORMONDE TO COWLEY.

"—— My Lord Deputie hath so strengthened this James (Fitz John) of Desmond, that all the Capitains of Monnester in effects are of his bande, and is of greater strength by means of my said Lord Deputie, than any Erle of Desmond that have bene these many yeres; so that this yong man, that is with the Kinges Majestie in England, is never like to come by his enheritans: And as I am credably informed, he hath counsailld the said James of Desmond to make werr upon mee, for suche landes as my sonn James hath in his wife's right, and have procurid Sir Thomas Butler to be of the same mynde, and to take his parte.

"(Signed),

P. ORMOND & Oss'."

"From Callan the 20 day of July.

"(Superscribed.)

"To my trusty servaunt,

"Robt. Cowley, at London.

## 1538, NOV. 28.—THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO CROMWELL.

"—— James the pretended Erle of Desmond (by dissimulation as it were) pretending to the Commissioners that he wold be ordered in all thingis to the Kinges pleasure, and so synnes my Lord Deputie's last journey into Mounster, hath obteyned suche a strengthe in Mounster as no Erle of Desmonds had there in no mannes remembrance: . . . . . And therfor our advise is that the Kinges Majestie sende our thother James, which is there, giveng him (which as farr as we hitherto can perceyve, is the veray right heir) aide against thother; whereby the combynation and power of thother may be abated, and diminished. For moche more good wisdom and policie it is to put them two together, thoon against thother, whereby this pretended Erl may have his handes full, to loke to his awne defence, than to permitt him to aggregate to him self, all the strenght of the best parte of Ireland, wherwithe he may, at his sensuall pleasure, retorne upon the Kinges subjectes for we see no likeliode ne esperance of conformitie in him for the Kinges purpose."

## APRIL 4, 1540.—THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"Oure moost humble duetie premised to Youre moost Excellent Majestie. Please it the same to be advertised, that we being in thiose parties above the water of Barrowe, dissolving, and surveying the religious houses, leasing out the same for certain yerlie rent to your Highnes, and executing Your Grace's affaires in mynystation of justice, redressing enormities, and establishing good order, worde came to us (which is veray true) that your Grace's servaunt James Fitz Morishe, who claymed to be Erle of Desmond, was cruelly slayne the friday before Palme Sondae, of unfortunat chaunce, by Morishe Fitz John, brother to James Fitz John then usurpor of the Erledome of Desmond. After which murder doon, the same James Fitz John immediatelie resorted to your town of Youghill, wher he was wele received, and enterteyned, and er he departed entred into all souche piles, and garrisons in the countie of Corke as your Majesties Deputie, with the assistance of your army, and me the Erle of Ormond, obtayned before Christenmas last; and haithe recovered nowe not onely the hole strenght of Mounister, besides the freendship of O'Breene, Oneyle, and O'Donyll, but also the Lorde Roche, the Lorde Barrye, the White Knyght, M'Carty Riaghe, and diverse other Capitains, befor, at the saide jorney allured from hym, to your said servaunt, wherby he was competently stronge to berde the other with a litle more helpe, and within short space had put hym in great daunger of exile. Soo as the hole title to the Erledome (as he thinketh) being nowe discended upon hym, and having more strenght than ever he had, your Majestie is at a great hindraunce for reformation or subjection of theis parties. And howe he wold order hymself for keeping of any peaux we be mouche in doute. And as ferre as we can perceive, this fatall chaunce had not happed, if the twoo hundred archers of your Graces said army, left in the Town of Youghill, and in thois borderes, havying commaundement to remayne, and contynue there still for his aide, had not departed from thens to Waterford, distansing farre from any service or exploit to be doon. We have sende to have a communication with hym, and as we shall finde hym, if he comon with us, we shall advertise your Magestie at length. And thus we beseeche God to send your Majestie long and moost prosperous life. Written at your Cittie of Waterforde, the fourthe of Aprill; the one



and thirte yere of your moost noble reigne. Your Majesties most humble Servauntes and Subjectes.

"(Signed),

JOHN ALEN,  
GEOR: DUBLIN.  
JA. ORR & OSS,  
WILLM. BRABASON,  
ROBERT COWLEY."

Mr. Lodge numbers this James, son of Maurice, as Thirteenth Earl of Desmond. *De facto* he was never Earl for a day; for immediately at the death of his grandfather Thomas, the Twelfth Earl, the succession was disputed; the title was assumed, and the lands of the Earldom seized by John, the brother of the deceased, the fourth of the sons of Thomas, the Eighth Earl, beheaded at Drogheda in 1467. Whether James Fitz Maurice was Earl *de jure* would depend upon the validity of the marriage of his parents; upon this point no legal sentence was ever pronounced. Cormac Oge, whose daughter he had married, and MacCarthy Reagh, who had married another daughter of Cormac Oge, and MacCarthy of Glean na chroim, married to a grand-daughter of that chieftain, and doubtless the White Knight, his mother's father, considered the marriage valid; but the aged John, and his many allies, declared it otherwise. Lodge makes John to have succeeded James Fitz Maurice, and thus to have been the Fourteenth Earl; this is impossible, for he died four years before him. John died in 1536; James was slain in 1540. On the death of John, his son James Fitz John, as the reader has seen, assumed his place. If James Fitz Maurice, the grandson of the Twelfth Earl of Desmond, is, as Mr. Lodge places him, to be considered the Thirteenth, then John, who disputed the Earldom with him, and died before him, could not have been Fourteenth Earl, or Earl at all! One or other of these claimants must be removed from Mr. Lodge's list. James Fitz John, whom he calls the Fifteenth, was in reality the Fourteenth, and Gerald, the great rebel, the Fifteenth, not the Sixteenth Earl of Desmond.

The death of James Fitz Maurice was called by the council of Dublin, in their despatch announcing it, in one passage "an unfortunate chance," and in another "a murder," and Maurice, who slew him, has been termed "Maurice the Murderer." He was known also as Atotane "The Incendiary," and "Maurice Duff, or Black Maurice." We know enough of his long fierce career to be forced to admit that he was a turbulent, and probably a cruel man; but we have no reason to believe that the slaying of Fitz Maurice was murder in the odious sense in which the word is now used. James Fitz John had been for some time—four years—in actual possession of the Earldom of Desmond; and when tidings reached him and his supporters, that the fugitive had returned from England to renew the struggle, Maurice, "the firm steel of the Geraldines," was despatched to meet him. Of the incidents of the encounter between the parties we have no detail. James Fitz Maurice fell, but whether by the sword of his relative, we know not.

Maurice Atotane outlived his victim twenty-five years; his career had been tempestuous through more than sixty of the four score years of its duration, and he had brought up his two sons to a life as stormy; the end of all was—*qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt!* In the year 1560, at the age of seventy-five, twenty years after his securing the Earldom of Desmond to his brother, by the slaying of James Fitz Maurice, and after his allying himself with the most powerful of his neighbours, by the marriage of his daughters, his turbulent and fierce spirit led him into constant quarrels with those amongst them, with whom, if with any, he might have been expected to live in peace. One of his daughters had married David Roche, Lord Fermoy, another Sir Dermot McTeig, Twelfth Lord of Muskerry, the grandson of his old enemy Cormac Oge; and a third, Donogh MacCarthy Reagh, chieftain of Carbery. No family alliance, no motives of common prudence were able to keep him on terms of good fellowship with these latter powerful chieftains. We read in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 1581, that—

A. D. 1560.—"Thomas and James, the two sons of Maurice Duv, son of John, son of Thomas, the son of the Earl, marched with an army into Carbery. The son of MacCarthy Reagh [Donogh, son of Donell, son of Fineen, son of Donell] rose up on hearing the shouts, to oppose them. He had with him at this time Turlogh, son of Mulmurry, son of Donogh, son of Turlogh Mac Sweeney, of the descendants of Donogh More, from Tuatha Toraighe, with a company of fine select Gallowglassers; and they pursued the warlike bands [of the Geraldines] to the banks of the Banndon, where, on the margin of the river, directly opposite Inis-Eoghannain, they defeated this band of adventurers. Two or three hundred of the fine troops of the Geraldines were slain and drowned."

The sword which Black Maurice had himself used so ruthlessly, and which had spared

him so long, failed not at last to find him. Mr. Lodge informs us 1565, when 80 years of age, preying upon the Mac Carthys of Muske as he was carrying off his booty, by his son-in-law Sir Dermot M'T. taking him prisoner left him in the custody of four horsemen whilst who in the mean time put him to death." The "Annals of the Four Masters" in nearly similar terms, but they have not been able to suppress that so illustrious a life should have been taken for an offence so insignificant. Maurice Duv, the son of John, son of the Earl [of Desmond], went upon a private expedition against the Muskerry. The sons of Teige, son of Cormac Oge, son of Cormac, so viz., Dermot and Cormac overtook him, and beheaded him, though it would have been better than the victory gained by his death. He was the firm steel of the Geraldines in the field of danger, the plunderer and destroyer of his opponents." The account of the death of Maurice differs from that of Lodge; and, whilst it is not inconsistent with the "Annals of the Four Masters," it enters more into detail:—"Maurice, son of John, son of Dermot, son of the Earl, was killed by Tadg McCarprach, son of Tadg Muskraighe M'Diarmaida, and by his sons, viz., Dermot and Cormac Donough of the staff, son of Tadg, son of Cormac, of one blow of a portion of his breastplate through his body with that thrust, so that his soul, on the 7th of the ydes of August." When we consider that Maurice was over eighty years at the time, we can well understand the truth of the statement of the annalists that he was "the firm steel of the Geraldines, the slaughterer of his enemies." Be it remembered also, that Sir Dermot McTeig was Maurice Duv's son Maurice's grandsons!

Of the two sons of Maurice Atotane, who led the unsuccessful rebellion in the country of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh, Thomas died the year 1581. He left an only son, who fell under the sword of Captain Zouche in the year 1581. His fate is thus recorded by the "Four Masters":—

A. D. 1581.—"The Earl of Desmond (Gerald the 15th E.) was engaged in the field of the two yews, now Agadoo, I. O. D.; and at that time, namely Captain Siuitse, was appointed by the Queen and the Lord Justice of Ireland, to march day and night, with a party of soldiers, to attack on the Camp of the Earl of Desmond; and it was on a Sunday, the 7th of the ydes of August, that the Captain arrived at the Camp. The Earl, and all those who were with him, were in a deep sleep, and profound slumber; for they had remained vigilant, all day, and until that time. The captain immediately and alertly attacked them, he found standing in the streets, and slew them without mercy; not in a battle, or engagement, but proceeded directly till he reached Castlemaine, amongst the freeborn persons slain by the Captain at Achadh-da-da-da-da, Thomas Oge the only son of Thomas the son of Maurice Duv, the son of Maurice, the son of Donogh Bacagh, son of Mulmurry son of Donogh Teige the son of Dermot, son of Cormac of Magh-Laithimh [i. e. Lathimh], a townland, in which stood a Castle belonging to a respectable family, near the village of Castlemaine, in the Barony of Magunity, J. O. D."

The career, and the heroic but bloody end of James the other son of Maurice (the Arch-rebel), is well known to the reader; he left two sons, one of whom died by shipwreck on the Irish coast when he was returning from Spain, and the other son died by shipwreck on the Irish coast when he was returning from Spain; thus perished the Earl of Desmond, Maurice Duv, whom the Lords of the Council called the murderer of his country, the destroyer of his opponents.

## CAP. II.—THE FITZ-GERALDS OF CLOYNE AND BALLYMARTYR, SENESCHALS OF IMOKILLY.

In casting their lot rather with the head of their house than with their Sovereign the selection of the junior members of the Fitz-Geralds, as of other Anglo-Norman houses, was ruled not by mere family influence, but by conformity with the usages of the people amongst whom they lived rather than with those of the land from which they sprung. In all but in name the Earls of Desmond had become in course of time as Irish, nay, it was proverbially said, more Irish than their Milesian neighbours the O'Briens and Mac Carthys. Not only had they so constantly allied themselves, during the four hundred years of their abode in Ireland, with the great Irish septs around them as that their Norman blood barely sufficed to tincture the Celtic current in their veins, but they had practically immersed the dignity of their English peerage in that of their Irish chieftainship, adopted the usages of tanistry, submitted themselves to its laws, and claimed its privileges. Foremost amongst these privileges or chiefries was the fatal right of "The Rising Out;" consequently when the Earl of Desmond raised his standard, whether in rebellion, or in mere quarrel with his neighbours, every member of his race, every dweller upon his lands was in theory bound to range himself around it. It was this assimilation of their nobility with that of the Milesian princes amongst whom they dwelt that rendered them the most powerful subjects in the realm, and was a constant temptation to them to rebellion; for it was this alone that enabled them, at any time, to raise an armed force competent to contend with the armies of their Sovereign.

With his succession, described by Lodge as "commanding almost four counties, his lands extending 110 miles, and containing 574,628 acres of English measure," Gerald the 15th Earl of Desmond succeeded also to the fatal inheritance of a fierce family feud with his Anglo-Norman neighbour, scarcely less powerful than himself, Thomas 10th Earl of Ormonde. An effort had been made, from which success might have been fairly hoped, to appease these ruinous contentions; a marriage had been effected between the young Earl of Desmond and the Dowager Countess of Ormonde,<sup>1</sup> the mother of the head of the rival house; but ancestral rivalry and hatred were too virulent to be healed even by so intimate an alliance. The usual quarrels speedily broke out afresh, their Irish neighbours, as usual, took part in them, and Munster returned to its normal condition of party warfare, contempt of English law, and disregard of the Queen's authority. These quarrels were rendered all the more widely spread by the numerous alliances formed, by the principal parties in them, with the Irish around them. For example, Mac Carthy Mor, not then ennobled, had married a sister of the Earl of Desmond, to whom, by a marriage of the previous generation, he was so near of kin that he had been compelled to seek a dispensation for his marriage;<sup>2</sup> McDonogh Mac Carthy of Dowally was married to a sister of the second Countess of Desmond; Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh to a sister of James Fitz Maurice; Sir Dermot

<sup>1</sup> See a notice of this marriage in a note at p. 505, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> On the 24th of March, 1558.—Robert Remon wrote from London to the Earl and Countess of Desmond, stating that "he was about to go to Cardinal Caraffa, Legate in Flanders or Brabant, for a dispensation for their daughter Onoria and M'Carthy Mor, because Cardinal Pole had not yet received his powers; and requested them to send him money for that journey." Eleanor, the wife of James FitzJohn, 14th Earl of Desmond, was a daughter of Domhnal-an-Drumainn Mac Carthy Mor, and sister to Domhnal Earl of Clancar; hence the necessity of a dispensation for their marriage. Onoria was not, however, the daughter of the Earl of Clancar's sister, consequently not his niece. She was daughter of Desmond's third wife Catherine, daughter of Pierce Earl of Ormonde, widow of Richard Lord Poer. The only offspring of the Earl of Desmond by Clancar's sister, his fourth

wife, was Sir James Sussex Fitz Gerald, who lost his life for complicity in his brother's rebellion. On the death of James FitzJohn, Earl of Desmond, his widow remarried with Conor, Earl of Thomond; a marriage so fortunate as to meet with the approbation of Queen Elizabeth, who, in the "Instructions given 17 July, 1559, to Thomas Earl of Sussex, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland," was pleased thus to make known her approval. . . . "And for the marriage of him (the Earl of Thomond), with the Dowager the Countess of Desmond, we think he (the Deputy) should do well to make such convenient means on both parts, as to his wisdom shall seem convenient; for thereby (the said Dowager being, as we perceive, the sister of Mac Carthy Mor) may be made so good alliance betwixt the said Earl of Thomond and the said Mac Artye, as the Earl of Desmond should be occasioned thereby the better to govern himself towards us."

Mac Carthy of Muskerry, to another sister; The Lord Roche to another; Donal Mac Carthy na-Pipi<sup>1</sup>—next in succession to the Chieftainship of Carbery—was himself half brother to Ellinor, daughter of Lord Dunboyne, Desmond's second wife, and was, besides, married to Margaret the daughter of the Earl's eldest, but disinherited, brother, Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald; and to complicate the political sympathies inseparable from such alliances, a brother of the Earl of Ormonde had espoused a sister of his rival of Desmond; besides which there had ensued numerous marriages of Fitz Gerald with the Earls of Thomond, and minor Chieftains of the O'Briens, so that when a "Rising Out" by the rival houses was proclaimed it speedily became a rising out of all the clans, English and Irish, in Munster.

Upon three several occasions had these haughty and irreconcilable adversaries been summoned to England, for "the settlement of their controversies." It was thought at the time, that Queen Elizabeth, in these investigations, evinced much partiality for the Earl of Ormonde, not precisely for the reasons assigned in Russell's Relation, but because "he had been brought up with that holy Solomon, King Edward VI."

If we may credit the despatches of Sir Warham St. Leger, the Commissioner of Munster, and of the Lord Deputy, Sir H. Sydney, Ormonde was to the full as contemptuous of the Queen's government, and as arrogant and intractable in the assertion of his family pretensions as his adversary. St. Leger wrote of him to Lord Burghley, "he is the mooste hatefult person in this province that liveth; and of the Captains and soldiers so disliked as, were it not for their duties sakes, they wolde rather be hanged than follow him." On occasion of his first repair to England the Earl of Desmond had been "sequestered of his liberty" in the house of the Lord Treasurer; on his second arrival he was allowed to choose his own place of residence, and he appears to have chosen it in Walworth; on his third visit he was lodged in the Tower. It is by a letter from the Earl, written from that dreary residence, where he found his comforts measured by his means of purchasing them, and where he was lodged "without furniture, and left to suffer from the cold,"<sup>2</sup> that we receive our first introduction to one of the two distinguished Geraldines, a few passages of whose daring career it is the purpose of these pages to bring under the reader's notice. The letter was addressed jointly to "The Seneschal of Imokilly, and Mr. John Fitz Edmunds Dean of Clone;"

<sup>1</sup> Domnhal-na-piopaide (usually called Donal Pipi, or "of the Pipes," of wine cast ashore on his strand at Burren), the 8th Mac Carthy Reagh, and last of the Tanistic Chieftains of Carbery, was son of Cormac na-haoine the 4th Mac Carthy Reagh, who was the eldest of four sons of Donal M'Finin by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Gerald 8th Earl of Kildare, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1496, sister of the unhappy Gerald the 9th Earl, who died brokenhearted, as his Countess had also done, in the Tower of London, just in time to escape the sight of the execution of his five brothers, and of his son Thomas (Silken Thomas), the 10th Earl, who were beheaded on charge of high treason, on the 24 of Feb. 1535. Donal, being under age at his father's death, say English writers, was usurped upon by his uncles, Finin, Donogh, and Owen, who, one after another, by usage of Tanistry became chieftains of Carbery; he recovered his rights only at the death of his uncle Sir Owen. Cormac Na-haoine was married to Ellen, daughter of Cormac Oge, 10th Lord of Muskerry, who at the death of her husband remarried with Edmund Butler Lord Dunboyne, by whom she had Eleanor, 2nd wife of Gerald the great rebel, Earl of Desmond. Sir Donogh Mac Carthy, who succeeded his brothers Cormac and Finin, married Joan, daughter of Maurice Fitz Gerald, called Atotane, (the Incendiary), younger son of John the 14th (so called) Earl of Desmond. By this marriage Sir Donogh became brother-in-law to James Fitz Maurice the Arch-Traitor, and was father of Florence of the Tower of London, of Donal Moyle who was killed in Tirone's rebellion, and of Julia, the wife of Sir Owen O'Sullivan Mor.

<sup>2</sup> It may be interesting to the reader to see in what manner, and at what cost, the two illustrious prisoners, the Earl and his brother, Sir John of Desmond, were maintained at Her Majesty's charges, in her Tower of London. At the time when Sir Owen Hopton sent in the following document to the Lord Treasurer, they had been about a year and a-half in captivity, and it is pleasing to see that their comforts had materially increased, especially in the items of light and fuel, since that dreary October day when they arrived in London from Lichfield, where they had been constrained to stay a day on account of Sir John of Desmond's sickness from his sea voyage, and found themselves lodged without furniture for chamber or table, and where the cold was so excessive that the health of neither could withstand it:—

"Right honorable, and my singuler good L. for answer of yo<sup>r</sup> last letter what charges hir Magestie was at monthlie for the dyet of Gerett Earle Desmond and his brother—

for him selfe ◊—iiij<sup>s</sup> the weeke, for one gent ◊—x<sup>s</sup> the weeke, for his yeoman ◊—vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>s</sup> the weeke, for fewell and candell ◊—xx<sup>s</sup> the weeke.  
for the dyet and chargis of S<sup>r</sup> John Desmond ◊—xxvi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>s</sup> the weeke for him selfe, for two yeomen eyther of them ◊—vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>s</sup> the weeke—for fewell & candell ◊—vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>s</sup> the weeke, w<sup>th</sup> for them booth cumeth weekelye to ◊—viij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>s</sup> i<sup>s</sup> d.

Thus resting yo<sup>r</sup> honors to commaunde, I humblye take my leave this viij<sup>th</sup> of Marche Ao. 1570.

"yo<sup>r</sup> whome you maye commaunde,

"OWEN HOPTON."

and its purport was to desire them "to aid the Countess and James Fitz Maurice in collecting his rents and keeping the peace." That it was not without urgent reason that the prisoner wrote this, and many other letters pressing for the remittance of money, we learn from an application made by Sir W. St. Leger to the Privy Council, some time later, for "a warrant for the diets of the Earle and Countess of Desmond, Sir John the Earle's brother, and their families, to the number of 13 or 14 persons;" they have not, he writes, had so much of their own as to buy them a pair of shoes, and are in despair to have anything out of their own country. How far the Seneschal of the Earle was at the time employed in "keeping the peace" the reader will have many opportunities of seeing; how far it was in reality desired that he should do so, he will have little difficulty in judging. Of the multitude of names pressing upon our notice from the first to the last day of these Desmond wars none occur with more frequency and but few with greater prominence than the names of the Seneschal of Imokilly, and his kinsman of Cloyne. Some confusion existed in their own day, and has been continued to ours, relative to the identification of these two personages; both were Fitz Edmunds, and both of Cloyne; and both were John Fitz Edmunds; but the sides chosen, by them in these troubles, and the results to their separate fortunes were widely diverse.<sup>1</sup> It will be convenient, in the few pages that follow, in order to avoid this confusion, to distinguish them, the one as the Earle's Seneschal of Imokilly, the other as Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne; there was another way of distinguishing them in their own day which was preferred by the authorities who had to fill many despatches with their concerns; the former they called the *rebel*, the latter the *loyal* Fitz Gerald. Both these men were remarkable for ability and energy; the one relentless in his persecution of all the Queen's friends, the other a model of fidelity, and resignation under sufferings and losses brought upon him by his loyalty. Admirable contemporaneous sketches of the characters of both these personages have come down to us from pens perfectly competent to portray them. One is effected by a few phrases vigorous and homely, as was the usual style of the artist; the other of more minute delineation, and florid colouring, for it was intended for the eyes of Majesty.

On the 4th of June, 1584, the Earl of Ormonde had occasion to write to Lord Burghley to defend himself from the accusations of a certain Lovel, whom he describes as "as bad a man, and as vainglorious a fool as may be;" and having disposed of these attacks, he turned to make intercession for a man who shortly before had "burned Nenagh and 12 more of Ormond's towns," and slaughtered nearly as many of Ormonde's friends as Ormonde had himself executed of his own and the Queen's enemies, and thus expressed himself:—"The Seneschal of Imokilly and the rest have lived very orderly since their coming in. *The Seneschal is valiant, wise, and true of his word.*" On the 2d. of February, 1599, the Lords of the Council in England wrote to Mr. John Fitz Edmunds of Clone, commending his constant faith and affection to the Queen's service, and stating that Her Majesty doubteth not but he to whom Almighty God hath given learning and greatness which will make him despise all barbarous traitors, besides the strong motives of his natural duty and affection, will now strain his best endeavours to deserve the continuance and encrease of Her Majesty's good opinion, and urging him to employ himself against John Fitz Edmund, the Seneschal of Imokilly ("Letters of Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew," edited by Sir John Maclean).

In like style are several more sketches of this distinguished loyalist. "Mr. John Fitz Edmunds, a Geraldine, is one that for his civil life, great hospitality, and relieving all the Queen's good subjects, as well English as Irish, is of the traitors so deadly hated that he is forced to forsake his country, and to commit himself to this town [Cork]; the only sound subject Her Majesty hath in Cork."

One paragraph more may be added to these sketches, by the feeble pen of this present writer. Besides what has been already said of Mr. John Fitz Edmund, it may be

<sup>1</sup> Into the error of mistaking these personages, one for the other, fell Sir Richard Cox, and after him Smith, trusting to his guidance. After relating the extortions of Lords Roche and Barry, the Historian remarks: "Even the great men were under the same oppressions from the great-er; for the Earl of Desmond forcibly took away the Seneschal of Imokilly's corn from his own land, although he was one of the most consi-

derable Gentlemen in Munster." Sir Warham St. Leger had reported the matter very differently to Sir Francis Walsingham. "The Seneschal, he wrote, lieth at his pleasure in the country of Imokilly without molestation, and gathereth up the corn of Sir John Fitz Edmunds, of Clone, and is storing it in the woods and caves." Even the Editor of the Calendar of the Irish Papers of Elizabeth felt puzzled by the similarity of name.



rebellion, traceable with difficulty to aught else than to the levity and vanity of that Chief: there was the Thomond rebellion, arising from that Earl's anger against Sir Edward Fytton, the Queen's Governor of Connaught and Thomond; and, worst of all, the Butler rebellion, headed by Sir Edmund Butler, and other two brothers of the Earl of Ormonde, the General of the Queen's forces. This proceeded, as its authors believed, from the attempts of Sir Peter Carew to possess himself of the inheritance which should have descended to him from his ancestress, the daughter of Robert Fitz Stephen, but which had been intercepted in the days of Richard II. by usurping Irishmen, and subsequently, in part wrested from them by other usurpers, of English blood. A portion of this inheritance the Butlers had been accustomed for two hundred years to consider theirs, and Sir Edmund, the present usurper, had inherited their error, and indeed their perverseness also, for he refused obedience to the sentence of the Jury which had acknowledged the justice of Sir Peter's claim, and declared that he "would never submit to any such claim, or to any Lord Deputy who should endeavour to enforce it."

How, and by whom, the election to the rule of the Earl of Desmond's country was in reality made, and how these several rebellions grew, and flourished—not so entirely to the blame of the Geraldines as their adversaries asserted—and how they subsided, we have related for us, with equal brevity and vigour, by the able man who suppressed them, the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney. It has been observed that the Earls of Desmond had for many generations adopted the usages of Tanistry, and that to the most important of the chiefries recognised by those usages—Rising Out—they owed the power which enabled them, at any time, to raise an armed force to maintain their quarrel, were it even with the Sovereign. This finds remarkable proof in the very first proceeding of Fitz Maurice, as it is related in the following letter, who notwithstanding the Earl's choice and the Queen's approbation of it, sought his election from the followers of his house, whose clear right it was to elect their ruler.

In 1583, Sir H. Sydney wrote to Sir F. Walsingham "A summary relation of all his services in Ireland."

MARCH 1, 1583.—(CAREW MSS.)

Three times Her Majesty hath sent me her Deputy, into Ireland, and in every of the three times I sustained a great and a violent rebellion, every one of which I subdued, and (with honorable peace) left the country in quiet. I returned to Dublin, and caused the old ruinous castle to be re-edified. But Ormond ceased not to persecute me, alleging that his people were still oppressed by Sir John of Desmond and the Desmonians. . . . I then caused my revocation. . . . and, unwitting to me, the Earl of Desmond and Sir John his brother were sent for, which Sir John (being come to Dublin for conference with the LL. Justices) was (together with his brother the Earl) sent as prisoners, and committed to the Tower of London, where they remained, I think, seven years; and truly, Mr. Secretary, this hard dealing with Sir John of Desmond was the origin of James Fitz Mores' rebellion, and of all the evil and mischief of Munster. . . . I was sent for to the court again and again. As the people of that country were desirous to have me, so were there some of this country unwilling that I should go; but before a full year was run out I was sent again Deputy into Ireland. I landed at Carrigfergus the 6th of Sept., 1568.

. . . . James Fitz Mores, son to Mores of Desmond, nicknamed Attotane, brother to James [14th] Earl of Desmond, father to the now Earl, traitor and rebel, understanding that I was arrived [at Dublin], and had not brought with me neither the Earl, nor Sir John his brother, which he thought I might, and would have done, assembling as many of the Earl of Desmond's people as he could, declared unto them that I could not obtain the enlargement either of the Earl or of his brother John, and that there was no hope or expectation of either of them, but to be put to death, or condemned to perpetual prison; and therefore (saying that the country could not be without an Earl, or a Captain) willed them make choice of one to be their Earl or Captain, as their ancestors had done, after the murder (as he termed it) of the good Earl Thomas Fitz James, his ancestor, put to death by the tyrant the Earl of Worcestor (as he called him), then Deputy of Ireland. And according to this his speech, he wrote unto me, they forthwith, and as it had been with one voice, cried him to be their Captain" . . . . This was the origin of the rebellion in Munster; and to use plain terms, 'twas the withdrawing of Sir John of Desmond from the governing of that country where he governed well. . . . James grew into more and more insolencies, and great outrages upon divers whom he loved nor liked not; whereupon I was driven to proclaim him traitor and rebel. And looking for the service of Sir Edmund Butler, then Captain and Sene-

schal of all the Earl of Ormond's countries (for so the Earl his brother had made him, and politiciely kept himself in England, as well for duty's sake to the Queen, as ancient and innate malice to the Earl of Desmond, and all Desmonians), I was quite disappointed, being answered, as well by scornful letters, as frivolous and foolish speeches, that he was able to do none; alleging that I had made him "to ride up and down the country like a priest," inferring thereby the suppressing of the most filthy and intolerable exaction of coyne and livery, used most harmfully by him, the country being quiet, and no wars, nor likely to be. I, urging him still to serve, he fell into rebellious actions; for he wasted and destroyed almost all the Queen's County, killing very many of the inhabitants of the same, but most especially all the Englishmen. . . . Then increased he his strength by stirring the Earl of Thomond to rebellion, and to resist Sir Edward Fytton, then Lo: President in Connaught and Thomond, and had with him both his brethren, Edward and Pierce, and by far the most part of all the fighting men of both the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; for although some householders and principal gentlemen, more wary than the rest, went not, yet their sons, servants, and followers (as they term them there) went to him. And finally all Ormonists of whatever surname soever they were, except Sir Theobald Butler, Lord of the Kaer [Cahir], and the Lord Baron of Dunboyne's people (who then was in England, and under age) rebell'd with him. James Fitz Mores for his part had gotten with him the Earl of Kilkenny, M'Donogh, M'Awley, Oe Kueefe, O'Sullivan Moore, and I think O'Sullivan Bere joined with him; and though the rest of the potentates of Munster remained (as they seemed), sound, yet their young and loose people went to him. I sent the good knight Sir Peter Carew, and the valiant Malby to keep the frontiers of Carlo and Cavanaghe's country; and the hardy and politic Captain Collier into the good town of Kilkenny, the people whereof I did not very soundly trust. Sir Peter Carew and Captain Malby gave Sir Edmund Butler a shrewd blow, after a bloody bickering and slaughter of his men, and chased them, and wan his house at Kloghrynan, and hanged the ward, Sir Edmund returning to James Fitz Mores, and both they with their forces encamped, and besieged the Town of Kilkenny, where the Earl his brother hath a strong castle, and the Town is well closed, and defended with gates, walls, and river; but had not the soldiers been, the town had been sacked, and many of the people ransomed, as I after in truth found. But Captain Collyer so vigilantly attended his charge, as well in guarding the gates and walls against the rebels, as in preventing the practice of the townsmen, as the rebels were forced to go away with shame.

Then departed I from Limerick to Dublin, and was advertised of the Earl of Thomond's revolt. . . . Now approached the Parliament. . . . During this session, the Earl of Kilkenny came to me and confessed his rebellion, alleging that Sir Edmund Butler was the cause thereof. . . . Towards the end of this parliament came the ox, I should say Earl of Thomond, having found that he could find nothing in France, but according to his worth suffered to live there without relief, he made such mean to the then Lord Ambassador in France, as he obtained of Her Majesty over-great grace. He made his submission. I kept him in prison, and his Castles warded by my men."

Sir Henry closes the narrative of his second government of Ireland as Deputy, with a paragraph offering soothing contrast to the scenes of civil war, and the desolation resulting from it, which filled the Irish correspondence of his day.

"I caused to plant, and inhabit there above forty families of the reformed churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion's sake, in one ruinous town called Surds [Swords], and truly, Sir, it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they re-edified the quite spoiled old castle of the same town, and repaired almost all the same; and how Godly and cleanly they, their wives, and children lived. They made diaper, and ticks for beds, and other good stuff for man's use, and excellent good leather of deer skins, goat and sheep tells, as is made in Southwark."

In all these Munster "garboils and violent wars" alluded to in Sydney's letter, the Seneschal of Imokilly had shared the successes and reverses of Fitz Maurice. The reader has seen how one after another the rebels had submitted; the Earl of Kilkenny "upon his knees in the Cathedral church in Dublin, professing that he did so with sorrowful heart and repentant mind;" Conor Earl of Thomond "misled by evil and naughty counsel;" Sir Edmund Butler to his brother the Earl of Ormonde, who at his own request had been commissioned to receive the submission of his brothers. The Earl wrote to Her Majesty that "Sir Peter Carewe had been the cause of all this mischief but that his brother had been bewitched, as he had himself also been, but that he had recovered." The submission of these several chief promoters of rebellion left but little possibility for Fitz Maurice and the Seneschal to hold out much longer. They did



not, however, submit as speedily as might have been expected; not indeed till they had assaulted Sir Thomas of Desmond, then in obedience to Her Majesty, slain forty of his men, and hanged two Captains of his galloglas; nor until they had captured and burned the town of Kilmallock. To relate with the detail used by the Lord Daputies, in their despatches to the Privy Council, the rebellious actions, the burnings, slaughterings, and spoilings done to the Queen's friends by these Fitz Gerald's before they submitted, would require far more space than these pages could afford. It may be said that the Irish correspondence contains an ample diary of the exploits of the Seneschal of Imokilly from the year 1569 when Sir H. Sydney captured his castle of Ballymartyr, till 1583, the period of his second and final submission. The briefest summary of his actions is the utmost than can be here presented to the reader.

In 1575, Sir Henry Sydney took upon him, as he expressed himself, for the third time the thankless office of Lord Deputy. "He departed from the Queen at Dudley Castle, passed the seas, and arrived on the 14th of September, as near the city of Dublin as he could safely, for at that time the city was grievously infected, and so was the English Pale, with the pestilence. Albeit it was deep winter I travelled towards Cork." When Sir H. Sydney wrote this summary of his proceedings, in the year 1583, his memory did not serve him correctly, for it was in his second, not his third tenure of the office of Lord Deputy, that the capture of the stronghold of Ballymartyr took place; he refers to it in his narrative to Sir F. Walsingham as occurring in 1575; it happened in reality in 1569. The account of it, bearing his own signature, as well as the signatures of the Council at Dublin, was despatched, as the reader will see, in the year last named. Sydney had landed at Carrickfergus to commence his second Deputyship on the 6th September, 1568.

THE LO: DEPUTY S<sup>r</sup> H. SYDNEY TO THE L<sup>ps</sup> OF THE COUNCIL,  
OCTOBER 24TH, 1569.—CAREW MSS.

"At my beinge there [at Cork] I hard that betweene that and Youghall the Seneshall of Imokelly (beinge also a principall communicator w<sup>th</sup> James Fitz Morice) did robbe and spoyle all that contrie, and had victualled his Castell of Ballymarter, beinge bound by his tenure to defend it against all men. And by cause as well for the arrogance of the partie, as for the strength of the place, and that it might be an example to all Monster how to defend any forte against her Maties power, I determynd to march thither, w<sup>ch</sup> ymmediatly I did: Summoned the Castell and had an answere from the Seneshall hymself that he wold defend it to the uttermost of his power, but after a day or two weyre spent in preparacion of gabians, basketts and things necessarie for the assault, and the defence of the gounners, and that one peece of the wall was battered w<sup>th</sup> a demy Culveryne w<sup>ch</sup> I brought from Cork, the Seneshall and his companie, in the dead of the night, fledd oute of the howse by a bogge w<sup>ch</sup> joynes hard to the wall, wheare no watche cold have prevented their escape, and the Castell beinge lefte to the spoile of the soldiers. I caused it to be garded w<sup>th</sup> xx. shott under Jasper Horsey, brother to the Captaine of the Ile of Wight, to whome I have committed the order of that contrie of Imokelly, and made hym Seneshall of the same. At this Castell I lost one of my houshold servaunts, and two or three other hurt w<sup>th</sup> shott, amongst w<sup>ch</sup> the Mr. Gonner, Thomas Elliott, was one, manfully standing by his peece, w<sup>ch</sup> is some satisfacion for that small gite w<sup>ch</sup> it pleased her Matie lately to bestowe uppon hym."

In his summary, which contains but a passing reference to this assault of Ballymartyr, Sydney adds, "There I left a ward which continued long after." It continued, as did the suspension of his office, till the rebel Seneschal made his first submission, and received his pardon in February, 1573. "The cannonier, old Thomas Elliott (now suitor at the court), was stricked through the thigh." Sydney was in Lord Barry's country when tidings reached him of the daring design of the Seneschal to attack the town of Kilmallock. "Then and there," continues his narrative, "I heard that the rebel James and his associates went afore me wasting and destroying the Queen's good subjects, as well of the County of Cork as of the County of Limerick, and therefore was constrained to alter my former intention of going into Desmond, and turned towards the County of Limerick; but I could not get so far as Kilmallock, but that the rebel had by scale surprised the same town; not without vehement suspicion of falsehood in many of the townsmen; for some he saved, many he sacked, some he ransomed, and many houses of base building he burned, which afterwards were re-edified, and the same made better than ever it was."

This was, happily, the last of the terrible exploits of Fitz Maurice and his Seneschal

during the first Geraldine rebellion : they shortly after submitted to Sir John Perrott, the new Lord President of Munster ; when by a just retribution, the ceremony of their public submission took place in the Church of Kilmallock amongst the ruins of the town which they had so recently destroyed. They, like the other penitent chieftains, had been misled by "the evil allurements of the Earl of Clan Car and Sir James [Recte Edmund] Butler." After these various submissions Munster was reported to Her Majesty as in tranquillity ; she was assured that the Province was passable by every stranger without safe conduct ; and the Lord President Perrott wrote "The plough doeth now laugh the unbridled rogue to scorn," though, he added with ominous suspicion of the future, that he wished the Earl of Desmond could be sent back to England. The Earl had been recently liberated from his long captivity ; his infant son had been taken from him as hostage for his good behaviour, and he had been allowed to return to Ireland, not immediately as a free man, but to Dublin, where he was to await the further pleasure of Her Majesty, or, in plainer language, till further proof was had of the peaceable intentions of the late rebellious Geraldines.

During the last five years little more than an occasional mention of spoil made upon Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, had kept that loyal gentleman in the memory of the Privy Council. It had indeed been made known to them that he was so cruelly hated by the rebels that he had been obliged to fly from his home, and take refuge in Cork. But if he had been unable to offer Her Majesty active service, he was too good a subject to appeal inopportunely for indemnity for his losses ; but now that tranquillity was restored in Munster he thought it not inexpedient to present his petition, humbly setting forth his services and sufferings, and his prayer for Her Majesty's gracious consideration of his suits. This petition, and the Lord Deputy's opinion of it are laid before the reader as an instance of the ingenious manner in which loyal subjects could seek the reparation of their losses without direct appeal to the Royal Exchequer.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LL. AND OTHERS OF THE QUEENES MA<sup>ties</sup>  
PRIVIE COUNSELL.

"Humble showeth unto yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> John Fitz-Edmonde Fitz-Gerald of Clone in the Countie of Corke gent. That whereas he ever since the begynnyng of the Rebellion of James Fitz-Morishe hath contynued constant in his bounden dewtie to the Quene's Ma<sup>tie</sup> againste the said traitor and all his adherents, and uppon affiaunce of his loialtie & trewe service was appointed Shreif of the countie of Corck, in which office contynuinge two yeres he hath mayntained a greate number of horsemen, galloglas, shotte and kerne uppon his owne costs w<sup>th</sup>out any Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> charges, w<sup>ch</sup> force he hath not onelie killed at sundrie tymes verie manye of the said traito<sup>r</sup>s, but also hath not spared the due execution of his owne followers and nerest freindes when they have forsaken him, and inclined to the p<sup>te</sup> of the Rebells. For w<sup>ch</sup> his faithfull service towards the Quene's Ma<sup>tie</sup> he hath bine so maliced & hated of the Rebells, as they haue not onelie burned all his townes & villages to the utter banishinge of th<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of the same, but also haue robbed, spoiled & consumed all his goods & cattells and thereby browght him from a gentleman of good abilitie to lyve, to extreme povertie not able to maynetaine himself & his people about him in the service of Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> as his harte desireth, of the p<sup>ti</sup>cularities of w<sup>ch</sup> his doings because he will not be ouer tedious unto yo<sup>r</sup> LL. he humblye praieth yo<sup>r</sup> that it may please yo<sup>r</sup> to informe yo<sup>r</sup>selves of the late L. Deputie, S<sup>r</sup> Humfrey Gilbert & M<sup>r</sup> Jasp<sup>r</sup> Horsey and any other Cap<sup>tes</sup> or gentlemen that serued the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> in that p<sup>vi</sup>nce in the tyme of his governmt, and of the L. Deputie that nowe is, the L. President of Munster, M<sup>r</sup> Edward Barkley, & any others that serveth Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> there in this tyme. In consideration of w<sup>ch</sup> his fidelitie & service & in respecte of his great losses susteyned by the same, He, humblye sueth unto yo<sup>r</sup> LL. to be a meane to the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> to haue favorable consideracion of him in these his suits followinge, viz :—

"1.—That he may haue the late dessolved monasterie of Chore in fee farme for some reasonable rente the same beinge nowe so over rated at xxxv<sup>ii</sup> Irishe per annum, as no farmo<sup>r</sup> will or dothe take it, nor Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath presentlie thereof any rente at all.

"2.—Item where the Abby of Tractane is lett for xviii<sup>ii</sup> yeres yet to come, He desireth the Rev<sup>si</sup>on thereof in fee farme for the accustomed rente of vii<sup>ii</sup> Irishe per annum.

"3.—Item the fee farme of the p'sonags of Ballimarter & Cork begg w<sup>ch</sup> he himself holdeth of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> in lease for xvi yeres yet to come for the yerelie rente of viii<sup>li</sup> xvi<sup>s</sup> per annum.

"4.—Item where the comon gaole of the Cittie of Corke, nowe decayed, is knowen at this daie & is called by the name of the Kings Castle whereunto there belonged a Constable & a fee. All prisoners being nowe kepte abroad in seuerall howses by gentelmen in the cuntrey & elsewhere who for frendshipp or covetousnes of ransomes do discharge & sett at libertie the saide prisoners at their owne plesures, w<sup>th</sup> great inconvenience and to the lett & hinderance of justice. He dothe desier that it might please her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to renewe the said office of constableness w<sup>th</sup> some resonable fee to be levied of the issues & p'fits of the Sessions there, and to make him officer thereof to him & to his heires. He off'reth to builde & mayneteyne it at his owne costs & charges, so it would please Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to write to the L. President to p'cure some benevolent contribution by the cuntrey towards the said buyldinge."

#### SIR HENRY SYDNEY TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

"1.—It may please yo<sup>r</sup> Ll. y<sup>t</sup> for Mr Fizedmonds first demand, it shal be verye well done that her Ma<sup>tie</sup> do grawnt it him at resonable survaye for that it being to hilye surveyed at the first dissolution her Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath had noe rent therefore. The partye well deservyth the same as well for his losses sustayned in her Ma<sup>tie</sup> service, as also for his honestye and civilite.

"2.—The Second was grawnted and gyven by her Ma<sup>ty</sup> to one Mr. Henrye Guldeford for lxi yeres, whose made over his interest thereof to St. Warham St Leger knight and so not to be grawnted.

"3.—The Third. I wold wishe that the parsonage of Ballemartre shold be annexed to the howse, he enjoying the yeres thereof as yet unexpired: for Corke Bege yo<sup>r</sup> Ll. to use yo<sup>r</sup> favorable consideration towards him, and the rather for the considerations aforesayed.

"4.—For the fowrthe I wold wishe for th<sup>e</sup> advancement of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> sarvice that the comon gayle were erected at Corck, uppon the chargs of the contrye, issues and profits of the Session w<sup>th</sup> some convenient fee, yet the constableness thereof not to be grawnted to anyman more then for his life, and so to this man for y<sup>t</sup> I think him mete therefore, if y<sup>t</sup> wear a great deal better.<sup>1</sup>

"SYDNEY.

*Dorso.* "2 Julie 1572, Jo. Fitz Edmondcs Fitz Garret."

The distrust shown by the authorities in Dublin of the loyalty of the Earl of Desmond produced the mischief they so much dreaded; he had fulfilled, as far as his limited liberty enabled him to do, the conditions exacted from him as the price of his freedom; but he was not allowed to return to his country. Eight months had passed away and he was still a prisoner in Dublin Castle. Wearied at last of remonstrating against the injustice of such captivity, he escaped; or, to describe his departure more accurately, he withdrew. This mode of return to his own territory left the Irish authorities little doubt of the evil days that awaited them. They speedily learned that "the Earl had been met at Knockdalton by Rory Oge and Pierce Grace, and conducted by them through Kildare; that at Leix he was received by 400 of the O'Mores, and at Limerick by James Fitz Maurice; that the Earl and Countess put on Irish raiment at Lough Gur, and made a proclamation." On the 25th of November, 1573, the Earl wrote from Ballyallyne to the Lord Deputy and Council that "eight months were long enough to determine his causes; that he had had neither favour nor liberty shown him, and that his country had been barely fleeced in his absence." On the 13th of

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 6993, iii., a letter is preserved from Sir Walter Raleigh, dated from Lismore, to the celebrated Earl of Leicester, which concludes with the following postscript:—

"I am bold, being bound by very conscience

to commend unto your honour's consideration, the pitiful estate of John Fitz Edmonds, of Cloyne, a gentleman, & the only untouched & proved true to the Queen, both in this & the last Rebellion: Sir Warham [St. Leger] can deliver his service, what he is & what he deserveth."

## THE EARLS OF DESMOND.

December, he wrote from Askeaton to the Queen relating the grief he endured at Dublin; "the sending away his wife in miserab chest of evidences embezzled." Such, he also informed Lord Burgl of his leaving Dublin.

The rebellions that had raged hitherto in Munster, though a rebellions, are not what were designated the Wars of Desmond; th from the time of the Earl's flight from Dublin, although he wa Traitor by Sir W. Pelham, the Lord Deputy, and his Council till N became of importance to decide on what precise day the Earl's rebe it was dated from the day of his signature of a certain "Instrumen treason" in an assembly of his followers soon after his departure years earlier. To this instrument of combination of treason th reader will be called later; no document producing consequen importance had been signed in Ireland. Estimating the signif rebellion as it was usually applied by the English authorities to l others who had large lands for distribution, the Earl might ha a traitor from the year 1568, the 10th of Her Majesty's reign, wh with the Earl of Ormonde, regardless of English law, of Queen, and the limits of his rights as an Irish chieftain, he plunged the wh open party warfare; even by an indulgent extension of the term, l not unreasonably have been dated from the day of his reception b his conduct at Lough Gur; but the Lord Deputy and Council had push matters rashly to extremity; on the contrary "using him i formed the Privy Council, "till they might have sufficient force." letters to him, varying in style from mild rebuke for "the rashn such a time" to friendly counsel "not to ingrieve his own cause; t yet done was but a finable contempt;" and finally they informed Her Majesty's letters to give him his liberty! All was in vain; destined to endure as long as the Earl lived, a period of 10 years lo begun. It is not the purpose of these pages to supply, as the dramatic details not hitherto published of this well known terril depopulated the whole of the south of Ireland, but to relate, s brevity, the part borne in it by the Fitz Gerald's of Cloyne and Bal

The shrillest note of warning of coming mischief that reach came, as might have been expected, from the intelligencers em conduct of James Fitz Maurice. The Lord Deputy was informed on board a French Merchant ship with his wife and daughters t self wrote that he did so "for the recovery of his health and to come to the Queen's favour." Thither intelligencers immediately it was not long before the Privy Council was informed that Malos "keeping a great port, well apparelled, and full of money, b from Rome, and out of Spain." Nearly at the same time were following genial letters from the wife of Fitz Maurice to an assur mother, informing them that their voyage had been prosperous, honourable and friendly:—

### ENCLOSED IN A LETTER FROM THE LORD DEPUTY AND C TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY AND THE EAR LEICESTER.

"Wyth my harty cōmendacyons to youe me trusty frend lettin that my husbande and I w<sup>th</sup> the rest of o<sup>r</sup> company came in g thanks be to God, aduertissing you that my housbande was the wrytting hyreof and that I did nott receiv his nyves at the c but yo<sup>e</sup> shall understand at his goyng to the corte he was hon governor of Brytain and be the bussop of the Nantes, youe sha I remayn in Saint Malos uppō myn one chardge, w<sup>th</sup> a cople of bandes coussins, and my maydnes, wher I ame welbestow<sup>th</sup> desire yo<sup>e</sup> to haue my cōmēded to my cousin my L. Puer, and and to all me cousins and frendes, Requyring them to be good in my absenc, as Richard Chahill, James Ronā and others that

shall send this ofter I're to my mother, hyding hir and you also to send all nyves to my w<sup>th</sup> this berer, and so I take my leav w<sup>th</sup> youe from Saint Malos in Fraunce, the xxviii of Aprill, 1575.

"Yor assured frend,  
"KATREN BURKE."

*Superscribed.* "To mylouinge and moste assured frende Ihone O'Dvyn in Kilvarry be Watterforde in Irelād, Gev this w<sup>th</sup> trust."

Lodge informs us that Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, called Maurice Duile Mac-an-Early, or black Maurice son of the Earl John (whom he calls 14th Earl of Desmond,) was married to Julian, second daughter of Dermot O'Ryan of Sullaghode, Co. Tipperary, and by her had a son James Fitz Maurice (the Arch-Traitor) who was married to Honora, daughter of Dermot O'Ryan, by whom he had an only daughter who married first John Fitz Edmund Gerald, Seneschal of Imokilly, and secondly Sir Edmund son and heir of Sir John Fitz Edmunds of Cloyne," whose issue he continues to trace. For this marriage of James Fitz Maurice with a daughter of Ryan no authority is given; if he was as often married as his uncle James Fitz John, one of his earlier wives may have been, as Mr. Lodge asserts, the daughter of Dermot O'Ryan, and by her he may have had the issue named; but the letter just laid before the reader proves beyond doubt that the wife of James Fitz Maurice, and the mother of his children, was Katren Burke. From the signature to the letter, and the name of her mother, Margaret Power, as well as from the terms of her message, to be "commended to my Father your bedfellow, and all other friends," it would seem that her mother, widow of a Burke, had contracted a second marriage with a Power. In confirmation of the evidence in the letter, which indeed requires none, we have amongst the State Papers of Ireland: Eliz. O. 1<sup>st</sup> 25, 1582), a paper of memoranda in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, containing two or more generations of the various great Lords and chieftains then living in the South of Ireland, and amongst them mention of the marriage of James Fitz Maurice, more precise than is to be found elsewhere: "St. Morryce of Desmond, uncle to y<sup>e</sup> Eile of Desmond, he dwelt in Kerry-Wherry, his son, Sir Janus Fitz Morryce, married to filia W. Burk of y<sup>e</sup> muskry, their daughter, [whose name is not given] married to Edmund Fitz Seneschall of Imo-Kelly. From the blank space in the original opposite the name of Maurice Du. it would appear that the name of his wife was not known to Lord Burghley. None of the State Papers (so many of which are occupied with the doings of James Fitz Maurice—invariably styled the Arch-Traitor, who was incessantly watched by spies both in Ireland and on the Continent, whose business it was to report to the Government every discoverable incident, not less of his domestic than of his public life), make mention of any wife but Katrin Burke. But there is in existence a document of greater authenticity than any that reached Lord Burghley, which would suggest the probability of an earlier marriage, and one of a very strange character, of which no trace is discoverable elsewhere. In the year 1583, Sir Cormac McTeig MacCarthy was dying in his Castle of Blarney, and made his will, which has been preserved till now. The earliest passage in this will is remarkable—"And I protest before God that Johan Butler is my lawful wedded wife, and that Ellye Barrett was at the time I wed her, and before, the lawful wife of James Fitz Maurice, and so Cor-

moke ogge my son is my lawful and undoubted heire of my body lawfully begotten."

The name of this Ellye appears no more in this document, but there occurs a multitude of bequests to Mac Carthy's, whose names, chiefly Donogh's and Teige's, afford little help to their identification. Turning from this will to the pedigrees of the Muskerry, Mac Carthy's, preserved at Lambeth, in Vol. 635, we find it stated, that "Sir Cormac was twice married. First to Ellen daughter to James Lee of Barretts, and divorced because of a former marriage with James Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald, by whom he (Sir Cormac) had a son Donogh married to a daughter of Donall McOwen Houghie McShibbie of Draykay; and a daughter Grany married to Owen McTeig Mac Carthy of the Drishane; and secondly to Joane, daughter to Pierce Butler of the Grallaghie."

In a second pedigree in the same collection at Lambeth, Vol. 626, Fols. 6 and 7, the name of Donogh occurs as a natural son of Sir Cormac; the name of the mother is not mentioned, but the marriage of Donogh with a daughter of Donal McOwen McTeig, Galloglas, appears duly.

This would be unintelligible but for the light thrown upon it by the will of Sir Cormac; returning to this document, we find this Houghie appointed, with others, to see the conditions of the will carried out, and to protect the interests of the Donoghs and others to whom legacies are left. The conclusion seems inevitable, that Ellen (called Ellen Lee of Barretts in the pedigree) had passed as the wife of Sir Cormac, and was the mother of several children to him; and that when he was about to marry Joan Butler, this lady was put away; there remains the doubt, whether the James Fitz Maurice, whose wife she was then opportunely discovered to be, was the Arch-Traitor! Sir Cormac took no pains to designate the husband of Ellen, whom he called Ellen Barrett not Ellen Lee, otherwise than by his name, as if no other were needed; and certainly we know of no other James Fitz Maurice before the world at the time.

As to the children of James Fitz Maurice, by Catherine Burke, it is certain that he had at least four; that is, two sons, and two daughters.

Dominic O'Daly, in his history of the Geraldines, has preserved for us an interesting account of the reception of these sons at the court of Spain.

"He (James Fitz Maurice), therefore, departing for Rome, brought along with him his two sons, for they were as yet unfit to wield the sword. . . . From France Fitz Maurice proceeded to Spain, where he was received at the Court of Philip II. . . .

When the king saw the two boys, Maurice and Gerald, he loved them; and, in truth, they were fair to behold, and well worthy his affection. He, therefore, resolved to take them to himself, and committed them to the charge of Cardinal Granville, then Legate a Latere at the Court of Madrid. Well did the illustrious Cardinal watch

## ENCLOSURE IN A LETTER FROM THE L. DEPUTY, ETC., 15 MAY, 1575.

"Loving mother, after my hartie cōmendacyons p'mitted, lettting youe to understande that wy came in good helth at Easter Munday to Sainct Malos in Fraunce where wy were honestly and gentily receaved be the Captein of the said twne and other

over them. At the royal expense they were educated in the University of Alcalá, and trained in all the science of chivalry befitting their noble origin. And here let me speak of these noble youths. In the King's court, and in the presence of His Majesty, did their innate humour move to mirth, whilst the character of nobility stamped upon them excited the compassion of those who knew their history. Cardinal Granville acted on many occasions as interpreter for them; and the quickness of their comprehension, as well as mirthful repartee, won the admiration of all who heard them. . . . Amongst those attached to the youthful Geraldines, let me mention Thomas Granville, nephew to the Cardinal, who loved them with a brother's love, and who, when Maurice (the eldest) died, became so devoted to Gerald, that he never could bear to leave his side. Alas! how faithful was this attachment; for, when this expedition against England was undertaken, A.D. 1588, Granville insisted on embarking with Gerald in the same ship in which (Oh! grief of griefs!) both were lost on the Irish coast."—"The Geraldines, Earls of Desmond," translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan.

It would appear that one, if not both of the sons of Fitz Maurice, accompanied their father, when he returned to Ireland; for on the 18th of September, 1580, Richard Meagher, Sovereign of Kinsale, wrote to the Commissioners of Munster, "James FitzMaurice's two sons are come as Captains with the Spanish expedition." It is not probable that the younger of these sons was in that expedition; but of one of them, doubtless Maurice, the elder, we discover unexpected trace in a letter of May 28, 1580, from Ormonde to Walsingham. . . . "The Lord of Upper Ossory was charged with receiving into his country the late traitor James Fitz Maurice's son, called by the name of Richard Burke, from that most wicked and detestable traitor Pierce Grace."

In his account of the death of Fitz Maurice, O'Daly says:—"He marched towards Connaught, where he contemplated being joined by John Burke, brother of the Marquis of Clanrickard; . . . but while passing over the lands of Theobald Burke his near kinsman, he was not a little surprised to find Theobald himself at the head of a large force pursuing him, &c. Fitz Maurice sent one of his men to Theobald, beseeching him to draw off his forces and not offer outrage to one so nearly allied to him." This mention of the close alliance of Fitz Maurice with the Burkes is the nearest approach we are able to make to the discovery of the precise parentage of his wife Katrin Burke. We know from the memorandum in Lord Burghley's writing, that her father was "William Burke of the Muskry." An Irish writer would have given the Christian names of William's father and grandfather, and probably have traced them to the head of their family; Lord Burghley leaves us in the uncertainty which of a multitude of William Burkes this one was; from the expression of O'Daly "one so nearly allied to him," the fear suggests itself, that William Burke, the father of Catherine, was probably

the son of Sir William, made Lord of Castleconnell, on account of Fitz Maurice's death. If so, Fitz Maurice fell by the hand of his wife's uncle. But, if there existed some confusion in the accounts of the marriages of James Fitz Maurice, there is nearly as much as to the subsequent marriage of his widow. That this poor lady had sore need of a husband, and of a powerful one, to protect her, is but too evident; for she was, after the failure of the Spanish attempt to support the rebels, flying and hiding for her life. On the 31st March, 1580, Walsingham was informed, that "the Traitors were like savage beasts, lurking in wild desert places." And on the same day another correspondent wrote to him that "the late Traitor James Fitz Maurice's wife was taken in a deep cave in a rock, with others, by Ormonde's horsemen." Only two months earlier, Thomas Arthur had written to Sir N. Malbie, that "on the 29th of December, Sir John of Desmond burned the residence of Sir William Burke's country, twenty-six townes, in revenge for the death of James Fitz Maurice, slain by his son Tibot. The Lord McMorris (the Baron of Lixnawe, has put away Sir Donal O'Brien's daughter to marry J. Fitz Maurice's widow." This very definite assertion appears, however, to have been erroneous; the next and last mention made in the State Papers of this lady, occurs in a letter of the 1st of June, 1581, from Captain John Case, to Sir Francis Walsingham, from which we learn, that she had, indeed, married again, though not to the Baron of Lixnawe, and that she was already a second time a widow. The Chief Captain of the Galloglasses, who had married Fitz Maurice's widow, and was slain by Colonel Zouche, was probably one of the Mac Sheehys, hereditary Galloglasses to the Earl.

"CAP. J. CASE TO WALSYNGHAM.  
Vol. cxlvii., art. 58, June 15, 1581.

"My humble dewghty unto your honore, may it pleas yowe to Consোধer that sence I came into Ireland I could not fynd a daies service to bowste [This word was first written *brostace*, it was then erased with the pen, and *bowste* written over] I was at before now; it is so righte honorable that uppon Saturday the tenth of June, at two of the Clocke in the afternone we departed out of Dingle our Colonnell Mr. Zouche myselfe and Capten Acham towards Castell Mange wth ~~vnt~~ footmen and ~~xxxx~~ horsmen; the Colonnell I myself and Capten Acham wth ~~xxxx~~ horsmen and ~~x~~ shotte wente before to Castell Mange and hearynge that the Earle of Desmond, John of Desmond, Daved berrey, Patricke Condey and the sennall wth the theyre holl forces lay wth in seven mylles of us and that John, Daved berrey, and the sennall were gon up into mackayrtes Countre for a pray, wth theys fewe horsmen we had. beinge the day broken, we gottt up of our beste horses and bracke forrey to the Erles Campe and came to it aboute the risenge of the

Mr. Zowche, Case, and Capt. Acham depart from Dingle 120 footmen and 30 Horse

Thennemye goeth into McCarris cuntry for a pray whom follows

honest and gentlemen of the twne, and w<sup>thin</sup> a sevenight after wy haue landed my husband went towards the corte w<sup>th</sup> half a dossē mē honestly apointed, leving my and me cousin Hary Rian in Sainct [Malos, wetting for his nyves spe'ding, uppō o' oune chardga, and at the wryttinge hyreof wy had nott his nyves, but only at his goying up to the corte he mete w<sup>th</sup> the gov'no' of Bryttain be whom he was honorably receved. I desyre yo<sup>u</sup> loving mother nott to be offended w<sup>th</sup> my for my com'ng to youe unknowē and to sende my yo<sup>r</sup> blissing, w<sup>th</sup> all nyves, w<sup>th</sup> this berer Jho' Grud, besiching yo<sup>u</sup> to be gwd to all my serwants in my absent praying my brother in like case to be so: haue my cōmēded to me father yo<sup>r</sup> bedfelow and to all me frēdes and so I take leav w<sup>th</sup> youe from Sainct Malos the xxviii of Aprill 1575: yo<sup>r</sup> loving doctor.

"KATHREN BURKE.

"Post Scripta, w<sup>th</sup> my harty cōmēdacyons to yo<sup>u</sup>, mistres Puer, and to my loving frend yo<sup>r</sup> husband, besiching to be good to Jho' McFarill who has my sone, and lett him understand, I haue send him a milche kow at my cōming w<sup>th</sup> my boy Edmonde Kiegh, youe shall haue my cōmēded to More Cares and t[ell] hir I was in good helt at the wrytting hyreof, and lett hir send my all nyves closed in youre, and also lett Jho' M<sup>c</sup> Farill send me word did he recev the cow or the value in monny. Thus I end w<sup>th</sup> youe besiching God to send us a mery met[ing] from Sainct [Malos] aforesaid,

"Yo<sup>r</sup> trusty and assured frend  
"HENRY RYANE."

*Dorso.* "To my lovinge mother Margaret Puer gev this w<sup>th</sup> sped."

Vigilant eyes quickly discovered that the Seneschal went and came between the Earl of Deamond and Fitz Maurice in his retreat at St Malo. The conduct of the Earl became at last intolerable to the Government, and the Lord Deputy Sir William Pelham was compelled, much against his will, and as it proved, very greatly to the displeasure of the Queen and the Privy Council of England, to proclaim him a traitor. This was done on the 2nd November, 1579, and from that day all disguise was thrown aside as useless by the Earl's

sonne, wheare we found redy in the towne wheare they lay aboute the numbere of iij<sup>4</sup> gentillmen gally-glase and Keyrne w<sup>ch</sup> was mor then we looked for, but

Thennemyes force  
400.

then no remedy but to charge them w<sup>ch</sup> the Colonnell did and that very valyantly, by w<sup>ch</sup> meanes we bracke them; the on half tooke to a bogge and the othere downe to Lowghe lande

They charge them  
and bracke them  
into two parties.

which we followed and slewed to the numbere of forty of the beste of them, amongeste whom theyre was slayne of of his princepall the Cheyf Captain of his galleglasses on that had marryed James Fitzmores wif, James fites John fites garratt the Earls neare Kynsman, Daved Duffe his Judge, Toige Macke Dyrmonte, and on Pursell, men of great estymacion withe hym besides

The names of ye  
principal yt were  
slayne.

divers soore hurte; this donne we retourned backe agayne to the villodge wheare Desmond and his Countes was in a lettell ston

Desmond himselfe  
being lodged in a  
small howse  
hardely escaped  
thorough want of  
there footmen.

house, we thoughte to a proched it and as we weare redy to do it theyre came aboute the numbere of a seven scoore withe swoordes and tergettes withe som shootte w<sup>ch</sup> also we charged, wheare withe we had dyvers of our horses hurte but non of our selves, but we overe threwe them and put them all to flyghte and Kyllled and hurte dyvers of them, but our horses was so far sett down that the moste of them for ranne us oppon theyre feett; so fyndenge our horses wery and the enemy skenge to cut the palce from us we retyred fayre and esely takinge no spoyll of neythere

They are driven  
to retyre by reason  
of ye faintnes  
of their horse.

horse nor cove wheare theyre was at the leaste xx<sup>4</sup>; this haithie mor greved Desmond

then all the Lose he haithie had sence his rebellyon, but if we had bene able to have broughte our footmen thithere, w<sup>ch</sup> was comed withe in iij mylles we had taken the Earle his wif & frendes that weare in a baggaige house. Theys that weare slayne weare the prid of all his traitors whom thoughte not to have bene overe

If their footmen  
had come in tyme  
Desmond had  
been taken.

thrown withe so small a numbere, but god whiche is the gevere of all victory haithie at this tyme delyvered them into our handes his blessed name be prayed for it: thus havenge trubled your honore withe theys fewe Lynes I am moste humbly to crave youre honors good frenshipe towards me accordyng to youre accustomed goodnes to all of my Coot that standes in ned, thus moste humbly I take my Leve at Dingell Couashe the xv<sup>th</sup>. of June 1581.

"Youre honors moste humble  
and wholly to Comaund,

"JHON CASE.

Thennemy bath in  
his campe 1000  
able men.

"The enymys campe ys at this present abovte xvj<sup>4</sup>. able men and lyes in Desmond in Mac Cartys contry, o<sup>r</sup> Coronell served thys day so valyantly as I have seen no man better and kyllled iij or iij of the best hym selfe.

Commendacion of  
Mr. Zouches.

Addressed,

"To the righte honorable Sir Fraunces Walsingham Knyghte principall Secretary unto hir Maigestie and on of hir Prevy Counsell this be delyvered at the Coorte or els wheare."

The signature and postscript are alone in the handwriting of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Case.

friends, and rebellion blazed again fiercely throughout Munster. Foremost in these, as in all previous troubles, was the Seneschal of Imokilly. His open adhesion to his chieftain was signalized by an act of the utmost defiance of the Earl of Ormonde, who had again been appointed General of the Queen's forces for the suppression of this rebellion. He burst into the country of the Butlers, and "burned Nenagh and 12 more of Ormond's towns." From this time to the close of his career the despatches of successive Lord Deputies contain ample record of the exploits of this determined and implacable rebel. He was reported wounded, and, more than once, as slain; and each time the contradiction of his death came accompanied with tidings of some fresh assault, and not seldom, of some signal success against the royal forces, or the Queen's good subjects. Shortly after the burning of Ormonde's towns, "Sir Walter Rawley returning from Dublin had a hard escape from the Seneschal, who set on him with 14 horse and sixty foot."<sup>1</sup> "About twelfth-tide the Seneschal of Imokilly killed 36 of Pers's soldiers, and 10 of Sir W. Morgan's, as they had been to get a prey." In June of the year following he burned thirty-six towns in the Decies and carried off seven thousand head of kine; in October he slew sixty of the chief townsmen of Cashel.

The following letter written by St. Leger, then Commissioner of Munster, to Lord Burghley, will enable the reader to form some idea of the deplorable condition to which not Cork only, but the entire province of Munster, was reduced by these terrible struggles. The description of the city of Cork itself may cause some surprise when it is considered that it was the seat of Government, a fortified city, and the Capital of the Province. It may appear doubtful whether the writer could really mean that "the Town was but one street, not half a quarter of a mile in length;" but it is not obvious what other meaning his words could bear.<sup>2</sup> The passage relative to the slaying of two of Lord Roche's sons by the Seneschal is a lamentable instance of the cruelty with which these contentions were accompanied. We learn from a petition to the Queen from a sister of this unfortunate Nobleman that he had no fewer than five sons slain in these wars:—

#### SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER TO LORD BURGHEY.

"My humble dutie don' to yo<sup>r</sup> L. Th' experience I have of yo<sup>r</sup> honorable dealings and good acceptance of my former rude l<sup>r</sup>s ymboldneth mee to acquaint yo<sup>r</sup> L. w<sup>th</sup> a l<sup>r</sup>e I nowe write to the Queene's Mat<sup>y</sup> concerning the state of this Province. The copie whereof, as also a plat of my poore opinion howe this rebellion may bee soone ended, I send yo<sup>r</sup> honor heereinlosed, humbly desiring yo<sup>r</sup> L. in yo<sup>r</sup> conference w<sup>th</sup> her highnes therein, to yeelde my said l<sup>r</sup>e and plat yo<sup>r</sup> favorable allowance, and w<sup>th</sup> all to beseeche her Mat<sup>y</sup> in my behalf not to condempne mee ouer busy in dealing in matters of so great weight; Protesting to God, the cause that moveth mee thereto is discharge of my dutie the zeale I beare to aduance her highnes service and the well dooinge of this poore afflicted countrie, w<sup>ch</sup> by the great murders and spoiles don' by the Traitors of th' one side and the killinge and spoiles don' by the soldi<sup>ers</sup> in service on th' other side, together w<sup>th</sup> the greates ymposition of Sesse, is becom' so ruinated and waste as I holde it irrecouerble, w<sup>th</sup>owt the present aid and helpe of her Mat<sup>y</sup>: for by these disorders and banishing of plowes, (w<sup>ch</sup> shulde bee the relief of men to live) there is sutch famin among the people heere, as it is to be feared this province, or the greatest parte therof, will ere it be longe be unpeopled, the mortalitie beeing sutch as the like hath not ben known in life of man. There dyeth som' dayes in this Towne (beeing but one streete not halff a quarter of

<sup>1</sup> Hooker gives us an account of a skirmish that took place near Cloyne, between the Seneschal of Imokilly, and Sir Walter Raleigh, in which the intrepidity and skill of Raleigh were remarkable. Raleigh afterwards accused the seneschal of Imokilly of cowardice on the occasion; and such were the manners of the times, that Lord Ormonde and Sir Walter, more than once, publicly challenged Sir John of Desmond, and the Seneschal, both of whom were in open rebellion, to decide the matter by single combat.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. John George Mac Carthy, relying upon a similar but separate authority, in an admirable lecture delivered in Cork, in 1836, and subse-

quently printed, describes Cork, as of dimensions and plan in no respect different from its description by Sir Warham St. Leger. "It was, he says, a Danish town fortified in the Norman manner with massive walls, and castellated forts. North and south, beneath a long portcullis, was a drawbridge; the space inside the walls was very narrow—one long street with the breadth of an arrow's cast at either side. Cork was indeed rather a fortress than a city." A curious and gratifying contrast is the Cork of our own day, as described by the late learned J. Windle in 1849, with its 9600 houses spreading over 2379 statute acres, and its population of 107,041 souls.



a myle in lengthe) 72, 66, 62, and one day w<sup>t</sup> an other thorowe out the weeke 40, 30 and 20 when they dye leaste. The like death is thorowe out all the countries in this Province, as well in Townes as elsewhere, saving among the Traitors, who nether bee toucht w<sup>t</sup> these diszeases nor yet taste of any famine; All true men's goods beeing Preys for them, and enjoy contynually the holsum' eyre of the feeldes, w<sup>ch</sup> is cause of their preservinge.

"John Fitz Edmonds, the best subiect the Queene hath in these parts had w<sup>t</sup> in this 2 moneths 600 p'sons at the leaste in his Townes and wards that hee mainteineth, and hath nowe left alyve of them 30. It is not the plague of pestilence that is amongst this people, for nether haue they Gods marks nor yet sore when they bee dedd. It maketh as speedie wo<sup>r</sup>k w<sup>th</sup> them as dooth the plague, for they lye not sick above 6 or 7 dayes. Besydes these sicknesses, wee have heere plague of famin' in sutch sorte, as were it nott for the Queenes Mat<sup>r</sup> store, wee shulde sterue: of w<sup>ch</sup> there is nothing nor hath not be'n this 6 weeks, but bred, and beere, and of that no sutch store as will serve the soldio<sup>r</sup>s heere a fortnight, which spent it will not bee possible for the soldio<sup>r</sup>s to remeyne heere, for the countries can yeele nothinge all that they had beeing consumed. And if there were beeves to bee had (as there is not), so leane bee they (by means they cannot bee suffred, to feede abroad), as they are no better then carrions. I have ben' in 2 townes besieged, and never founde like scarcetie, as is here, God and her Mat<sup>r</sup> amend it, and put into yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>s hedds that bee her worthy Councellers, to advise her highnes to reforme the miserie of this poore countrie w<sup>ch</sup> may easylie bee don', if her Mat<sup>r</sup> will followe the course of governem<sup>t</sup> I nowe sende yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> to bee ymparted unto her.

"And if the same seeme to her highnes ouer great chardge, better it were (not offendinge), for her Mat<sup>r</sup> to bee at one chardge, then by lingering to spend 5 tymes so mutche and by sufferance hassard the Realme.

"I dare gage my life and likewise my poor lyvinge towards her Mat<sup>r</sup> chardge, (if shee will maintein 2,000 footemen and 300 horsmen 4 moneths and send victuells at once w<sup>th</sup> them for that tyme), shee shall make an hono<sup>r</sup>able end of this rebellion in that space, and haue this province in that subjection as never had eny of her auncesto<sup>r</sup>s before, and w<sup>th</sup> all greatlie increase her highnes revenue, Besides gratifying of a number of poore men, that painfully serve her. My good Lorde, there is no way to subdue these Traitors, but by setting downe of men in their woods, w<sup>ch</sup> bee their fortresses. That don', their harts bee dedd: for beeing beaten out of their woods they are not able to holde uppe their hedds, and if it be bee said to yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>, that soldio<sup>r</sup>s shall not be able to live in their woods, beleve it not, for they may as well settle themselves, and live in the woods as in oth<sup>r</sup> places, and chieflie considering everie garizon shall be so settled as they may well be victuelled by water, if by land it bee difficult to bee don'.

"It is settled garrisons that must make an ende of this wo<sup>r</sup>k, and not runing journeyes, for that weareth out men and to no purpose of service, till they bee beaten owt of their woods: And then followinge the Traito<sup>r</sup>s w<sup>t</sup> convenient companies of footemen, and horsmen divided into 2 parts. They shall so hunt the Traito<sup>r</sup>s. as they shall haue eith<sup>r</sup> the killinge of them or driving them in the sea. And if this course of governem<sup>t</sup> be liked of her Mat<sup>r</sup> and yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>s, the soldio<sup>r</sup>s to execute this enterprise had neede to bee heere by the latter end of May next, or by the middle of June at the ferthest, for it must bee somer wether to doo this service.

"After the 4 moneths the greatest numbers of the soldio<sup>r</sup>s may be caished for in that space this rebellion will be ended or els' I am greatly decaved.

"I have annexed to this plat I nowe send the distantes of the woods one from th' other, as also the largenes of them, as well in lengthe as in bredth, for that there is no man heere skilfull to make a mappe as it ought to bee.

"I haue also set downe what numb<sup>r</sup>s of men are to bee placed in evrry wood, and likewise th' apt places for their settlem<sup>t</sup> & victuelling beseeching yo<sup>r</sup> L. to beare wi<sup>t</sup> my rude dooings therein.

"And so having no straunge newes to aduertise since the writinge of my l're to the Queenes Mat<sup>r</sup>, but that the Rebels, the Senishall, and Patrick Condon, the 6th of this moneth, murdered 2 of the Lorde Roche's sonnes, Tibold and Redmond, and to the numb<sup>r</sup>s of 30 more, whose deaths are greatlie lamented in as much as they were held good subjects, I humbly take my leve. From Corck, this 20th of Aprill, 1582.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> L. at comaundem<sup>t</sup>,

"WARHAM SENT LEGER."

*Dorso.*—20 April, 1582. S<sup>r</sup> Warham St. Leger to my L.,  
Deartlie & famine there, His opinion for y<sup>e</sup> placing  
of garrisons in y<sup>e</sup> woods.

Driven, as it would seem, to utter despair of ever reducing the Munster Irish to loyalty and civility, the rulers of the Province at last adopted the resolution to make an end of all: *to lay waste at once the whole Province, and destroy the entire population by famine!* The letter which has just been laid before the reader may have led him to the opinion that this desired result was already so nearly obtained that Her Majesty's Government needed to give themselves no active concern further in the matter. On the 12th of March, 1582, Sir Warham St. Leger wrote to Her Majesty one of the most remarkable state papers to be found in any archives in any Christian land:—

MARCH 12, 1582. SIR W. ST. LEGER<sup>1</sup> TO THE QUEEN FROM CORK.

"I will be bold to set down to your Highness how the State of this your province of Munster standeth, and withal deliver to your Majesty my poor opinion what is like to become of the Government now in execution. It is so, and please your Highness, that in this Govern-

<sup>1</sup> The name of this brave, truthful, and conscientious statesman occurs so frequently, and under titles so diverse, during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, in connexion with the troubles and Government of Munster, that it may be interesting to the reader to see some few particulars of his biography, which need to be collected from other sources than the narrative of public events in which he took part. He is presented to us sometimes as President of Munster, sometimes as Knight (Provost) Marshal, and sometimes as Commissioner. What his connexion was with the high office of the Presidency of Munster, the reader will see presently. Sir Warham was the second son of Sir Anthony St. Leger—who was Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1540, with two brief, and one longer interval, till 1556—by his wife Agnes, daughter of Hugh Warham, and niece to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir Warham St. Leger, whose elder brother died young, was styled of Ulcomb. He married Ursula, fifth and youngest daughter of George Nevill, Lord Abergavenny, by whom he had a son Sir William, his heir, and two daughters. He married secondly, Elice Rothe, widow of Henry Davells, murdered by Sir John of Desmond; and widow also of Captain Mackworth, slain by the O'Connors. Sir Warham was Sheriff of Kent in 1560, and knighted in 1565. Smith informs us that in the year 1567, "The Presidency-Court of Munster was first erected, and that Sir Warham St. Leger was the first Lord President, during the government of Sir William Drury Lo: Deputy of Ireland," that "in 1570 Sir John Perrott was made Lord President in the room of Sir W. St. Leger;" and he adds in a note, "the Presidency courts were not fully established till this year; for which reason Sir J. Davis, in his historical relations, makes Sir John Perrott to have been the first Lord President of Munster, and Sir Edward Fitton, of Connaught." We learn, from the ministerial correspondence of the time, the more accurate account of the appointment of Sir Warham St. Leger as President of Munster, the brief tenure of his office, and the cause of his revocation.

In February 1566, Sir N. Bagnal wrote to the Earl of Leicester that Sir W. St. Leger had been appointed Lord President of Munster. On the 16th of January, 1567, the Queen wrote to the Lord Deputy Sir H. Sydney, that "she did not allow of the appointment of St. Leger, as he was not likely to be so indifferent in the cases of the two Earls [Desmond and Ormonde], as were meet."

It is true that Sir Warham, as well as his patron, Sir H. Sydney, had an ill opinion of the loyalty of Ormonde, and a personal dislike of him (which was amply returned to them both by

the Earl), and that he seldom missed an opportunity of stirring the Queen also to distrust him. This dislike was hereditary, and arose from a rivalry springing from the fact that the St. Legers considered themselves the direct representatives of Thomas the 7th Earl of Ormonde through one of the latter's daughters and heirs general, whilst Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde, as the heir male, through a collateral descent, had the title and Irish property of the house.

In April, 1565, Sir H. Sydney had written to the Queen, "If ever there be faulte founde for partiality in Sir Warham St. Leger, let it be my faulte as well as his; he hath already done good service, to the great quiet of the countie of Waterforde; doubtless he is an honest, and sufficient man." And on receipt of the Queen's letter disallowing the appointment of Sir Warham as President, he wrote to Her Majesty, "While Sir Warham there still remayned (whose revocation, by all the honest that I coude speak withall in the whole province of Mounster, was not a little lamented) there was no such outrage committed, nor, I dare say, had ben neither in Kylshelaw, if he had there remayned."

It was during the brief period of his Presidency, upon occasion of a short absence from the seat of his Government, that MacCarthy Mor, and the Seneschal of Imokilly appeared with a large force at the gates of Cork, demanding admittance, and the surrender of the city; this was refused, and "they then vowed never to depart unless the Mayor should deliver out of the town the Lady St. Leger, and Mrs. Greyville, with the rest of the English, and Barry Oge, and Cormac Mac Teige, with all other prisoners." The arrival of the Lord Deputy and the timely coming of 400 fresh soldiers from England saved the ladies from the misfortune that threatened them.

In October, 1579, Sir Warham was appointed Knight Marshal of Munster, and in this capacity his first duty was the trial and execution of Sir James of Desmond.

Sir Warham met his death in an encounter with Maguire, the chieftain of Fermanagh, under the walls of Cork, in March, 1600. The details of this deadly duel have reached us in the words in which they were written a few days only after the event, by the Bishop of Cork to Sir Robert Cecil:—

THE BISHOP OF CORK TO CECIL,

March 5, 1600.

"On Saterday last, beinge the 1<sup>st</sup> of this moneth, M<sup>r</sup> Guyre w<sup>th</sup> others, were sent by Tirone into Kirriwherry [the Seignorie of old Sir Warham St. Leger] to burne and spoile. In his retourne a litell before night he was encoun-

ment it is thought good policy to make waste the five counties within this province, the corporate towns only excepted; holding it the only means to subdue and famish the traitors. A government, no doubt meant to good purpose, but (under correction) far wide from the due course of government that ought to be; and so have I sundry times told the Governor since my coming hither; for by wasting the countries there will ensue four great inconveniences:—First, Starving numbers of poor innocent people, being already dead by famine in this province not so few as 30,000 at the least within less than this half year. Secondly, it will be the overthrow and decay of the corporate towns. . . . Thirdly, it will be the decay of your Majesty's customs, imposts, and other duties to your Highness appertaining. Fourthly, it is to be feared it will be the wasting of the whole realm, or a great part thereof."

This "good policy of Government," though in a great measure successful in the object it had in view, failed to intimidate the chiefs in arms. In September, the restless Seneschal was again in the neighbourhood of Cork, and "made prey of four towns:" his next exploit was conceived in audacious and more direct defiance of the policy of the Government. The Bishop of Rosse wrote to the Lords Justices touching the present state of Munster. . . . "The Seneschal is with his company in the Decies, and hath reaped the corn there, and also in Imokilly, and carried it into the woods. For proof whereof Sir Warham St. Leger's man returning from Dublin, and coming through Imokilly, passed through the rebels, as they were reaping the subject's corn (he thinking them subjects till he was past them, and then understood they were rebels). The Seneschal is in number 200 footmen, picked kern and expert fellows, sixty shot, and 24 horsemen, and since my coming into the country, about the beginning of August last, they have preyed the county of Waterford twice, even to the Passage."

When this corn, which proved to be the property of Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, had been carried into the woods, and stored in caves, the Seneschal burst again into the Butler's country, laid waste the domains of the Lord General, and made spoil of his very "house at the Carrig."

From the incessant attacks of the Seneschal upon the country of the Earl of Ormonde, and particularly from such exploits as the burning of Nenagh, and 12 other of his towns, and the plunder of his house, it might not occur to the reader to suspect that these actions were not in reality acts of hostility, but mere incidents hiding a forbidden friendship; the keen eyes of Ormonde's personal enemies discovered by other and less mistakable evidences, that the sacking of Carrick Castle, the slaughter of his soldiers, and the hanging of the Seneschal's followers in return, were but acts of a sublime astuteness designed to disguise a traitorous collusion between the commander of Her Majesty's forces, and the most formidable of the rebels. In March, 1581, there were drawn up and sent for the Queen's grave consideration, certain "observations of the Earl of Ormond's Government during his being Lord General in the Province of Munster, and the success of the same." Two circumstances, casually revealed by this document, the reader cannot fail to notice: one, the incidental manner in which mention is made of an assassination to be done—in the language of the time, a draft to be drawn—upon the Seneschal of Imokilly: and the other, the

tred withall by Sir Warrham St. Leger and Sir Henric Power, who issued forth w<sup>th</sup> certen horse, out of Cork, and about the sunne set M<sup>r</sup> Guyre was slayne by Sir Warrham himself, and he again wounded by M<sup>r</sup> Guyre, in the head, w<sup>th</sup> an horseman's staffe, to death (as it is thought). The same tyme were slayne M<sup>r</sup> Guyre's sonne, his priest, his foster-brother, w<sup>th</sup> divers others of account. Some of their horsemen's staves, and M<sup>r</sup> Guyre's colliors were brought away. He left his staf in Sir Warrham's hedd, and fled wounded; and by reason of the fall of the evening after he had ridden about a mile, not being further pursued, fell downe from his horse, died that night under a bush, and is gone to his place. the next morning was carried to the rebell's campe dead."

It may have taken the reader's notice that several of Sir Warham's letters written in England were dated from Leeds Castle, in Kent. We learn from "*Leige*," Vol. 6, p. 104, that "In 1550, Sir Anthony St. Leger, the father of Sir Warham, had a grant from the King of the

manor house of Wingham-Barton, Bersted, (an appendant to the Manor of Leedes Castle) East Farbon, and Bentley, two small manors, and the fee simple of one of the Parks of Leedes Castle in the county of Kent." The connexion of the family of St. Leger with this locality was, however, of much earlier date than this grant; for "Ralf St. Leger of Ulcomb, Esq<sup>r</sup>," eldest son of Stephen St. Leger, had been appointed in 1470, Constable of Leeds Castle, with one of the parks annexed to it, for then there were two, though now neither of them are to be seen." Sir Ralf left a son, who left two sons, Sir Anthony, and Sir Robert, who both settled in Ireland. The former was a Knight of the Garter, and, as the reader has seen, for several years Lord Deputy of Ireland; the latter was, in 1543, appointed Constable of Dungarvan.

1 Carrick Castle, on the Suir, in the county of Tipperary, bordering on the county of Kilkenny, and, next to Kilkenny Castle, Ormonde's principal residence. It was in fair preservation until lately, but is fast falling into decay.

identity, in the minds of two honest men, of the appreciation of such drafts, and the fitting mode of dealing with the draftsmen. This was not the first time that such a proposal had been made to the Earl. Upon a previous occasion he had spoken his mind in a manner peculiarly his own, to the Lord Treasurer, through whom the proposition reached him. This time he wasted no words upon the proposal, or the persons entertained for its performance, but handed the latter over to the Seneschal, whom it more immediately concerned, and the Seneschal with as little hesitation passed them on to the hangman. Of these accusations the 10th was "He discharged Edmund M'Ruddery, son and heir to the White Knight, being by Theobald Roche, the Lord Roche's second son, accused of sundry treasons, in the presence of the Lord General. The 12th; he set at liberty a chief messenger of the traitor Seneschal of Imokilly, taken by Theobald Roche. The 16th; where two choice persons were entertained for the killing of the traitor Seneschal, and had undertaken the same, the matter not being revealed to any by the persons that entertained them, saving only the Earl of Ormond; these executioners were no sooner arrived at the camp, but they were apprehended by the Seneschal, and charged with the practice, and for the same executed, to the great grief of the persons that entertained them."

The 10th and 12th of these observations will explain to the reader the cause of the bitter feelings of the rebels against the sons of Lord Roche, which resulted, as has been mentioned, in their death. These young men had been in rebellion, had abandoned their party, and were seeking favour with the Government by such actions as the above. But evil times were coming quickly for the unfortunate Earl of Desmond, and his chief followers. Few narratives are sadder than that which may be extracted from the constant reports sent by Ormonde to the Privy Council, of the last few weeks of his existence. Lord Burghley was informed that "Ormond vowed with fire and sword to follow him." Doubtless it was the duty of the Lord General to do so; but there can be as little doubt that the life-long hostility of the two Earls burned the more fiercely as the one drove the other to extremity. Ormonde had many enemies, men who thought him already too powerful, and foretold evil days when, by the death of Desmond he should be without a rival in Munster. Many suggestions had been made to the Queen, and constant instructions sent by Burghley to the Lord Deputy, to treat with the rebel, to accept his submission; but Ormonde petitioned also that "no one else (than himself) might be commissioned to treat with him," that "he might not be supplanted till he had reduced the rebel." And the unfortunate Earl, driven as he was to utter despair, whilst declaring himself ready to surrender to Her Majesty, refused to submit to his enemy. The issue was inevitable, and the despatches written nearly day by day, to Lord Burghley and the Queen, contain the touching narrative of the last feeble struggles of the great rebel. On the 22nd of September, 1582, at the time when the Seneschal was in his greatest force, and, in the audacity of continual success openly reaping the subjects' corn, the Earl was reported to be "stronger than ever he was, he had 200 horse, and 2000 footmen;" but by May in the following year Ormonde wrote that "the Earl of Desmond was in great extremity; that he had cut off all relief of victual from him, put his principal men to the sword, and placed companies to meet him in every way." "That all men fell away from him; he knew not where to stay, or whom to trust." It would be unjust to the followers of the Earl to suppose that they abandoned him prematurely; most of them *never* fell from him, but were slain, as Ormonde's long lists of rebels put to death by him, prove; but in the Earl's great extremity he was compelled to separate himself from nearly every attendant, as well to prevent discovery of the places of his refuge, as to obtain the means of subsistence: above all it is due to the fame of the most faithful of the followers of the fugitive to state that, whatever other men may have done, the Seneschal remained in arms till he had endured nearly as great suffering, and far more affliction than his chief. Of those who continued in action after the death of James Fitz Maurice, none had been so hotly followed up as he had been. The force of the rebels had been latterly divided into two bodies, one remaining with the Earl in the woods of Arlow, the other under the Seneschal about Youghal, and his own country of Imokilly. Against the latter Ormonde's first efforts were directed. Before long "he overran and burned Imokilly, slew the Seneschal's brother, and captured his mother." The son of the rebel was already in the hands of the President of Munster. It is painful to read that the aged lady captured by Ormonde "was by him slain by form of law;" even more painful to see amongst the list of the Queen's enemies slain by him "the son of the Seneschal of Imokilly, a stripling." Whilst the Lord General was reporting his daily advances against the Earl of Desmond, Sir William Stanley wrote to Sir G. Fenton, "Desmond is now in one place having not above 80, the Seneschal is dispersed in another place with but 24 swords, and four horse." Unable to render any further assistance to his chief, a fugitive himself, and

hopeless of succour, the Seneschal gave way at last under his heavy afflictions, and made offer of submission to the Lord General. It was accepted conditionally, till the Queen's pleasure could be known; and how welcome was this surrender to the Queen may be judged from Her Majesty's instant reply that "she was glad the Seneschal had abandoned the Earl." On the 18th of June, Ormonde wrote that "21 of the few that followed Desmond were put to the sword; the Countess had submitted; the unhappy wretch wandereth from place to place, forsaken of all men." Two days later he added that, "the Earl was forsaken of all his followers saving a priest, two horsemen, one kerne, and a boy." On the 16th of November, 1688, he wrote his final notice, and the last passage of the Desmond tragedy: "On Monday last Donill D'Donill Imoriertagh, dwelling near Castell-Mange, assaulted and slew the Earl of Desmond in his cabin of Glanegientye, near the river Mange. . . . So now is this traytor com to the ende I have longe looked for, appointed by God to dye by the sword to ende his rebellion, in despite of soche malitious foolles as have divers tymes untruelye enformed of the sarvice and state of Mounster."

How greatly Ormonde respected the character of the Seneschal, the ablest of his adversaries after the death of Fitz Maurice, is proved not only by the brief sketch of his character already cited, which was written to Lord Burghley at this time, but by the repeated and urgent suit made by him after the Earl's death, to procure his pardon. In September he wrote that "the Seneschal would prove a good subject; that he and his people were now employed in good order and husbandry;" and in November he wrote again urging the Lord Treasurer "to plead earnestly to the Queen for pardon for the Seneschal." The after history of this distinguished Geraldine is to be gathered from stray passages relative to the confiscation and distribution of the lands of the rebels. In November, 1685, instructions were sent to the Lord Deputy that "some order was to be taken for the Seneschal and others, pardoned of their lives." The only order taken by the authorities at Dublin was to deliver him into the custody of the Constable of Dublin Castle. In 1687, other instructions were sent to Sir Valentine Browne, concerning the escheated lands in Munster, "that where as about a year past Her Majesty gave order to the Lord Deputy and the council to consider how the Seneschal of Imokilly and Patrick Condon may be agreed with, whereby there might not arise any disturbance from them to the undertakers; Her Majesty has never yet received answer from the Deputy. The parties themselves remaining now under guard in the Castle of Dublin, may be dealt withal, and let understand (that notwithstanding) their great offence committed, Her Majesty can be content, in hope that hereafter they will carry themselves dutifully towards her, to bestow some portion of the land that heretofore appertained unto them (whereof the whole was forfeited), upon them towards their relief and maintenance."

The Seneschal survived the announcement of this act of Her Majesty's clemency about two years: his troubled career terminated in the calm of his seclusion in Dublin Castle at the end of January or beginning of February, 1689. Whether he was buried in Dublin, or with his ancestors at Cloyne, we know not. That he left at least one son surviving the slaying of his brother, uncle, and grandmother, we learn from a warrant of the Queen, sent on the 17th of June, 1697, to the Lord Deputy Burgh, for "passing the wardship of the body and lands of the son of John Fitz-Edmunds of Ballymartie, (Ballymartyr) late Seneschal of Imokilly, to Captain Henry Moyle, under the great seal." A later notice of this son occurs in a letter of Cecyll to Carew, dated 8th November 1600, which leaves little doubt but that the youth was already involved in the rebellion of the *Sugán* Earl, and O'Neill; and is but one instance in a multitude, showing that the rebels of 1588 were fathers of the rebels of 1600, they of the rebels of 1641, and these of the rebels (?) of 1688. Whilst the Seneschal had been in open warfare with the Queen's forces, Mr. John Fitz-Edmund of Cloyne had for a second time taken refuge in Cork, where he continued a model of loyalty, and the victim of the hatred of the rebels. His sufferings and losses were not, however, wholly unconsidered; much petitioning succeeded in obtaining for him "a minute from the Queen to the Deputy and Chancellor of Ireland, for an annuity of 100 marks, and a grant of 100 marks out of the escheats in Munster." The most remarkable passage in the life of this conspicuous Royalist occurred at the close of the great struggle which had desolated Munster for so many years; it was destined to cause him more affliction than the loss of herds and harvests, and almost made shipwreck of the reputation gained by a long life of loyalty.

At the death of the Earl of Desmond it was considered of pressing importance that a Parliament should be summoned to authorize Her Majesty to distribute the forfeited lands, and to pass such Acts as should be necessary for repairing the broken and miserable estate of Ireland. A Parliament was accordingly called by Sir John Perrot, then Lord Deputy. Its first session was held in 1585; its second in 1586. The reader may be surprised to hear that one of its earliest proceedings was to pass an Act against Witches! this was evidently

done at the dictation of Ormonde, and proves the sincerity in his blunt mind, of his belief of what he wrote to the Queen, that, in their disloyalty "his brothers had been bewitched, as he also had been, but that he was now cured." But of far other importance was an Act for the passing of which, in reality, this Parliament had been especially assembled, to the effect "that all conveyances made, or pretended to be made, by any person attainted within thirteen years before the Act, shall be entered on record in the Exchequer within a year, or be void." When this Act was introduced it met with much opposition; but when Sir John Fitz-Edmund arose, and, doubtless encouraged by the feeling of the House, produced a certain "Feoffment," by which the late Earl of Desmond had placed all his estates in trust for his wife and son, at a time when he was wholly free from all taint of rebellion, consternation and panic fell upon the whole assembly. "This Act," writes Sir R. Cox, "did not pass the Houses without great difficulty, and perhaps had not passed at all if John MacEdmond Fitzgerald (to prevent the Earl of Desmond's forfeiture) had not produced a Feoffment made by that Earl, before he entered into rebellion, which had taken effect, and baffled the expectations of the undertakers, if Sir Henry Wallop had not, by good luck, gotten the aforesaid deed of association, made the 18th July, 1578 (which was two months before the pretended settlement—to which this John Fitz-Edmond himself was a party), but upon the producing of that confederacy, and the discovering of this fraud and subtlety, the honest part of the House were ashamed to abet so ill a cause, and so this Act was made to prevent the like contrivances." At Lambeth are preserved, amongst the Carewe papers, copies both of the Feoffment and Deed of Confederation. The passage quoted from the history of Sir R. Cox will have prepared the reader to find this Feoffment—which it was fraudulently pretended had been executed before the Earl had committed any act of rebellion, and was therefore valid in law—to find this document bear date two months *after* the date of the deed of association of rebellion, thus proving the document produced by Sir John Fitz-Edmund the act of a traitor, and therefore of no value; but, strange to say, the copy of this Feoffment preserved at Lambeth is dated not two months *after*, but four years *before* the Act of Association, that is, the former on 10th September, 1574, the latter on July 18, 1578!

That the discovery made by the sharp-sightedness of Sir H. Wallop was a discovery of the truth relative to these two documents, we are bound to believe, since the Act of Parliament was passed in consequence of it. It follows inevitably that one or other of these dates must be faulty. It is remarkable that Sir R. Cox should have transferred to his pages, without any observation, the dates of both these documents as he found them in the copies at Lambeth, although so glaringly inconsistent with the discovery of Wallop; more particularly as such mighty interests—the validity of the forfeitures, one million two hundred thousand acres—depended upon the priority of the execution of the Deed of Association of rebellion to that of the Feoffment, a fact provable only by the dates of the documents! In our modern calendars these State papers are placed unavoidably in the years of the dates they bear respectively, thus perpetuating the error which misled Sir R. Cox. Happily the discovery of the mistake is not difficult. The correctness of the date of the Feoffment will admit of no doubt, for the document was presented to Parliament by Sir John Fitz-Edmund, who had himself, in company with various other gentlemen, several of them lawyers, attested it. Had the date of the other deed been as correct, the vast estates of the Earl must have slipped through the fingers—matchless for their tenacity—of Her Majesty, and a multitude of enterprising English gentlemen must have returned to the country from which they came. But the instrument of confederation reveals its true date in its very first paragraph. It states that "Whereas the Earl had assembled his kinsmen and others, *after his coming out of Dublin, and made them privy to such articles as by the Lord Deputy were delivered to him on the 8th of July, 1578, &c.*

Now the Earl *came out of Dublin* (escaped from Dublin Castle), as we have already related, in November, 1573; and turning to the State papers of the period in quest of these "Articles which had been delivered by the Lord Deputy to the Earl," we find them under date of 8 July, 1574. The deduction is that the date of the year, occurring twice in the Deed of Association, has been altered by transcribers, and that for 1578 we should read 1574. But although error has thus crept into the date of the year, it has not affected that of the month or day. The deed bears date 18th of July, which, as Sir H. Wallop discovered, and placed on record on the deed itself, is "seven weeks earlier than the execution of the feoffment." In the entire collection of the State papers of England, no document exists that was of equal importance as to its absolute correctness of date, as this one, for on none other ever depended the transfer of estates so vast and so valuable! Lord Justice Pelham, in his "Plot for Munster, dated July 28, 1580, showing how Munster may be made to yield revenue to Her Majesty, and in short time repay the charge of the war," proposes to the Queen "to take the benefit

of all the possessions of the Earl of Desmond, and the traitors, in all ten thousand ploughlands, rating but 120 English acres to every ploughland."

CAREW MSS., JULY 18, 1578.—LAMBETH, VOL. 600, p. 45.

"The combination of Garrett, late Earl of Desmond, attainted of high treason.

"Whereas Garrett, Earl of Desmond, has assembled us, his kinsmen, followers, friends, and servants, after his coming out of Dublin, and made us privy to such articles, as by the Lord Deputy and Council were delivered to him the 8th of July, 1578, [*recte* 1574], to be performed, and to his answers to the same, which answers we find reasonable; and has declared to us that if he do not yield to the performance of the said articles, and put in his pledges, the Lord Deputy will make war against him: we counsel the said Earl to defend himself from the violence of the Lord Deputy, and we will assist the Earl against him. 18th July, 1578, [1574.]

"Garrett Desmond; Thomas Lixnaw; John of Desmond; John FitzJames; Rorye M'Sheaghe; Moroughe O'Brien; Moriortaghe M'Brien of Lonforth; Ja. K. E. F. D. K. B.; Theobald Burke; Donell O'Brien; Richard Burke; John Brown; Daniel M'Canna of Drombraine; James Russell; Richard Fitz-Edmond; Gerold Ulick M'Thomas of Billuncarrighe; Ulick Burk; John Fitz-William of Karne-dirrye; Teighe O'Heyne of Chairreylea."

"Copia vera ex<sup>ta</sup>. Mathene Dillon," p. 1.

Mr. Hamilton's Calendar of Irish State Papers, places these "Articles propounded to the Earl of Desmond, and his answers," in the year (July 8, 1574), in which they undoubtedly were laid before the Earl's associates in rebellion; the Carew Calendar refers to them also in the same year.

FROM THE QUEEN TO THE COUNCIL AT DUBLIN. August 20, 1574,—  
CAREW MSS., VOL. 628, p. 171.

"Your letters of the 11th of this present, together with Desmond's answers to such articles as were propounded to him we have received, and do no less mislike of your, and our Council's slender kind of dealing with him than his rude answers." [The remainder of this despatch is occupied with a consideration of the Earl's answers to the Articles.]

September 10, 1574, CAREW MSS., VOL. 608, p. 104.—EARL OF DESMOND.

"A true copy of the feoffment made by Gerald, Earl of Desmond, testified under the Lord Deputy and Council's hands, which appeareth to be made 7 weeks after the Combination, 1574.

"Charter of Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earl of Desmond, Lord of Decies and Ogonnull, and Lord of the liberty of Kerry, granting in fee to James Butler, Lord Baron of Dunboyne; John Powar, Knight, Lord Baron of Curraghmore, and John Fitz Gerald Fitz Edmund, all his baronies, manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, in the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary, or elsewhere in Ireland. He has appointed Maurice Shighan, and Robert Liston, his bailiffs and attorneys, to enter and take seizin in all the said hereditaments, and to deliver them to the said Barons and Fitz Edmund. Dated 10 Sept. 1574, 16 Eliz."

Then follow other documents, explanatory of the intent and meaning of the said feoffment; attestations of the enrolling, and delivery of seizin by the attorneys in the various counties, &c., &c.

The learning and the wisdom which had guided this exemplary royalist through a long career of difficulty and danger thus seemed to have failed him at the last. He had unquestionably placed himself towards the rebel Earl in a relation as intimate as it was in the power of man to contract with his fellow-creature, at a time when it was high treason to parley with him, for he had not only assisted the rebel in the endeavour to place his estates beyond reach of forfeiture in case of accidents, seven weeks after he was deeply plunged in rebellion, but he had accepted in trust the future impunity of his wife and son, both compromised by the Earl's treason; and the responsibility of defending the political integrity and status of his tribe when all—nobility, estates, personal liberty, nay, life itself—were by

law already forfeited. The anger of the undertakers, and their dismay at the disaster they had so narrowly escaped, rendered them incapable of believing that Sir John had been ignorant, at the time, of the rebellious practices of the Earl, and that he had no knowledge of the existence of the document produced by Sir H. Wallop. A tempest of accusations, the hatred of the undertakers, the indignation of Parliament, and the great displeasure of the Queen, was the bitter result of this attempt to avert the overthrow of his house. The injured Royalist wrote without delay to Sir F. Walsingham an explanation of his conduct and speech in Parliament, showing how much he had been misunderstood, protesting that he would be the first man to approve of the Earl's attainder and loss of life and lands condignly happening unto him for his horrible treason, and that no one could more willingly assent to these forfeitures than himself:—

JOHN FITZ EDMUND GERALD TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

"Right honorable my humble duetie remembered; understanding that by som sinister Information from hence, the Lorde God knoweth how iniustly, your honor hath conceived som harde opynyon agaynst me, so as my sonne by me appoynted, saying for audyence in discharge of my obligacion ageynst me, coulde not be hearde; in so moche as now one calumpnye growing upon an other I am dryven to speak for my owen purgacion. Least by sylence where speache may not be admytted, I rest utterly condemned; and least my not speakyng might confyrme for a trothe myne adversaries surmysses, wherefore moeste humbly craving, that which was never denyed to any, graunte to me my answer w<sup>th</sup> all humblenes and submyssion. The greates matter ageynst me is my speache in the Parlyament of the ffeoffment made by the Earle of Desmonde to me and others, which I thought it my parte to tell, onely, in discharge of my conselence and honestie before God and the worlde, not as a thinge I wished allowed, but farre otherwise, Protesting that myself woulde be the first man, that woulde assent (as I was indede, els I am content to rest condemned in yo<sup>r</sup> honorable Judgement) to the acte of attaynder of him as a thinge condignely happenyng unto hym, and the losse of lyfe and londs. Too small a guerdon for his horryble treason, and so I do thinke unfaynedly. Also in a matter newly happenyng w<sup>in</sup> this provynce, concernyng Florence M<sup>c</sup>Cartye his unloyall parte, in assuryng and affyng himself to the Earle of Clancare daughter; in that action I referre myself to the reporte of the Councell of this provynce, I do holde it moeste unduetifull and a thing moeste ageynst my mynde, and wishe for example of others, that her Ma<sup>tie</sup> may gyve the guerdon fytt for such contemptes. I did diswade the mother of the yonge Lady from euer thinkyng of that matche, in presence of two of the best in Corke, who dyd testifie the same: God knowith my harte, my charges and losses in her Ma<sup>ties</sup> service shal be sufficient testimony of John Fitz Edmonds trew allegiaunce when I am deade, I do desire onely to rest undcondempned untill I may answer, and yf my answer by my sonne upon hearing, may not sufficiently satisfie I desire but this yo<sup>r</sup> honorable favor, that the poynts, wherein yo<sup>r</sup> honor restith unsatisfied may be transmytted to me to answer, and yf I do not answer all to your honorable lykyng, I will rest condemned and never desire other Judge but yourself, Further I have not, but I humbly take leave. Corke, this xv<sup>th</sup> of November 1588.

"Your honors moeste humble at comaundement.

"JOHN FITZ EDMOND GERALD."

*Addressed.* "To the right honorab<sup>le</sup> S<sup>r</sup>  
Frances Wallingham knight,  
Principall Secretary to her Ma<sup>ty</sup>."

With the rebellion of the Sugán Earl, the son of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, the nephew of the great rebel, we are not at present further concerned than to observe that the reader may see in the *Pacata Hibernia* that with the same loyalty with which,—apart from the ambiguous incident of the Feoffment,—he had sustained the hatred of his race, the spoliation of his lands, and peril of his life during the two previous rebellions, Sir John continued, through this third and fiercest, to show himself as he had ever been "the best subject the Queen had in Munster," and that at its close he was not left wholly without his reward. On the occasion of sending the Queen's Earl of Desmond into Ireland in 1600, three or four persons only were chosen to accompany him. Of these one was the son of Sir John Fitz Edmund. Sir R. Cecyll then wrote to Carew, to whom he was in the habit of writing his mind with respect to persons and things, with admirable frankness, a few passages respecting Sir John, which suggest a belief that the incident of the Feoffment, and the speech in Parliament in 1586, had not faded from the memory of the writer:—



SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREWE.

"There comes in the company of the younge Erle a soon of Ihon Fitz Edmondes, on whom the Queen hath bestowed a pence'on of one hundred markes in reversion after his father. He hath made two other sutes, the one to haue some men to kepe his castles, the other to surrender all his landes, and to take them in soccage. For the first, for ought I see, he is rich enough, and craftye enough, soe, as many a man hath sued for that, which hath more neede of it, and therefore, in that pretend you to haue no warrant; for although I know he is wise, and hath kept a good forme, yet I am not ignorant that he might doe more than he doeth; but I haue used his soone with kindness, and the rather because you know how deere he is to a good friend of ours (who is in Jarsey); besides he pretendeth to be much affected to this Desmond, and I see his soone much follow him, amongst which persons if any should be made to give cautyon, it weare not amisse that ould Fitz Edmondes weare wrapt into bondes for him."

The life of Sir John Fitz Edmund (he was knighted,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1601, by Lord Deputy Mountjoy, "to requite his perpetual Loyalty to the Crown of England, as also to encourage others"), was prolonged till the year 1612, when he expired at the ripe age of 85. He was buried with his ancestors in the Cathedral of Cloyne. A monument there erected to his memory records his many illustrious qualities, and chief amongst them his learning and hospitality; the former, as the reader of these pages has seen, had been many years before "commended by the Lords of the Privy Council," and the latter attested, in his honour, by Sir Warham St. Leger, in a despatch to the Lord Treasurer. He died on the 15th of January, and under the same marble was placed, only two months later, the body of his son, who died on the 10th of March, at the age of 48. The reputation of this distinguished Royalist would lose nothing if the epitaph, with its false metre and strange Latin, graven upon his monument, could be exchanged for the vigorous, unpretending sentence written of his rebel kinsman, the Seneschal, by the Earl of Ormonde—He was valiant, wise, and true of his word!

## POSTSCRIPT BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

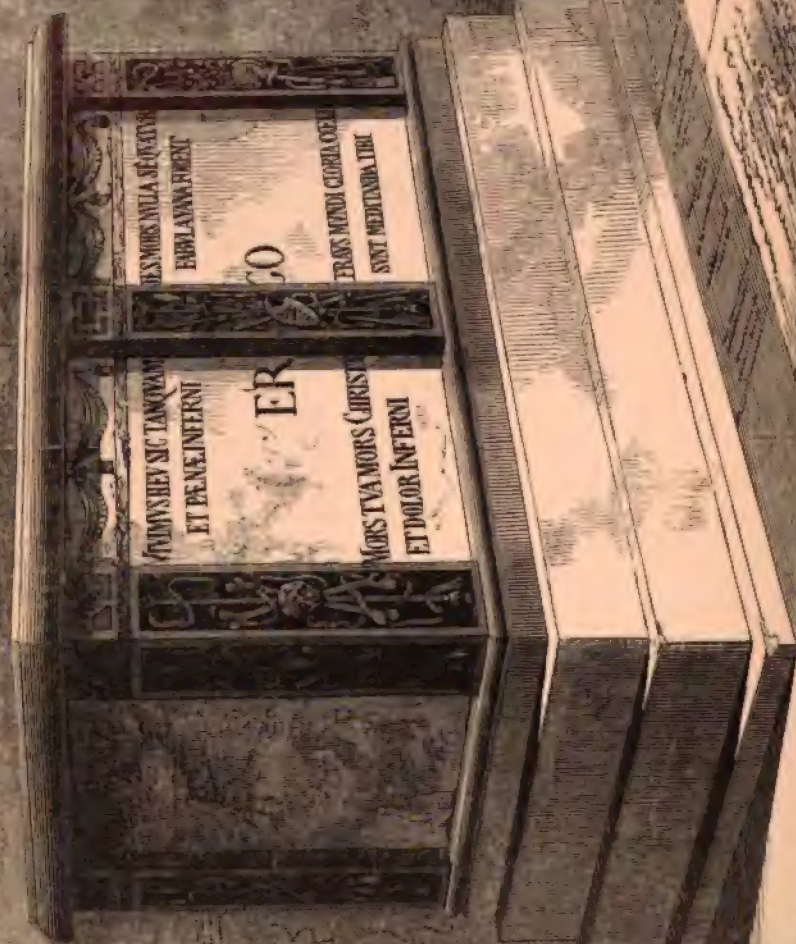
"The Barony of Imokilly, County of Cork, in which the Cloyne and Ballymartyr branches of the Knight of Kerry's sept were planted, is a compact territory stretching about twenty miles in length from Cork Harbour to the mouth of the Blackwater at Youghal, and extending inwards about twelve miles from the sea-board. It is surrounded by the Atlantic or its estuaries on all sides but the north; and being a warm limestone tract, must always have been, as it still is, a fertile region. Imokilly may be divided into two nearly parallel valleys separated by a low range of hills. In the northern vale was the Seneschal's stronghold, Ballymartyr; and his fertile lands. In the southern valley, about three miles from Cork Harbour, and as much from the sea, rises a small insulated hill on which stand the Cathedral and Round Tower of Cloyne—and here was also Sir John Fitz Edmund's Castle of Cloyne.<sup>2</sup> In the N. E. angle of the North Transept of the

<sup>1</sup> We are informed by the writer of the *Pacata Hibernia*, that the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, on his return from the siege of Kinsale to Dublin by way of Waterford, came out of his road to pay a visit to Cloyne, where he slept on the 7th of March, 1601, and was received by Mr. John Fitz Edmund who held the town and manor house in fee farm, and who gave cheerful and plentiful entertainment to his lordship and all such of the nobility captains, gentlemen, and others as attended upon him. Upon this occasion the Lord Deputy knighted his host.

<sup>2</sup> This was originally the Palace of the Bishops of Cloyne. The Regal Visitation of 1615 (M.S. Royal Irish Academy), has the following statement:—"John Fitzgarrat, miles, per usurpationem tenuit non solum domum et mansiones, sed etiam terras et possessiones Episcopi et Dignitatorum." Sir John Fitz Edmund, though a layman, was Dean of Cloyne—(See p. 515, *supra*), and some of his ancestors seem also to

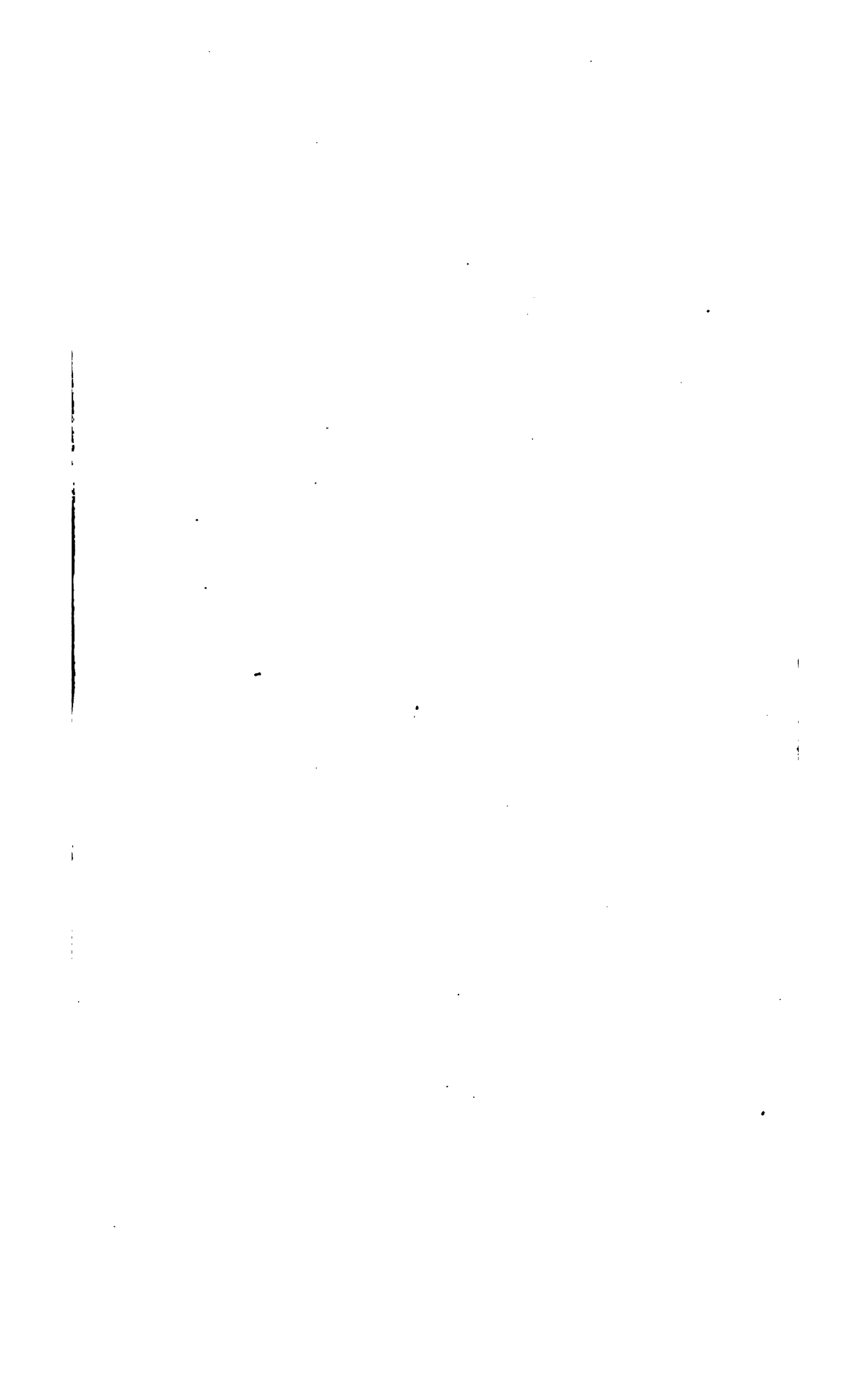
have held that dignity though laymen also. Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne, has left in M.S. in the Registry of that See a "History of the Property of the See of Cloyne," which has been printed by the Rev. Dr. Brady in his "Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross." Bishop Bennett states that "the family of the Fitzgeralds, who were extremely powerful in Imokilly, and had already obtained the manor and the greatest part of the Burgage of Cloyne, cast their eyes on all the remaining possessions of the See. As the plan was a bold one, it was necessary to proceed with caution. In order to make the leases of Bishops' lands valid in those days, it was proper to have them confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, the Church having thus, as it were, two securities that estates should not be wantonly granted away. In order to get over this difficulty, Mr. Fitzgerald, though a layman, got himself appointed to the Decanery of Cloyne, and filled the





W.G. SMITH, DEL. ET SC.

MONUMENT OF SIR JOHN FITZ GERALD, CLONMACNOISE CATHEDRAL.

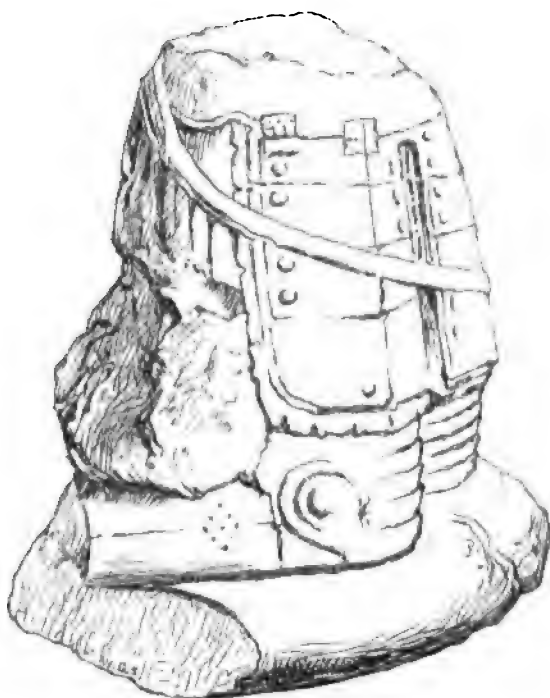
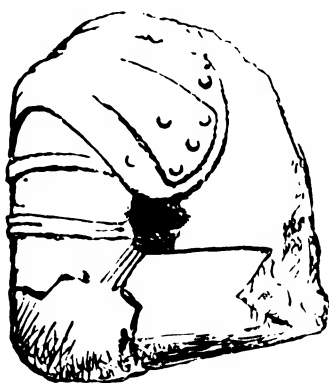


**EPI TAPHIVM IOHANNIS DE GERALDINIS MILITIS**  
**ANŌ DOMINI 1611.**

**HIC SITVS EST MILES MAGNI DE STIRPE GERALDI  
ÆTERNA CVIVS PATRIA LAVDE SONAT  
HOSPITIO CELEBRIS DOCTRINA CLARVS ET ARMIS  
DIGNA FVIT VIRTVS NOBILITATE VIRI  
OMNIPOTENS ANIMAM RAPIAT MISERATVS IN ALTV  
DVRA HEC EX ANIMVM MARMORA CORPVS HABET  
ILLVVS & GESTA IN PACE & QVAM PLVRYMA BELLO  
TE DOCEANT VINI LECTOR AMICE VALE**

**OBIT PRÆDICTVS EQVES ANŌ ÆTATIS 85 DIE VERO MENSIS JANVARIJ 15 ANŌ DOMINI 1612  
SVB HOC ETIAM MARMORE REQVIESCIT FILIVS CVM PATRE QVI IMATVRA MORTE  
PATRI PRÆPITVIT ITER ANŌ ÆTATIS 43 DIE VERO MENSIS MARTII 10 ANŌ DOMINI 1612**





FRAGMENTS OF EFFIGIES, FITZ GERALD MONUMENT, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.







No. 1,



No. 2.

SCULPTURES, FITZ GERALD MONUMENT, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.

## APPENDIX.

Cathedral was erected, doubtless during his lifetime, a very fine monument style, originally consisting of a table or altar tomb above which structure crowned by an ornamented entablature: whilst from the front it would appear that two kneeling armed figures surmounted the structure. The plate which faces this page shows the altar tomb as 1871.<sup>1</sup> In the floor beneath it (as indicated in the engraving), was engraved with the epitaph of which a fac-simile is given on the accompanying plate. The fragments of other portions of the structure were scattered about the Cathedral torn down in 1862, when some restoration works were going on and it interfered with a window. The tradition extant at Cloyne is, as I heard from the Rev. Thomas B. M'Creery, that about a hundred years ago the altar upon the altar tomb, fastened to the back of the upper structure by iron time the cramps gave way and the effigies fell down, were broken into and never been restored. Two sides only of the altar tomb are exposed, and an inscription, as indicated in the engraving. The pilasters at the front of the tomb are carved with foliage and trophies of arms. A very good effect is produced by the design being traced on the surface of the polished stone given a slight relief by the ground being punched away. The four pilasters are represented in the accompanying plate, carefully engraved on the spot. The shield, sword, and dagger, together with a coat of arms represented on No. 1, whilst No. 2 shows Sir John Fitz Edmund's caque, and a very well carved example of the matchlock of the fragments of the two effigies, both kneeling to the right. The armorial of the monument. A coat of arms still remains. The shield bears whether it was charged in colours with the ermine of the Desmond family, the knights of Kerry, it is now hard to say. The entire monument composed of red, black, and white marble highly polished.

The engravings, presented by Mr. A. Fitz Gibbon to the "Journal" give an accurate representation of the condition of the monument. The Ordnance Survey Papers preserved at the Royal Irish Academy of this monument, and state that it was "converted by the Earls of Kildare of the Fitz Gerald family, to their own use." This is not at all O'Brien, Fifth Baron of Inchiquin, married Ellen, eldest daughter of Gerald, Knight, of Cloyne, and sister to Sir John Fitz Edmund, a Fitzgeralds having about 1668 ended in a daughter who was also in the direct male line of the Cloyne family may be said to be represented.

The Dean and Chapter of Cloyne having lately entered on a new Cathedral, their Architect, Mr. Arthur Hill, of Cork, kindly undertook to restore this ancient monument, giving his professional service. And the Most Hon. the Marquis of Kildare having contributed the money has been re-erected in the Cathedral in a position where it does not obscure the windows. Sufficient portions of the superstructure remained to work of restoration, and the monument now bids fair to hand down the Fitz Gerald's of Cloyne for many generations to come.

Chapter with his dependents. Lay Prebends as well as Deans were not uncommon in the days of Queen Elizabeth. . . . Matthew Shehan [Bishop of Cloyne], in consideration of a fine of £40 . . . leased out in July 14, 1575, at the annual rent of five marks, for ever the whole Demesne of Cloyne (four ploughlands), with the lands of Killinewery, Coolbrighan, Ballybane, Kilmacleanan, Ballycrooneen, and Ballycotton. . . . In order to give some colour to the transaction, it was performed in this manner:—Bishop Shehan granted the fee-farm of all the temporalities of the See of Cloyne for ever to Richard Fitz Maurice and his heirs on the above conditions. The Dean and Chapter confirmed

this grant; and then to have been merely sold his right and title of Cloyne." (V.)

The Castle and See recovered for the See finding the Castle to be built or repaired a new which seems to have Fitz Edmund, whose stone thereon, stood the four cross ways in Cloyne, and was taken. This portion of the until the year 1873.

## CAP. III.—SIR JAMES OF DESMOND.

Amongst the multitude of victims who in these Desmond wars fell in promiscuous slaughter under the merciless sword of the Lord General the Earl of Ormonde—"Nearer 3000 than 3," as he asserted in answer to a taunt thrown out against him for his sluggishness in the suppression of the rebellion—of none was the fate so utterly deplorable as that of the young Sir James, son of the 14th Earl of Desmond called "*Of the Assemblies*," a designation painfully suggestive of tastes and habits more suitable to his age and social rank than meetings of desperate and rebellious men, and the terrible scenes of a cruel civil war. Matchless in the splendour of his birth; conspicuous above all the youth of his generation for the magnificence and celebrity of a public baptism, when he was held at the font by the Queen's Deputy; destined, if all went well, to add to the wealth and power of his house, power and possessions at least equal to those it already possessed; an orphan in his infancy; reared under the guardianship of a man wholly without principle, of scandalous private life, ever in rebellion himself, or encouraging it in others; forced almost from his boyhood by the sterner passions of his relatives and followers into rebellion; captured after scarcely a year of action, in which he had accomplished nothing more note-worthy than a spoil of cattle; judged without mercy, and most ignominiously executed, the brief career of this young Geraldine presents to the reader's notice a picture of the instability of human fortune rarely surpassed.

In the first year of Philip and Mary, 1553, a marriage was celebrated between Sir James Fitz John, 14th Earl of Desmond, and Eveleen, daughter of Donal-an-Drummain, son of Cormac Ladrach Mac Carthy Mor, and sister of Donal, afterwards Earl of Clancar. From a few passages of the extraordinary settlement made upon the occasion of this marriage, and which was subsequently laid before the Privy Council by Florence Mac Carthy to show his right to the Country of Desmond, through his wife, the daughter of the Earl of Clancar, we learn that the Irish chieftain not only disinherited his brother Tadhg and his issue, and his daughter Catherine and her issue, and the female issue of his eldest son, but by settling his lands on the heirs general of the daughter about to marry the Earl of Desmond, he projected them through a strange circle of alienations, conveying them first to the house of Desmond, then to the house of Thomond, back again to the Fitz Gerald, then to the house of Ormonde, on to the O'Rourkes, according to the various marriages of the successive heirs of inheritance as they stood in the entail, and finally—thanks to an entail of sterility which appeared also to form part of these settlements—back to the Mac Carthys, from whom they had been for forty years wandering around in search of a permanent heir, though in reality never for a day out of their possession. From this document we learn also incidentally two facts interesting to be assured of, and which we could not ascertain from any other source, viz., 1st. That the young Baron Valentia, the son of the Earl of Clancar, died in his boyhood a fugitive in France; and 2nd. That Sir James of Desmond, contrary to the belief of Lodge, died without issue; as also did his sister Ellen, who had married 1st, Edmund Butler, brother to the Earl of Ormonde, and 2ndly, Sir Brian O'Ruarke. In the "*Reasons that Florence Mac Carthy alleged to prove that the Earl of Clancar's lands ought to descend to Ellen his wife, and to his heirs*," it is stated that "Donal Mc Cormac Lireh Mac Carthy Mor, father to the said Earl (of Clancar) in his life time entailed all his lands to his only sonne, the aforementioned Earl and his heirs; and, for want of such issue in him, to the heirs of James Earl of Desmond by Ellen his daughter, wife to the said Desmond, and sister to the aforementioned Earl of Clancar, and the remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid Ellen [Eveleen] for ever, which is Ellen daughter to the Earl her brother, and wife to Florence aforesaid, considering that the said Earl of Clancar survived Sir James of Desmond her son, and Eleanor, wife to Edward Butler, her daughter, who both died without issue. This entayle made by Donal Mc Cormac Leiry, was perfected, and diverse of the witnesses yet living that were at the perfecting thereof, in the 1st and 2nd year of Philip and Mary, and now ready to be produced." The death of the young Valentia is mentioned in an earlier passage of the document from which the foregoing is extracted.

About four years after this marriage there took place one of those imposing journeys or progresses made occasionally by the Lords Deputy through such parts of Ireland as were reduced to civility, that is, were safe for Her Majesty's Deputy to travel, for the purpose of encouraging the loyal, overawing the disaffected, and executing malefactors. To the narratives of these journeys, particularly of those made by the

Lord Deputy Sir H. Sydney, we are indebted for the most vivid pictures that have reached us of the status of our Irish chieftains, and of the great English nobles who had imitated them in all things—who, to the great displeasure of the Queen, spoke their language, wore their dress, adopted their laws, and assumed those rights or chiefries which intercepted the authority of the Sovereign over their followers. The journey made in the summer of 1558 by the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, was one of more than usual pomp, and ostentation of power. He was accompanied by a considerable force of horse and foot, by the nobles and chieftains in amity with the government, and by their military retainers, bonies, galloglasse, kerns, and others—for it was the purpose of the gallant soldier then governing the country, to reduce to, at least, a semblance of submission various troublesome heads of septs, and to assault every stronghold along his route which should not throw open its gates at his approach. He was, fortunately, also attended by Her Majesty's Pursuivants at Arms, the Heralds Athlone and Ulster; and to the former of these we are indebted for the interesting narrative that follows:—

Carew MSS. Vol. 621, p. 20, A., 1558, July 25.—A JOURNEY MADE BY THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

"Monday the 20th, the Deputy came through a great pass and foul way, called the pass of Carkin Kisee; he rested upon a plain side of a hill, where there were a few trees, and then there came to him the Earl of Ormond and his brother Mr. Edmund Butler, with a good sort of handsome gentlemen on horseback from his camp. All our carriages being past, the Lord Deputy went to horse, and on the way met with him the young Lord of Cahir with a goodly company; and shortly after he rested by the way, and dined. William Bourke made my Lord drink as he passed by his castle, called Carrec Kerrellois, within six miles of Limerick. Then my Lord Gerald of Desmond [afterwards the 15th Earl] and M<sup>c</sup> Carte Mor [Donal Leyragh father of the Earl of Clancar] and Sir Maurice of Desmond [Atotane] met him with a goodly company of horsemen. On drawing towards Limerick the Deputy caused his bands of footmen to march in order of battle, their ancients [ensigns] displayed before him, he himself being in the middle ward, the horsemen behind him, and all the Irish horsemen on the right wing. Accompanied by the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Gerald of Desmond, the Lord of Cahir, Sir Henry Sydney Vice Treasurer at Wars, and M<sup>c</sup> Carte Mor, he marched into Limerick, where at the gate the Mayor and his brethren in their scarlet gowns met him, and delivered into his hands the keys and mace of the city, which he delivered back again to the Mayor. Then the Mayor, bearing the mace, and the officers of arms went before him; Sir George Stanley, Knight Marshal, bearing the sword, until His Lordship came to the stile of St<sup>i</sup> [ ] churchyard, where he alighted. In the churchyard were the Bishop of Limerick and the clergy in procession, and there he kneeled down, was censured, and kissed the cross, and when he rose up holy water was sprinkled upon him, then he went into the church, and did in like manner before the rood, and from thence to the high Altar, where he kneeled until the Te Deum was sung, and then offered, and so separated to his lodging in Dominick White's house. — Sunday the 26th June, in the afternoon, at the Bishop's house of Limerick was bishoped James the son of the [14th] Earl of Desmond. The Lord Deputy being Godfather, called the child's name James Sussex of Desmond; and the officers of Arms during the Bishoping, in their coats of arms, proclaimed the child James Sussex of Desmond three times: and my Lord Deputy gave to the said child a chain of gold; and after that M<sup>c</sup> Carte Mor was dubbed Knight, and called Sir Dermont M<sup>c</sup> Carte [his name was Donal, not Dermot], and my Lord Deputy gave unto him a chain of gold, and a pair of gilt spurs; wherefore Wolster and Athloon [the heralds] set the same on Sir Dermont M<sup>c</sup> Carte; and he gave unto me Athloon, for his fee a double ducat of gold; and after this, the Earl of Desmond's men, horsemen, kerns, and galloglasse mustered in the straight [street] against my Lord Deputy's coming to his lodging, they being a goodly band of men.—On Wednesday the 6th [of July] a galloglasse man was nailed to post for drawing a weapon in the camp, contrary to the proclamation: and on the 7th a galloglasse was hanged for stealing a shirt of mail. On Sunday 10th July after the high mass in the great church of Limerick, the Earl of Thomond, and all the Freeholders of the county of Thomond were sworn upon the Holy Sacrament, with all the relics of the church, as book, bell, and candle light. The Earl was sworn to forsake the name of O'Brien, and use the name and style of Earl of Thomond, and

be faithful and true to the King and Queen; and they in like case were sworn to be true and faithful subjects, to be true to their Captain the Earl of Thomond, and utterly to withstand all such as will take and usurp upon them the name of O'Brien. After this the Deputy dined with the Earl of Desmond, and remained there till Tuesday.

"Finis Quod Phil. Butler, alias Athloon pursuivant d' armes."

Barely three months after this glorification of the parents and kindred of this infant, the Earl of Desmond died, and was succeeded by his unfortunate son Gerald the 16th Earl.

Life was short in those days, and what had to be done needed to be done quickly. After nine months of widowhood the Countess remarried, with the Queen's approbation, as the reader has seen, with the Earl of Thomond. This lady's second experience of matrimonial life was of short duration, for two years scarcely elapsed before the annalists were compelled to chronicle her demise.

"The age of Christ 1560.

"The daughter of Mac Carthy, i. e., Eveleen, daughter of Donnel, son of Cormac Ladrach the wife of the Earl of Desmond in her youth, namely of James the son of John who was son of Thomas, and afterwards the wife of the Earl of Thomond, namely of Conor the son of Donogh son of Conor, a charitable, humane, friendly, and pious Countess died, and was interred in the burial place of her ancestors, namely Oirbhealach" (now Irrelagh or Muckruss Abbey, situated near the rocky shore of a small bay at the end of the lower lake of Killarney, and within the demesne of Muckruss in the Co. of Kerry.—Dr. O'Donovan).

Thus was the child of so great promise left an orphan when but two years of age. With the encomiums of the parents by the chroniclers in his recollection, the reader may understand the terrible misfortune of this infant in falling under the guardianship of Donal Mac Carthy, called by Bingham "a most vile man," and by Sir H. Sydney "a mischievous monster." On the 21 March, 1569, John Corbine wrote to Cecyl of the practices of Mac Carthy Earl of Clancar, and James Fitz Edmond with Mac Carthy Reagh and others; "The Earl of Clancar has the charge of James Mac-an-Erle the Earl of Desmond's brother, twelve years old, who would be better brought up by the Queen." As the youth grew towards manhood he received ample proof of the friendly disposition of the Queen and the Lord Deputy towards him; for Her Majesty especially interfered to compel the Earl, his brother, to surrender to him the estates bequeathed to him by his father, and which had been withheld from him; nor was this the only, or the earliest proof given of the desire to attach him to the cause of order and obedience. In a list of "Knights made from anno. 1566 to the year 1578, tempore H. Sydney, Dep." we find his name occurring in 1566. The entry is peculiar, and suggests the exercise of especial favour towards him. Immediately following the names of Sir Edward Fitton, and Sir Peter Carewe, occurs the entry "Sir James Fitz Gerald, brother to the Earl of Desmond in his ——" it is not difficult to supply the word here omitted, "in his *childhood*" was evidently intended; for the young Knight was but eight years old at the time. But the rebellious example of his kinsmen, and the influence of his brothers the Earl, and Sir John of Desmond, which was certainly not opposed by any sager counsel of his guardian the Earl of Clancar, overpowered all sense of gratitude to the Lord Deputy, and duty to his Sovereign. When his relative Fitz Maurice landed at Smerwick, and raised his standard a second time in rebellion, Sir James, with his elder brother Sir John, immediately joined him. The course of his rebellion lasted, as we have said, barely a year. The single incident in this brief career worthy of any record is his presence in the fight of Monaster-Nenagh, where, as Sir Wm. Stanley wrote to Walsingham, "The rebels came as resolutely minded to fight the battle of the 3rd [of October, 1579] at Monaster-Nenagh as the best soldiers in Europe could." Relative to this encounter of the forces of Fitz Maurice and his relatives with the Queen's troops, Sir Nicholas Malbie wrote to the same minister—"In the conflict with the traitors all their captains were slain, saving the two traitorous brethren who carried away the Pope's standard through the woods and thorns in post haste. Desmond joined his force of 600 Galloglas with 600 of his brethren, gave them his blessing, and instructions to fight on the morning of the battle, and then departed to Askeaton himself. The Earl of Clancar had a base son and many men slain there." Soon followed letters, written to England by his captors and others, detailing the wretched encounter in which the young Geraldine fell grievously wounded by the hands of his kindred, and was captured and delivered by them to the Queen's government. His entreaty to his kinsmen to strike off his head rather than

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"There iij of Sr Cormeekes men killed, vij soer wounded and his broth' Donyll was wounded w<sup>th</sup> a dart w<sup>ch</sup> strock him under the right eare and gott sidling through his necke vj unches, but god be thanked he shall take no harme.

"Mr. David Barrie have a good companey in aredynes to do a pece of service, and do also meane to joyne w<sup>th</sup> Sr Cormecke against the rebels, and both of them do hope in god that they will cut of verry shortlie therle and Sr Johnne, or els they will lose their oune lyves if ev<sup>r</sup> the Rebels come w<sup>th</sup>in any place of this countie; And all that they do is and shalbe by yo<sup>r</sup> L: advice unto them, and from hence forward yo<sup>r</sup> honno<sup>r</sup> shall not need any way to mystrwat their service.

"Cessions shalbe kept here on Monday next beinge the 8<sup>th</sup> of this moneth.

"My L. Justice hath written his warrant to the Sessor of this countie of putting in of 900 galleglash for 2 monethes.

"Also where my L. Justice did grant unto me at his last being in this cittle und<sup>r</sup> his hand thoffice of gent<sup>l</sup> port<sup>l</sup>ship, uppon Sr. Warhame is comeng from Lymrick he send for me and telt me that my L. Justice wilt him to deale w<sup>th</sup> me for geveng ov<sup>r</sup> of the same office, and that his L. did pase the same to one of his oune men w<sup>ch</sup> is an English man, and sayes that by instructions come to his L. out of England he is appointed to have none in that office but one borne w<sup>th</sup>in the realme of England: yet I do stand in the matt<sup>r</sup> till yo<sup>r</sup> honno<sup>r</sup> do come theith<sup>r</sup>, not for any comoditie that I can gett by it but for the credit of the same: Sr Warhame saies for yo<sup>r</sup> L. sake that he will not se me ov<sup>r</sup> laied in this matt<sup>r</sup>, and thus I most humbly take my leave: From Corcke the vj<sup>th</sup>. of August 1580,

"Yo<sup>r</sup> honno<sup>r</sup> most humble servant to command.

PR. GRANTE."

*Addressed.* "To the Right honno<sup>r</sup>able and my singular good L. and Mr, Therle of Ormond and Osserey, heigh L. Thresorer of Ireland and L. Generall of Mounster."

*Endorsed.* "Aug. 6, 1580. Graunt to my L. of Ormond, Sr James of Desmond taken sore wounded."

1580, AUG. 28.—ORMONDE TO LO. DEP: GREY.

"The Copie of my L. of Ormonds lre.

"My very good L. on the xxij<sup>th</sup> of this month I marched w<sup>th</sup> myn owne companyes of horsmen & fotmen towards Corke, and on the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of the same being at Sr Cormecke Mr. tege is house called the Blawernye he brought unto [me] the trayto<sup>r</sup> James of Desmond brother to therle of Desmond, and on the morow after I thought good to put him to his triall in Corke, the mai<sup>or</sup>, Sr Warham Sr leger, Mr Justice Welshe, Justice Meaghe and other her M<sup>ts</sup> comysioners being pr<sup>es</sup>nt, he was araigned before us and Judgm<sup>t</sup> given by the Justice that he shold dye according his desertes, and after was stayd by me from execution tyll yo<sup>r</sup> L. is pleasure be further known: he delyvered unto me [and] som of the said comysioners being present, his knowledg uppon certayne matters moved to him, as by his examynacon to that effecte subscribed by us and in my custody doth appere. As I returned from Corke I came through Atherlagh, a fast place wher I herd the trayto<sup>r</sup> Sr John and the rest of them were, and suche of them as were ther hid them selves in the woddes, so as none of them nor ther cattell could be met w<sup>th</sup> save a fewe kyne & ploughe gerands I brought from thence, the trayto<sup>r</sup> Sr John of Desmond (hering of my being in Monster) w<sup>th</sup> thold trayto<sup>r</sup> pers grace, doctor Sandres, some fewe Spanardes and others of ther men, wer afor my comyng to Atherlaghe entered into a pece of my contrey, burned 2 villages there, toke the spoile of them and slewe some Kerne & husbandmen of myn that folowed to rescue ther goodes: after this they went throw ossorey quietly w<sup>th</sup>out resistance to assault my brother Pers dwelling in thabbey of leix, and toke all the cattell ther and burned a towne of myn called balliosker,

"From Kilkenny the xxvij<sup>th</sup>. of August 1580, Yo<sup>r</sup>. lo. fast assured

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORIE.

*Addressed.* "To the right hono<sup>r</sup>able my very good L. my L. Deputie."

SR. WARHAM ST. LEGER TO MY L. FROM CORKE.

"My humble dutie don to yo<sup>r</sup> l., a shippe departinge hence for England I think it my parte to informe yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>. of the state here.

## APPENDIX.

"Morgan is appointed to keepe Youghall w<sup>t</sup> a hundred by the Lorde Generall to remeyn here, as charged w<sup>t</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Jam<sup>s</sup> direction from the lorde deputie) I caused to be hanged draw gates of this Towne on Munday last: who yelded to godward wise he woulde have don, if he had not dyed y<sup>t</sup> death.

" From Corck the 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1580 ]  
" W

*Addressed.* "To the right hono<sup>r</sup>able my singular good L<sup>o</sup> lorde high Thresure<sup>r</sup> of England in haste poste haste for life."

*Endorsed.* "9 Octob. 1580.

"S<sup>r</sup>. Warham S<sup>r</sup> Leger to my l. from Corke Advertisem<sup>t</sup> Cuntry Thexecucc<sup>o</sup>n of James of Desmond."

The same pen which had recorded the virtues of his pa certain particulars of the last few days of the existence of Sir J afford to the Christian reader consolation so great as to depriv of his execution of much of their terrors :—

"James himself was taken, and sent to Cork to be imp<sup>r</sup> fined) nearly a month in this town, daily preparing himself i for his sins, and asking forgiveness for his misdeeds. At the arrived from Dublin from the Lord Justice and the Council, o that noble youth to death, and cut him in quarters and little p ingly done."—Annals of the Four Masters, 1580.

Thomas the 10th Earl of Ormonde, whose name has been b out all the previous pages, was the most conspicuous of the rule of Ireland was intrusted during the entire reign of Quee brave and upright man, but regarded human life with a sh long lists sent by himself to the English Privy Council, of pe during his command of the royal forces, but too manifestly 22nd of November, 1614, at his house at Carrick,—“the Car assaulted and made prey of by the Seneschal of Imokilly. I been blind for the last few years of his life. He was thrice n only daughter of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, by whom he left n was in 1564, not without reason, if we may attach belief to one of his friends, divorced :—

"It is fully agreed that from the first day of August next, nor Lyvery used in the Countie of Tipperarie, but the same to in Inglish sort and order, the copie of the devise where wourship herinclosed. My L. of Ormonde and my Ladie his and borde, I have ever hitherto (upon good respectes) favored h hir L. departure into Inglande, my L. hathe disclosed unto me hir and one Morgan more, and Mansfelde, importing so great deiserved to have fewe frendes or none in this case, (God c grace to be worthie of a chast wife), thus beinge loothe to t make an ende.

" From Whits halle, this xx day of Julie, 1564. "

*Addressed.* "To the right wourshipfull my good fr Knight."

Ormonde married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Johr who died in 1600, by whom he had two sons, neither of wh daughter Elizabeth; and thirdly, Helena, daughter of David I who survived him, and lived till 1642, he had no issue. H Earldom by his nephew Walter, son of John Butler of Kilcas daughter of Cormac na Haoine Mac Carthy Reagh.



## CAP. IV.—THE SUGAN EARL OF DESMOND.

When placed, by the death of James Fitz Maurice, in the undisputed possession of his Earldom, James Fitz John occupied himself in restoring tranquillity to his people who had suffered so much in his cause, and his father's. His first care was to effect his reconciliation and theirs with his sovereign; his overtures were received in a friendly spirit, and he became, and continued thenceforward an obedient, nay, a zealous subject of the king, and a wise counsellor to the Lord Deputy in all matters concerning his own province. The despatches that reached the king during the whole continuance of the Earl's life were such as had been rarely before written from Munster. On the 22nd of December, 1551, Sir James Croftes wrote to Sir W. Cecyll, "That which I have spoken of the Erle of Decemonde is true, as you shall p'ceyve by I'res wrytten to me, and one other, the copyes whereof I sende you, that you may iudge w<sup>th</sup> me how noble a man he is made by the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> goodness, w<sup>ch</sup> before lawles lyved, without any good rule or ordre, and nowe in justice none more severe then he; for his eldest sonne the Lorde Garrett taking a prairie from an Irysheman adioyning to his countrey, and beyng in the Castle of Dublin, at my comāundment, both for restitution, and for his ponnyshem<sup>t</sup>, hath sent me word that I sholde neither spare to ponnysh hym, nor any other that offendyd with him; a rare thing to fynde suche a father in these p'ties."

A similar account of the Earl's conversion to loyalty, and certain wise suggestions by which this loyalty might be best encouraged; and at the same time a sad description of the poverty to which this great Earl was reduced by the long desolating struggle for the succession, was presented to His Majesty by the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger:—

"According to my moste bounden deutie it may please your most Excellent<sup>e</sup> Majestie to be advertised that immediately after the wryting of my laste letters to your Majestie, I repayred to a castell of your Highnes cauled Caterloghe, where I hadde before appoynted to kepe the Christemas aswell for th' establisshements of the Cavenaghs as the Omores and other Irisshemen beyng borderers to the same your castell, where resorted to me the saide Cavenaghs and Omores with meny other Irisshemen aswell to do ther dewties for the honour of your Highnes to me a poore man, your Deputie, as also to have redres of wronges commytted amonges them. Wherin I truste to God suche order was taken by me and the Lorde Chancelor here (who hathe this jorney and in all other sythe my repayre into this lande taken grete paynes) as redoundethe to the honour of your Majestie and the quyetie of the contrey. And ther taryeng till the Monday after New yeris day, I, with my fellows the Commissioners and the saide Lorde Chancelor with your saide Counsell ther being, wente towards James of Desmonde, first taking with us the Erle of Ormonde, who in the sayde progres made me and my saide fellowes grete chere. And so having before sente to the saide Erle of Desmonde he advertised me that he wolde upon pledges for him resorte to me towards the cety of Casshell, whereunto I with the saide Erle of Ormonde and the reste of your Counsell repayred and sent eftsones to the saide James who was not paste 10 miles thence. He required to have the Erle of Ormonde in pledge for him which I wold not agre unto, but sent the Archebishop of Dublyne, Mr. Travers, Master of your Ordinance, and a brother of my owne, who remayned for hym, in pledge, and so he cam to us to the saide Casshell, where after dyverse overtures to hym made and declaring how good and gracious your Majestie hadde bene unto hym, we advised him bothe to submitte hymselfe to your Majesties obedience according his naturall dutie, and also to make moste humble sute for your moste gracious pardon whiche I had redy to be delyverid unto hym upon resonable conditions whiche I and my fellowes wolde exhibite unto him. Wherin we founde the saide Erle moste willing to submitte him selfe according our advice. And for that we were not ther in place propice, we departed from thence to one Sir Thomas Butleres howse, where we fully concluded with the saide Erle of Desmonde making his humble submission in manner and fourme as may appere to your Majestie by the copie of the same herin inclosed. And in presence of M<sup>c</sup>William, O Chonor and dyverse other Iriasse gentilmens to the number of 200 at the leste, he knelyd down before me and moste humbly delyverid his saide submission, desiring me to delyver unto him his saide pardon granted by your Majestie; affirming that it was more gladd to hym to be so reconciled to your favours then to have any worldly treasure, protesting that no earthly cause shoulde make him fro' hence forthe swarve fro' your Ma<sup>ties</sup> obedience. And after that done I delyverid to

hym your saide moste gracious pardon, whiche he moste joyfully accepted. And then consydering the grete variance betwene the Erle of Ormonde and him concerning the title of the Eriedome of Desmonde, the saide Erle of Ormonde having maryed the doughter and generall heier of the ondoubted Erle of Desmonde and this man pretending but as heier male, I and my fellowes thought it not good to leave that cancor remayne, but so labored the matter on bothe sydes that we have brought them not only to a fynall ende of the saide title, but also themselves have concluded betwene them a crosse mariage to be hadde betwene ther children, ether bounde to other in the som of foure thowsande £ sterling to perfourme the same, and sworne before us upon the Evangelistes to consarve the peace and to joyne as subjectes ought to do in the service of your Majestie. Whiche matters being ther finisshed I and your saide Chancelor and Master Cavendiahe your Commissioner departed from thence, at requeste of the saide Erle to a towne cauled Kylmalocke where I thinke none of your Graces Deputies cam this hundreth yeris before, where he made us very good chere and toke my comyng and thers thethir in so kinde parte, that he openly declared that if I wold desire him to go to London to your Majestie, he wolde gladly do the same. And thus tarieng with him 2 daies in the saide Kylmallock as well to survey serten your landes ther as also to fulfill his requeste, he and we with the ladie his wife wente to your Highnes city of Lymericke, wher mette with us the Erle of Ormonde and ther we taryed 8 daies as well to pacesse sarten matters of variance depending among the citezens there as also to parle with O'Brien, who is the grettest Irisheman of the west of this lande, who cam to the saide cite and ther remayned with us 3 daies, in whiche tyme we moved hym to conforme himselfe to your Majesties obedience upon serten articles; wherunto he requyred, for as miche as he was but one man, all though he were capytayne of his nation, that he moght have time till Shrofetide to consulte with his kinsfolke and frendes and then to make answer to the same accordingly, but for his own parte he didde not deny your Highnes to be king of all Irelande. But it lyked him nothing that we wolde not permitte him nether to buylde his brydge upon the Shenon, nor yet suffer him to have those Irishemen upon his peace that be upon this side the same river, whiche he pretendid hadde bene upon the peace of his predecessors and were wonte to be upon his peace and now be upon your Highnes peace. For I showed hym playnly that rather then he shold have libertie in any of the bothe I wold be at warre with him as long as it pleased your Matie to permitte me. As I here of his answer I will God willing advertise your Majestie accordingly. And if he do not com to honeste conformite I truste with your Highnes supportacion to sette little by his malice and all the frendes he can make, for the Erle of Desmonde and Erle of Ormonde, M<sup>c</sup>William, and Donoghe O'Brien being your Highnes faithfull subjectes as I truste I may now call them, O'Brien shall have little powar to anye your subjectes here. I assure your Majestie that sithe my repaire into this your lande I have not herde better counsell of no man for the reformation of the same then of the saide Erle of Desmond, who undoubted is a very wise and a discrete gentilman and as farre as we can possible perceive a man moste rejoyssing the attaining of your favours that is possible to be. And we were so bolde upon your Majestie to swere him of your counsell. And being among us declared that the variance betwene hys auncestors and the Erles of Ormonde hadde bene the only cause of the decay of that lande and of your subjectes and the grete increase of the Irishemen whiche he now trusted shuld be clerely extirped, so, that bothe he and they moughte now concurre in the sarvice of your Majestie, he will not faile God willing to be here at Dublyne at the Parliaments. Wherefore if it may please your Majestie to geve unto him parlamente robes and some aparell, whereof he hath grete lacke and not furnisht with substance to buye the same, his contrey as yet being in maner wasted with the warres, it shal be to him a grete comforte. I as a poore man gave unto him gowne, jackette, dobllette, hose, shertes, cappes, and a riding cote of velvet, whiche he toke very thankfully and ware the same in Lymericke, and in all places where he wente with me. In the brynging in of this man a servante of your Majesties called Edmonde Sexten hath taken greates paynes, moste humbly beseeching your Highnes that he may perceive by your gracious letters that ye take the same in good parte. For syche thinges as the saide Edmonde was accused to your Majestie it apperithe upon the examination thereof that it miche procedid of malice.

"There is also one M<sup>c</sup>Gillapattricke who is lorde of a faire contrey called Upper Osserie, that, at my firste being here, &c., &c.

"From your Highnes manor of Kylmaynan besides Dublin, the 21st of Februarij.

"Your humble servante and subjecte,

"ANTHONY SENTLEG".

*Superscribed.* "To the king His moste Excellente Majestie."

The document placed by the Earl of Desmond in the hands of the Lord Deputy, and despatched by him to the king, was a formal declaration of allegiance, of his readiness at all times to obey the King's Majesty in all things, as any other Earl in Ireland was held to do, and to respect the rights of his neighbours, Irish and others, which neither his own ancestors, nor any other Earls, were much in the habit of doing. From this detailed instrument of allegiance we learn that "syns the behedding of his grandfather [Thomas the 8th Earl] in Drogheda, coming to a Parliament ther holden," all the Earls his successors "had ever claymed to have priviledge and exemption to speare in no Parliament ne grande counsaill to be holden in this lande: nether to come within walled town under the king's obedience."

This privilege he now renounced for himself and his heirs for ever. Smith, the historian of Cork and Kerry, informs us that James the 7th Earl of Desmond was suffered, during the government of Richard Duke of York, who was his gossip, and of Thomas Earl of Kildare (his kinsman), to raise upon the king's subjects the Irish impositions of Coign and Livery, Cosherings, Bonnaghts, &c. Notwithstanding those illegal extortions, he procured license dated Aug. 11, 1445, twenty-two years before the execution of his successor at Drogheda, to absent himself from all future Parliaments, only sending a sufficient proxy in his room. Thomas the 8th Earl of Desmond was said to have been the first who introduced these extortions amongst the king's subjects, and it was under the pretext of punishing him for doing so that he was beheaded at Drogheda, whither he had been summoned by the Deputy to attend Parliament. Why the later Earls of Desmond held so firmly by the privilege, accorded to James the 7th Earl, of absenting themselves from all Parliaments, and from attendance, on any pretext, on the King's Deputy within any walled town, the document of allegiance signed by James Fitz John ascribes to its true and sufficient cause.

Several years of bitter party warfare and the desolation of all Munster had resulted from the disputed succession to the Earldom of Desmond, and the disputed succession itself, from a marriage disapproved of by the great body of the Geraldines, and believed to have been contracted within the prohibited degrees of kindred. Maurice, the son of Thomas the 12th Earl, had married the daughter of the White Knight, and it was solemnly declared by James Fitz John, the nephew of Thomas, in a letter to the king in support of his own claim, that the contracting parties were cousins germain. This assertion remains, as far as we know, uncontradicted, and it is certain that the chief supporters of James Fitz Maurice, the offspring of this marriage, were the Mac Carthys, to whom he had allied himself by his marriage with a daughter of Cormac Oge, the Lord of Muskerry, and the authorities who, above all things, sought to prevent disturbance in Munster, and who desired to settle the matter by due course of law; and his chief opponents, the great body of the Geraldines, who considered the marriage null, and the fruit of it illegitimate. Upon the irregularity of this marriage depended the justice of the claim of James Fitz John to the Earldom, when Thomas the 12th and John, calling himself 13th Earl, were gathered to their fathers. This long and fiercely contested dispute was settled, not by course of law, nor in accordance with the wish of the king, but by the sword. James Fitz Maurice was slain by his uncle, Maurice Dubh, and James Fitz John found himself without a competitor; but unfortunately he found himself in precisely the situation which had cost the unhappy Fitz Maurice his Earldom, and his life. He too had married within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity; and it was not to be expected that his sept, and their allies, with their passions barely subsiding after their long and fierce quarrel to avert such a stain from the blood of their chieftain, would submit to allow the succession to pass to an heir similarly stigmatized. James Fitz John had made a marriage, probably more abhorrent to his people than his uncle Maurice had done; he had married, not indeed his cousin germain, but his grand niece. His brother, Black Maurice, had several daughters; one of them had married Maurice Roche, Lord Fermoy, and it was her daughter whom James Fitz John had married before the outbreak of the late war for the succession, and by whom he had already a son, his supposed heir. The Earl could not fail to see before him a prospect of the repetition of all the terrible struggles through which he had himself passed, and the probable repudiation of his son. Yielding to the exigency of his situation, and doubtless under pressure of the opinions of all around him, he put away his unfortunate wife, declared the marriage null, and his son illegitimate, and immediately married afresh. His second wife was a daughter of O'Carroll chieftain of Ely O'Carroll, and by her he had a son whom he immediately declared his heir. The King and his Irish Government, wearied also of a civil war which they had not the power to suppress, and profiting by their past experience of the little attention paid to their wishes in the mode of settling such clan quarrels, at once accepted the decision of the Earl.

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The Queen's Governors were shut up within the walls of the towns in which they resided, and O'Neill, the victor of the Blackwater, was acknowledged as supreme ruler of Ireland; his first proceeding with regard to Munster was to desire James Fitz Thomas to assume the title of Earl of Desmond, and to cause a rising out of all the Geraldines; or to make way for John, his younger brother, to do so. No one can be surprised at the readiness with which Fitz Thomas obeyed this summons. Before long he found himself at the head of 8000 well-weaponed men, in part his own followers, in part Bonoughs hired, or sent by O'Neill, and officered by his own followers. The history of this severe struggle for the possession of Ireland is too well known to require further notice of it here, where the purpose chiefly is to present the reader with certain less known passages in the biography of the Ságán Earl. The same stern man, Thomas Earl of Ormonde, who had extinguished the previous rebellion in the blood of Gerald the Fifteenth Earl of Desmond, was charged by the Queen with the suppression of this. The earliest encounter between the Queen's Commander-in-Chief and O'Neill's was of a pacific nature; an interchange of polite letters—the salute of courteous swordsmen before entering upon deadly duel.

The letter of Fitz Thomas was a truthful and firm, though respectful protest against the injustice done to him and his father, and to many of his name and race, and his determination now to right himself and them:—

#### October 8, 1598.—THE EARL OF ORMONDE TO JAMES FITZ THOMAS.

"James Fitz Thomas, Hit seemed to us most strange when wee hard you were combined and ioyned w<sup>th</sup> theis Leinster Traytors lately repayed into Munster, considering how your father Sir Thomas alwaies continued a dutifull subject, and did manie good offices to further Her Mat's service; from w<sup>ch</sup> course if you should degresse, and now ioyne w<sup>th</sup> those unnaturall traytors, we maie think you very unwise; and that you bring upon yourself your own confusion, w<sup>ch</sup> is thende of all traytors, as by daylie experience you have seene; wherefore wee will that you doe p'sentlie make your repaire unto us whersoever you shall hear of our beinge, to lay down your griefes and complaints, if you have anie; and if you stand in anie doubt of yourself theis our l'res shall be for you, and such as shall accompanie you in your cominge and retorneug from us, your safetyes; and further on your drawinge neere the place where wee shalbe we will send you safe conduct for you.

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSERY.

"Given at the Campe of Cowlin, 8 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1598.

"Wee need not put you in mind of the late overthrowe of the Earle your uncle, who was plagued, w<sup>th</sup> his p'takers, by fier, sworde, and famine; and be assured if you p'ceede in anie trayterous actions you will have the like end. What Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> forces have done against the King of Spaine; and is hable to doe against anie other enemye the world hath seene, to Her Highnes immortal fame; by which you maie iudge what she is hable to do against you or anie other that shall become traytors."

*Superscribed.* "To James Fitz Geralde.  
Geve theis in hast."

#### JAMES FITZ THOMAS TO THE EARL OF ORMONDE.

"R<sup>t</sup> Hon: I received your Lo<sup>s</sup> l'res, wherein yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. dothe specifie that you think it verie strange that I shoulde ioyn in ac'on w<sup>th</sup> theis Gent<sup>l</sup> of Leinster. It is soe that I have ever at all times behaved myself dutifullie, and as a true subjects to Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> as ever laie in me; and as it is well known to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. I have showed my willingnes in service against my uncle, and his adherents, wherbie I have bin partie a meane of his destruction. Before my uncle's deseece it maie be remembered by yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. that I have bin in England from my Father, cleamenge title to his inheritance of the House of Desmonde, which is manifestlie known to be his righte; wherupon Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> hath p'mised of her gracious favour to doe me iustice upon the deseece of my uncle, who then was in ac'on, and have allowed me a marke sterling p<sup>r</sup> diem towards my maintenance, untill Her Matt's further pleasure were known, of w<sup>ch</sup> I never receaved but one year's paie; and euer since my uncle's deseece I could gett no hearinge concerninge my inheritance of the Earldome of Desmond, but have bestowed the same upon diuers undertakers, to disinherit me for euer; haueing all this while staid

## APPENDIX.

myself in hope to be gratuslie dealt withall by Her Ma'tie, seeing that I coulde gett no indifferencie, I will followe by all the meane right, trustinge in the Almightye to further the same.

"My verie good Lo: I haue seene so manie bad exsamples in a gent<sup>a</sup> bluddeley false and sinister accusations, cut off and executed men and chief gentl'en of this province cannot think themselves assewered contented to loose their landes and liuings; as for example upon the false informac'on of a scurfey boy for safegard of his leif, a gent<sup>a</sup> of good callinge, being three score years of age, and innocen<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup>all. Donoghe M'Craghe alsoe was executed upon the false in Kerne, who w<sup>thin</sup> a seuenight was putt to death w<sup>thin</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Lop<sup>s</sup> L tooke upon his salvac'on all that he said against the said Dono was subborned by others. Of late a poore cosen of ours, James Fit is so abominable delt w<sup>th</sup>all upon the false informac'on of an Engli murder, who neuer drewe swords in anger all the daies of his life, a that he never gave cause to be suspected of the like. Pierce Lacie w tor, and had the killinge of Rory M'Morrogho, and the apprehensio he left him in the geaole of Limerick, and after all his seruices was of his leif, to be a fugitiue. To be brief w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. Englishmen haue our landes and liuings, but unmercifullie to seeke our leive meanes, under cullor of lawe; and as for my p'te, I will preuent i

"Committinge yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: to God, I am yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>s</sup> loveinge cosen,

"From the Camp at Carrigrone, 12 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1598."

*Superscribed.* "To the Right Hon. my verie good Lo: Ormond and Ossery, Lo: Lieut. General of Her Mat's forces w<sup>thin</sup> theis to be deliuered."

Between the date of this correspondence and the date of the let the writer's capture there was an interval of three years and a few scribable misery for Ireland, of unsparing conflict between the authorities—a conflict carried on and completed by such policy and can so clearly and candidly relate as the pens of the parties engaged. George Carewe was shut up within the walls of Cork or Limerick Desmond, and several thousand "bonies," in possession of all the open and every inlet and outlet of Desmond closed by the forces of Flor province swarming with the soldiers of O'Neill, under Dermot (captains, the following letter was despatched by the Lo: President Secretary of State.

The project it contains, like various similar projects of the wri language of the day, is related with a matchless candour and inge

### AUGUST 17, 1600.—CAREWE TO CECYLL, FRC

. . . James M<sup>c</sup>Thomas direction of his letter is 'To the good cosin the Lo: Mac Carty More,' w<sup>ch</sup> title before he leaue itt, crownes then Desmond is worthe, and therefore it is worthe of c

"2049 [Sir George Carewe] found out one called Nugent, w<sup>ch</sup> Ma'tie seruice uppon the person of John M<sup>c</sup>Thomas; he was imp Carewe] w<sup>th</sup> a horse, a pistoll, some munition, and £10 in money intent did purpose to kill him w<sup>th</sup> his pistoll; and the same day t Nugent and John M<sup>c</sup>Thomas came thither; there was also o footman to Sir Walter Raleghe, unto whom Nugent did reveale him faythefullie to assist him in the enterprize. Not long after, thence towards Arlowe woods, hauinge but onely these two ab and 2 footmen with him. Nugent tooke his pistoll in his han now he woulde kill him; and as he was ready to shoote, Coppir of his hand, and cried Treason! Nugent spurringe his horse to h his horse stumbled, and so he was taken; and w<sup>thin</sup> 2 days (at accusations, beene enforced to confess that he did acquaynt 2049 enterprize), he was fayrelie hanged; of whose deathe there is no protected traitor; and I doe thincke he woulde, uppon the least o

[Carewe] denies his knowledge of the pretence, and for my parte I am ignorant of it. 129 [Dermod O'Connogher] hath sworne to perform the service. 1070 [the Archbishop of Cashel] dothe follow it vehementlie. 2049 [Carewe] woldd willinglie impart the circumstances unto you, but I do forbid him, for feare of interceptings of his lettres; for albeit the passage betweene Limericke and Corke is open, and free from any great force, yet the countrie swarms with stragglinge rebells, and neutral companions that robbe all the messengers they meet w'hall to get intelligences."

The project which 1070 [Miller M'Grath, the Archbishop of Cashel] was following vehemently, met with no better success than the project of Nugent; it was a project for the capture of the Sugán Earl, and it terminated in a manner altogether unexpected and distressing; for the Archbishop had lent two of his sons to fall into a preconcerted ambush: the "bonies," into whose hands they fell had not been admitted into the mystery of the project, and the two young men were roughly handled, stripped, plundered, and put into handlocks till their father should ransom them, which, as the Archbishop piteously represented to Sir R. Cecyll, it cost him £300 to do; a sum which he was not—so he said—possessed of, which he had to borrow, and for which he was constrained to pay £30 yearly.

The incident of the capture and rescue of the Sugán Earl of Deamond, here alluded to, has been passed by with alight notice in these pages because it has been related with much detail in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, works in the hands of all men; but this notable scheme of Sir George Carewe to possess himself of the person of the Earl, which needed for its entire success only the means of conveying him, when captured, from Castle Lishin to Cork, through a country in the possession of the Geraldines and their allies, and swarming with their bonaghts, is related with even more detail by Carewe himself in his correspondence with Sir Robert Cecyll.

The following passage from the *Annals of the Four Masters* presents us with a crowd of Fitzgeralds who flew to the rescue of their chief, not all of whom are discoverable in their precise places in the Genealogical Charts accompanying these pages:—

#### ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS—A. D. 1600, p. 2173.

"As soon as the Geraldines had heard of the capture of the Earl, and the perilous position in which he was placed, the descendants of Maurice Fitzgerald collected from every quarter, on a certain day, to the neighbourhood of *Caislen-an-Lisin*. Thither repaired Mac Maurice of Kerry, *i. e.*, Patrickin, the son of Thomas, son of Edmond; the Knight of Kerry, *i. e.*, William, the son of John, son of William; the Knight of Glin, *i. e.*, Edmond, the son of John, son of Thomas; the White Knight, *i. e.*, Edmond, the son of John; and the brother of the Earl himself, viz., John, the son of Thomas Roe, and a gentleman of the Burkes, whose name was William, the son of John of the Shamrocks."

Circumstances over which Carewe had little influence were in the mean time reducing the armed force of James Fitz Thomas to numbers so small that the Lord President no longer submitted to so restricted a frontier as the walls of Cork; and he wrote to Cecyll that, "were it not for that fool Florence MacCarthy, whose designs he much distrusted, and who had so placed his people and Bonaghts as to be able, should he venture into the open country, to cut off his return to Cork, he would go at once to Limerick." When in much perplexity how to proceed, Carewe learned that so many of the Earl's Bonaghts had been withdrawn from him by O'Neill, who was himself hard pressed by the Lord Deputy, that Fitz Thomas no longer deemed it prudent to occupy the open country, and was sending portions of his force into the fastnesses of Arlow. It was whilst himself engaged in this march, with a divided force, and encumbered with baggage, that a body of cavalry, detached by Sir George Thornton, under Captain Grame, surprised him. It would seem that panic seized them, for they were scattered at once, and with little resistance. The whole force broke and fled; their baggage was all abandoned, and multitudes of them slain. From that day the Geraldines never rallied again to any purpose. The Earl dismissed the remainder of his followers, and determined to remain himself in hiding till the following Autumn, when he had full assurance of the arrival of the Spanish expedition, which was preparing, as was well known to all men. But it was no part of the design of Carewe to allow the fugitive this period of security, and the Geraldines' opportunity for the reassembling of their forces. No wise discouraged by past failures, in which the penalty of ill success had fallen only upon those who had, for sufficient consideration, encountered the risk, the Lord President meditated other "drafts," and sought other implements for their accomplishment. So fertile a mind so abundant a choice of "draftsmen," and such ample means as were found in the Queen's

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"The White Knight called James Fitz Thomas, requiring him to come out and render himself his Prisoner. But contrarywise, hee, presuming upon the greatness of his quality, coeming to the Caues mouth, required Redmond Burke and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight (for both hee and they were his naturall followers), but the wheele of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawn they entered the Caue, and without resistance disarming him and his foster Brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who carried him to his Castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a messenger to Sir George Thornton, to pray him to send some of the Garrison of Kilmallock to take the charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of Captaine Francis Slingsby, who, marching with his Company to Kilvenny, had the Prisoner delivered unto him, and from thence with as much expedition as might bee, the White Knight, Sir George Thornton, and Captaine Slingsby brought them unto the President, then residing at Shandon Castle, adjoyning to Corke. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his servant it may be doubted, though he had one thousand pound given him from Her Majestie for the service.

"The President having thus gotten his long desired prey, not adventuring to haue him kept in the Towne, appointed him lodging and a keeper within Shandon Castle, where himselfe then remayned, and there held him in Irons, until he was sent into England, which was yet deferred; for the President being informed by the Queenes learned Councell, that if he should dye before his arraignment, the Queene could not be interested in his Lands, but by Act of Parliament, and also his brother John was not debarred by the Law from the title, which this Pretender holdeth to be good in the Earldome of Desmond.

"When the White Knight had delivered his prisoner, James Fitz Thomas, into Captaine Slingsbey's custody, he told him, now the house [*sic*, perhaps a misprint for "horse"] is yours, take care and charge of him."

The same evening that the White Knight had performed this great service, he wrote an account of it to Carewe; and, without loss of time, Carewe passed on the welcome intelligence of it to the Lords of the Privy Council:—

#### A. D. 1601, MAY 29TH.—THE WHITE KNIGHT TO CAREWE.

"My dutie most humble remembreth to yo<sup>r</sup> good Lo. being not unmyndfull of the great chardge yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. gave me divers tymes, for the seeking out of James Fitz Thomas, and especially when nowe last I was at Cork, I have, both to satisfie yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. as also to manifest my willingness to doe my Prince service, all this while endeavoured my selfe to enquier after the said Ja. for compassinge of w<sup>h</sup> purpose I protest to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. I could tak noe rest, for I thinck if any other should take him but my selfe, my harte would burste: I came in conference w<sup>th</sup> the harper, Dermot O'Doan, John Shannyghane the priest, and the Baldons, whom yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. knoweth to be the<sup>r</sup> last releavers and company, privately offeringe eurie of them p'ticulerlie to have her Ma<sup>ty</sup> mercy and favor extended to them, their wiffes and children, w<sup>th</sup> other great rewards, about w<sup>h</sup> matter I spent a long tyme, yet eurie one of them dyd put me of, taking their ots they knew not whear the saide James was at all. Yet I found them p'lured therein because nowe I know the priest and Doan was that very day w<sup>th</sup> him. Well when that way failed me, I brought before me all those of my country that I moste trusted and that I knewe to have loved me most. I fell into private conference w<sup>th</sup> eurie of them p'ticulerly, shewinge them what great danger was lik to ensue to me & my country unless I had don some service upon James Fitz Tho., who alwaies was founde to be bordering upon my country. Wherefore they weare to be suspected for him. And the more to procure them to ventur themselves for me in my extremitie, I published amongst them that Sir George Thorneton was bounde for me body for body to appear at the next Ceasions. Wherupon I eftsoones praied them as they loved me & my country, & to avoyd such great inconvenience, that they would wourck all the meanes they could to learne me newes of the said James, to w<sup>h</sup> eurie one answered that they knewe nothing of him at all.

"At last seeing me in that p'plexitie, one whom I protest I least suspected of all my country, came to me a little before supper, and told me that the said Ja. and one Thomas Roe Offeighie, lay at such a cave or denn be Slevgrott. I unwillinge to looss my opportunitie, seeing it pleased God to send me such good newes, repaired thither pretly w<sup>th</sup> a very few Company, and being right ou<sup>r</sup> the said cave or den, sent down 3 or 4 men, whose fyndinge them their, James retourned me one fourth, putinge me in mynde of his kyndred, and praing me not to remember him at that tyme for any harme he dyd me before, promysinge to make greats amends hereof, and that he was sure to be well hable to performe it w<sup>thin</sup> two monethes. for that he should have, or that tyme 6000 men well provided w<sup>th</sup> ammuni-

tion and other necessaries in Mounster, w<sup>th</sup> many other unreasonable offers w<sup>h</sup> should be to my greates proffits. When I would not accept any thinge at his hands, but told him that he was nowe her Ma<sup>ty</sup> prison<sup>r</sup>, then began he to raile at me, and laboured my followers and servants to forsake me and take his p<sup>te</sup>, and that he would reward them lardglie with landes for their posteritie for ever, and other gifts of great value, wherof he failed, as of the rest. This is the maner of his takinge, havinge him and the saide Feighie in my safe keeping w<sup>thin</sup> my Castell, to be presented to her Ma<sup>ty</sup> and as I have p<sup>o</sup>rmed this w<sup>th</sup> manie other principall servises heretofore for her Highnes, even soe doe I hopp that this shall not be the last. I sent to Sir George Thornton to Kilmallock p<sup>re</sup>sente to bring me a good garde of horse and foote to leade him to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. to Corck, tomorrowe. Even soe humbly tak my leaue, resting yo<sup>r</sup> Honor's ever to doe yo<sup>r</sup> L. service.

"Kilmeheeny this evenynge, being the 29th of May, 1601.

"EDD: GYBBOX."

#### A. D. 1601, JUNE 3.—CAREWE TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"It may please yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup>. the 29<sup>th</sup> of May (being the next day after the date of my last to yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> hearwith) the White Knight (by me employed and earnestly spurred on to repaire his former errors) did his best endeavors w<sup>h</sup> (I thank God) had the successes desired. For the day aforesaid havinge notice by his espyalls wheare James Fitz Thomas (the usurping Erle of Desmond) laye hidden w<sup>thin</sup> his contrie in the mountayne of Slewgrott, in an obscur caue many fathomes under the grounde, upon intelligence w<sup>th</sup> such companie as then weare in his howss w<sup>th</sup> him, not being of weaponed men above 8 in number, repaired to the place, discovered and there tooke him, and one horseman more who attended him, and brought them to one of his owne castles, from whence Sr George Thornton w<sup>th</sup> a good garde conveyed them them safe to my hows, where in Irons he remayneth, out of the w<sup>ch</sup> I dare not els trust him to be kept, being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all sortes (as well in this towne as in the contrie), that in my life I have ever known.

"I cannot sufficiently comend unto yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> this dutifull act of the White Knightes, who p<sup>o</sup>rmed the same more in respect of his dutie to Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> then for the benefit of the £400 head money proclaymed, and presently to be paide, for the doings whereof he was not ignoraunt to purchase to himself the generall malice of the Prouince, wherby his desert is made the greater, and (but by himself) I protest unto yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> I do not know any man in Mounster by whom I might have gotten him. Neither may I leave unrecommended unto yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> the dilligent and painefull endeuo<sup>r</sup>s of Sr George Thornton, who next unto the Knight himself, hath best deserved, being the chiefest and most effectuall instrument by me employed herein, and therefore (as well for their incoradgmets to p<sup>er</sup>severe in doings Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> service as to move others to forward the same) I most humbly besech yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> that in her Ma<sup>ty</sup> name, you wolde take p<sup>ar</sup>ticular notice of y<sup>t</sup>, and by yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> to give them the thanks they deserue. For this traitors hope (notw<sup>th</sup>standing all the miseries w<sup>h</sup> in his tyme of distress he hath sustayned) was nothing abated; every day expecting either by Irish or Spanishe ayde (w<sup>ch</sup> ayde from Spayne (as he tells me) he was confident to receave before harvest) to be no lesse hable to mentayne the warrs then in former tymes; assuring yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> that he was the most potent Gerraldyne that ever was of any of the Eries of Desmond, his auncestors, as may well appear by the numbers of Prouincials p<sup>ro</sup>doned and cutt short since my comings hither, as also by the numbers of the Bonnoughtes by me from time to time banished.

"The manner of his apprehension (for yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> more p<sup>ar</sup>ticular satisfaccon) is expressed in l<sup>re</sup> of the White Knightes unto me w<sup>ch</sup> herewith I send yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup>.

"I once purposed to haue sente the arch traitor by this passage into England; but upon better consideration (whereof I hope yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> will give good allowance) I do staye him for a tyme, and by the same do hope to avoide all inconveniences that may happen; for y<sup>f</sup> he should dye before he come to his tryall (as the judges heare informe me) the Queene (but by Act of Parliament) can not be interested in his lands; and also his brother John (by the same reason) is not by the lawe debarred from the title w<sup>ch</sup> this Pretender holdes to be good, to the Erledom of Desmond: for this reasons (by their opinions) I have resolved to have him arraigned, and adjudged heare, and then do thincke y<sup>t</sup> meete he be sent unto England, and left as yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> shall please to dispose of him. And because y<sup>t</sup> is likewise by the lawyers told me, that a man condemned in this Realme cannot, by the ordinary course of Lawe, upon the same Indictment

be executed in England, I purpose to send with him 2 or 3 indictments ready drawn with sufficient matter, by w<sup>h</sup> he may be there at all tymes arraigned.

"The reasons that induceth me to send him lyvinge into Englande are groundd upon an apparaunt dowt conceaued that as soone as this Archtreator shall be executed, his brother John will ymediatly assume the title he did, and prechaunce thereby prove no less powerfull than this traytor hath bin; whereas (whilest he lyves) he cannot make any pretence to move the naturall followers, and dependaunts of the bows of Desmond to assist him; likewise I hold yt (under reformati'on of yo<sup>r</sup> graue judgments) to be very daungerous to contynue him any long tyme prisoner in Irelande, beinge (as aforesaid) so exceedingly beloued as he is, not daringe to comit him into any hands, ow<sup>t</sup> of myne owne.

"G. CAREWE.

"Cork, 8<sup>d</sup> June, 1601."

When safe, and in irons, in Carewe's own house (Shandon Castle), out of which he dared not else trust him to be kept, so exceedingly was he beloved of all sorts, overtures were made to the captive by the Lord President, with the purpose of making him, in exchange for a promise of life and Her Majesty's grace, an instrument for the capture or killing of even a more powerful rebel than he had himself been; but the first care of Carewe became, as the reader has seen by his letter of 3rd June to the Privy Council, to have him arraigned and adjudged, without which the lawyers declared Her Majesty could not, except by special Act of Parliament, be interested in his lands. It was the custom both of Carewe and Cecyll in their correspondence, to accompany their despatches to and from the Privy Council, with letters sometimes absolutely private, sometimes intended for communication to particular members of the ministry. The letter of the 3rd June was to the Privy Council; on the day following, Carewe wrote to Sir Robert Cecyll a letter which contained a foreshadowing of one of those notable inspirations of statesmanship which Carewe at times forced upon trial, and failure, in spite of the reluctant concurrence of Cecyll, and occasionally of the opposition of the Queen herself:—

#### JUNE 4, 1601.—CAREWE TO CECYLL.

"The titularye Erle, my prisoner, is very confident of there cominge (the Spaniards), w<sup>h</sup> made him to lead the miserable poore lyfe he did, in hope to be of greater abillitie to continue the warre then at the first; yett he is muche reserved in his speache, and will hardlye discourse anythings that may aduance Her Matie's service; but after a fewe dayes I doubt not but to make him him speake more freely."

The interval between the 4th and the 18th of June, when Carewe wrote next to Cecyll, was spent in the endeavour to teach his prisoner the necessity of freer speech. In the first hours of his captivity Fitzthomas had written to the President a letter or "Relation," which will be presently laid before the reader, in which he made such apology as he was able, in palliation, as far as it might serve, of his joining the rebellion which others, not he, had commenced. Two inducements chiefly are pleaded why his life might be spared; one plainly intended for the consideration of Carewe and Her Majesty's ministers, viz., "that his life would be of more value to the State than his death." And the other an appeal to the heart of the Queen—"He defied any Englishman to charge him with hindering him either in body or goods; but as many as ever came into his presence he conveyed them away from time to time." To this Relation of Fitz Thomas no allusion is made in the letters of the 3rd and 4th of June, of which portions are before the reader, its enclosure is not even mentioned in either of them; but in another letter of the 4th June, from Carewe to Cecyll, he says, "he had yesterday sent him by Patrick Crosbie four packets;" of these two only are in the Record Office, and doubtless it was in one of the missing packets that the enclosure of the Relation was announced, and, in all probability, Carewe's judgment of its contents, and some detail of his project regarding O'Neill, sent with it. But the letter of his captive was by no means such a document as with a little further negotiation he hoped to obtain from him. By the 18th of June he was able to write to Cecyll—"James Fitzthomas is arraygned and adiudged. I would have sent him and Florence [Mac Carthy] this passadge, but I hope every day to heare out

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of England to know Her Matie's pleasure; but yf the West I will send them presently unto Her Matie, be that Mounster affordes." Although this letter speaks so p prisoner away to England as soon as the wind should serve, he negotiations with Fitz Thomas for the furtherance of a scheme to secure, alive or dead, the person of O'Neill. Hence no 800 paragraph of his letter in which he promised the early despatch land, than he added—"James M<sup>c</sup> Thomas, to redeeme his own brother John, and Pierce Lacy, to gett me Tirone alyve or dead confident hope thatt upon thatt service done, thatt the Queene him; and thatt I may haue the better ground to moue them to p beseeche you that I may haue a lettre from Her Matie unto m uppon accomplishinge the service uppon Tirone thatt James M<sup>c</sup> to lyve, and be sett at libertie; and thatt his brother John and likewise pardoned."

This proposal of Carewe, which he calls a promise of his President Tyrone alive or dead, reads like the promises of W Combust, or a score of others, for the drawing of such a "draft" upon a rebel as the President was most familiar with. How else than the captive's brother and Pierce Lacy, the parties to be employed fugitives, and living under the protection of O'Neill, expect—e (which Carewe seems to have considered a matter of course and action in the life of either warranted him in supposing) to effect powerful chieftain? It is remarkable that Carewe should have project so practicable as that he urged the Queen to promise life who had kept Munster in rebellion for nearly four years, and f Her Majesty was under engagement at the time to pay a thousand Knight. Whatever may have been the precise nature of the deal with his prisoner, two months passed away, so persistent was it to the west, before anything more was said about sending him to

In the vindication of the character of a man who openly acknowledges assassins to remove an adversary otherwise beyond his reach, interest; but to rescue from a calumnious accusation the fame of the matter of his rebellion, ever proved himself an honourable man, is by no means a matter of the same indifference. It is not that between the writing of his "Relation" on the 3rd, and that Carewe wrote that he had promised to procure for him O'Neill's prisoner may have promised the capture, or the murder, of the chieftain; but it is absolutely impossible to believe, without other evidence of Carewe, that he did so. All that we have in evidence of promise is contained in the "Relation" itself. Not a syllable any attempt upon the liberty or life of O'Neill; and even the submission of his brother and Pierce Lacy was conditional assurance of life and freedom. As to the nature of the proposal remains no ambiguity; nor would there be any as to the man Fitz Thomas, but for the assertion of the President to Cecyll to accomplish it. However the matter may have been, or on what negotiations fell through, whether he himself became at last incapable, or whether his prisoner shrunk from some one or other certain that by the 13th of August the scheme of the Lord President on that day he wrote to Cecyll that Fitz Thomas was but a man, and, as the wind served at last, he had made him over to Sir George Weir, veyance to England, and the Lords might dispose of him to the

CAREWE TO CECYLL. CORK, 13TH OF AUGUST.

"It may please your Honnour, the 6<sup>th</sup> of this moneth I delivered you, but the wynde served nought to deliver att sea untill the next, thatt by the nexte James Fitz Thomas and Florence M<sup>c</sup> Carleton's soners into England, w<sup>ch</sup> now is done by this bearer Sir

kinsman, &c. I do likewise send you the examinations of James FitzThomas; he can say little of any worthe, being but a dull spirited traytor, and understandinge no more of his owne business then by his counsayle was put into him. Before S<sup>r</sup> Anthony w<sup>th</sup> his charge do com to London, I humblye pray you to send a direction whither he shall carry them, thatt they may be disposed of to their Lordships' liking.

Your Honors humbly to serve you

GEORGE CAREWE."

There remains now but to lay before the reader the "Relation" of the Sugan Earl, not precisely as it is printed in the "Pacata Hibernia," but complete, with the sole observation accompanying it by Carewe, and its endorsements, as the reader may see it now amongst H. M. State Papers. Connected with this document is an incident which this writer thinks will have some interest for his reader, though it had evidently none for the author of that history. When the letter left the hand of the prisoner, it was with a signature entirely different from that which it now bears: it was signed "James Desmond." In this Carewe discovered an assertion of his right to the Earldom, and sent it back to be signed otherwise. The unhappy captive had used the signature familiar to him during the three prosperous years of his rebellion. The reader has seen in the letter which Fitz Thomas had written to the Earl of Ormonde, at the commencement of the outbreak in Munster, that when the great rebel his uncle was living, and it was the policy of the English ministers to promote disunion amongst the Fitz Gerald, a promise had been made to him by the Queen that "Justice should be done to his father in the matter of his inheritance, as soon as the usurping Earl of Desmond should be overthrown;" but when the Earl's death occurred, the temptation of so huge a forfeiture as the lands of nearly all the Fitzgeralds, caused the royal promise to be forgotten; but the justice of his father's claim to the earldom had been acknowledged, and a pension promised, and for a quarter of a year paid, in pledge for the fulfilment of such promise. And when, at the demise of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, his rights passed to his eldest son, there remained to him no other signature, unless he consented to abandon the Queen's promise and his own birthright, than the one he attached to the Relation which he penned from his prison, and which Carewe rejected. It is remarkable that the President, whose sharp sight so readily detected a claim to the earldom in that signature, should have failed to discover the same claim, and in words identical, in the very first line of the same document:—

#### RELATION OF JAMES FITZ THOMAS. 2 OF JUNE, 1601.

"The relation of me James Desmond to the Right Honorable S<sup>r</sup> George Carewe L. President of Munster, moste humbly beseechinge yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: to certifie her Ma<sup>ty</sup> and the LLs of her moste honorable Counsell of the same, hopinge in the Allmightie that her Highnes of her accustomed clemencie and mercie, by your intercession, will take moste gracious and mercyfull consideration therof, to the ende that her Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s realme of Ireland shall be the better planted and maynteyned in good Government by his release.

"Fyrst it maye please yo<sup>r</sup> Ho: to consyder that this action at the begynninge was neuer pretended intended nor drawne by me nor by my consent, but by my brother John, and Piers Lacye hauinge the oathes and promyses of dyuers noblemen and gent of this Prouynce to maynteyne the same, and not ever consented unto by me untill S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Norreys lefte Kilmallocke, and the Iryshe forces camped at Rekele in Connolloghe wher they staye 5 or 6 dayes, the moste parte of the country combyninge and adioyninge to them, and undertoke to holde w<sup>th</sup> my brother John if I had not come to them. The nexte cossions (before theis proceedinges) at Corke, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Norreys arrested me in persone there, for my brother, he beinge then suspected by him, and intended to keepe me in perpetuall pryson for him, untill I made my escape, by this the intent of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Norreys beinge knowne, the fear and terrification thereof drew me into this action. And had I byn assured of my liberty, and not clapt up in pryson for my brothers offences, I had never entred into this action. Farther I was bordered w<sup>th</sup> moste Englishe neighbours of the gent<sup>e</sup> of this Prouynce. I defyde any Englishe that can charge me w<sup>th</sup> hynderinge of them ether in bodie or goods, but as many as ever came in my presence I conuayed them awaye from tyme to tyme.

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"Also it is to be expected that the Spanysh forces are to sommer, and O'Neile will sende up the strongest armye of north w<sup>th</sup> my brother John, the L. of Lixnawe, and Piers Lacy; and Munster the moste parte of the countrey will adioyne unto them, and many other circumstances of service, the sauinge of my lyfe her Ma<sup>tie</sup> then my death, for if it may please her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to be reclayme my brother, the L. of Lixnawe and Piers Lacy if it be gracious unto them, or els so dylligently worke against them by yo<sup>r</sup> dyrections, that they shall not be able to make heade or sty by the sauinge of my lyff her Highnes will wynde the hartes subiectes and people in Ireland, my owne seruice, and contynue dutyfull sorte all the dayes of their lyffs.

"Farther, I moste humbly beseeche yo<sup>r</sup> Honor to foresee the of my sept and Race alyve. The one is in England my unkle Garat lybertie by her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and in hope to extend her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s fauour and my cozen Morishe Fitz John in Spayne; wherw<sup>th</sup> it may be of theis if I were gone, by her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s fauour might be brought to the house. It maye therefore please her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to be gracious God and the worlde that I will be trewe and faythfull to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> meanes her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s Gouernment maye be the better settled, and allyance for euer bound to praye for her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s lyff longe to con

originally written

"JAMES GYERALLDE.

"He first signed his name James Desmond, w<sup>ch</sup> I sent him he blotted it out and hath written his name in a hand not the ortographie w<sup>ch</sup> before he assumed the name of Erle he w<sup>ch</sup> whereby itt appeares how loathe he is to leave the name of De

*Dorso, in Carewe's hand.* "James M<sup>r</sup> Thomas, 1601.

*Superscribed.* "For Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s especiall Affayres, To the R<sup>t</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup>able the LLs and others of Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s Honorable Privie [Council]. George Carewe, 3 Junii 16[01].

*Dorso, in Cecyll's hand.* "June the 3rd, 1601, Lo. President of Munster, to the LLs. R[ecceived] the 7th, at Greenwich. S<sup>r</sup> G. Caro.

In seeking a signature that would not wound the loyal President, the prisoner did well not to fall back upon "the assumed name of Earl." He had borne that as long as death it ceased to be his legitimate signature; and when he had no means of resisting, rather than re-assume it, he invented a new one. The signature which he now presented to the reader (see plate, p. 497, *supra*) rejected by the President, which he had borne during the brief time when, to use the words of Carewe himself, "he was the only son of any of the Earls of Desmond his ancestors," and the heavy mass of ink with which he endeavoured to efface it.

Of the two other facsimiles which accompany that of Fitz Queen's Earl, was to the writer as great a novelty as that time by his cousin, then in Shandon Castle. He too had been to unlearn the signature of his boyhood. For more than twenty years known as "Mr. Garrolde," although he had been allowed to be called "Gerald," and had been taught by his Tower schoolmaster to write in calm characters which he subsequently used when allowed to write, which his cousin was forced by Carewe to relinquish.

The third of these facsimiles was the signature of a man who, if we may credit Russell's narrative or the history of O'Daly, was the most heroic Geraldine who ever bore that illustrious name! He is familiar to the reader of the history of his times as "the Arch-Traitor;" but as the bearer of the name now before the reader, he is not recognizable; and yet that signature contains in itself an epitome of his political career. It has been seen in the earlier pages of this memoir that his hopes for the overthrow of English rule in Ireland depended mainly upon his procuring a foreign force for an invasion of the country; that to obtain this he had visited most of the Catholic Courts of Europe, and had been received with especial favour and distinction in Spain and Italy, and that from the Pontifical States chiefly he had procured the force which had landed at Smerwick, and which after surrender Lord Grey had deliberately, and in cold blood, butchered. It was in furtherance of his endeavour to obtain foreign aid that he adopted the tradition accredited beyond the Alps, of the Tuscan origin of his race, and assumed a signature such as the more vividly recalled, and more appropriately fitted, the resumption rather than the initiative of a project of the invasion of Ireland, which had been matter of treaty in times not far remote, and which he could represent but as suspended by the death of the eleventh and the domestic troubles of the twelfth Earl of Desmond his ancestors. He signed his name precisely as a cadet of a noble Florentine or Neapolitan family, with whom the Norman "Fitz" was not in use, would have then written, or would now write it; not "Fitz Maurice," nor "Fitz Gerald," nor "James Gerald," but "James of the Geraldines," or, as in the facsimile, "de Geraldini." It is to be noted that the date of the Sugan Earl's signature given in the plate is incorrect; it should read 1601 instead of 1607.

With the great "draft" successfully drawn by the White Knight, and a similar one by Carewe himself upon Florence Mac Carthy, and "the despatch of these two counterfeit Earls of their own making" to be dealt with in England, the connexion of Carewe with his captives terminated; their after life is to be sought for in the records of the great English State prison, the Tower of London; that of Florence Mac Carthy, lasting forty years longer, was ever before the Queen and her successors; for as long as he lived he employed himself in composing endless appeals to Cecyll and to a numerous succession of Secretaries of State after him, in constant demands to be brought to trial "for that no charge had ever been made against him," in unwearied justification of himself, "to the great displeasure of my Lord Clopton" [Carewe], and in a manful fight, from his ever changing prisons, with a multitude of squatters, titled and others, upon his lands. But of his fellow-prisoner, the unfortunate James Fitz Thomas, from the day the Tower gates closed behind him, a single incident only is discovered that may enable us to measure the mind of the man who had undertaken to overthrow the authority of the Sovereign, and to drive the English out of Munster. The Tower bills, which would doubtless have revealed to us the expenses of the last illness of the Sugan Earl, and the cost of his funeral, and of some slab, if any were placed to mark his grave in the Chapel vaults, have perished; and it remains matter of uncertainty how many years his dreary captivity lasted; some say eight—some twelve; but fortunately the accounts sent to the Treasury for diet, &c., of the prisoners at the time of their arrival at the Tower have been preserved, and from them we learn the effect upon the mind of each of them of sudden solitude and of a hopeless future, coming quickly upon the downfall of great fortunes. The bodily health of both gave way; the stronger mind stood firm, the weaker wavered, though we may hope but for a while:—

"The demands of Sir John Peyton, Lieutenant of Her Majesty's Tower of London for one quarter of a year from St Michal's day 1602 till the feast of our Lord God next:—

"For Florence M<sup>c</sup> Carthy—

"For the diet and charges of Florence M<sup>c</sup>Carthy for the foresaid  
12 weeks and 8 days, at 53<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> per week . . . . . 33<sup>li</sup> 6<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup>

"For his washing, and to the Barber, for Apparel and other  
necessaries . . . . . 7<sup>li</sup> 13<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>

"Item for physicke, Surgeon, and one to attend him in his sick-  
ness . . . . . 8<sup>li</sup> 17<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>

"For James M<sup>c</sup> Thomas—

"Sayd tyme at 3<sup>li</sup> per week, physicke, Sourageon, and Watcher with  
him in his Lunacy."

Other similar bills, sent in quarterly till Lady-day, A. D. 1604, are extant, at which time both prisoners were removed—one to the Gatehouse, and thence to the Fleet, and the other to the Marshalsea.

## APPENDIX.

Mr. Lodge asserts that the Earl died in 1608, and was int Tower, having been attainted the 10<sup>th</sup> of March, 1600. He was White Knight, but had no issue. The few particulars that history of John, the brother of James Fitz Thomas, and of this son of John, the last of the direct male issue of James Fitz ; interest for the reader, more especially as it chanced that the last race found himself dependant upon the patronage of the writer with one of the humbler of the followers of his house—for the title position, and enabled him to obtain service in the army of the was spent.

"John sailed away for Spain, and lived there for some years wise adequate to his princely birth. The King, urged thereto by allowed him but a very slender pension, forgetful, as it would seem child of the great Geraldine. He soon afterwards died, leaving Garrett, whom the King of Spain, at my instance, promoted to Count. . . . The loved youth, created Count, at my instance, died in of Spain; the scanty pension allowed him by the King was a dignity and rank which belonged to the heir of Desmond. In fact then at the King's court, were preferred to him, and these were compare with the Geraldine in his own country. Wherefore, fortune, he abruptly left Spain, and taking service in his Caesar's him well and chivalrously for three years; but at last, when he had town, then besieged, he was called on to surrender; this he refused to die of starvation than betray his trust. Thus did his career

In concluding his history, and striving to account for the "do of the Geraldines, notwithstanding all they had endured for religion attribute it to the inscrutable ways of God; but he points to the he suggests may have brought Divine vengeance upon them. Fitz Thomas (9th) Earl of Desmond, in his castle of Rathkeale brother John; 2nd—The horrid murder of James Fitz Maurice 3rd—All the cruel acts of rapacity and blood committed (O'Daly's "Hist. of the Geraldines;" translated by Rev. C. P.

Mr. Lodge writes that the son of John (Garrett) died in Germany issue; "so that," he adds, "in him ended the heirs male of the 8th Earl of Desmond." In concluding this very brief memoir may be permitted to repeat the passage from the letter of his eulogist not unworthy of the last of these great Anglo-Irish Earls brought," says the Lord President, "by Sir George Thornton house, where, in irons, he remaineth; out of the which I dare not being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all so as in the country) that in my life I have known."



## KILMALKEDAR.

BY ARTHUR HILL, ESQ., B. E., A. R. I. B. A.

THE Dingle promontory, County Kerry, is rich in archaeological remains, possessing, besides many examples of earth works and Ogham inscription, a complete series of stone buildings from the "clagháns," or so called "bee hive huts," down to the watch towers of recent years. Though none of these works are conspicuous for their size, they become most interesting from the positions they occupy in regular sequence.

In the valuable MS. entitled the "Martyrology of Donegal," recently published by the Irish Archaeological Society, under the 14th of May is the following entry:—

"Anno domini 636. MAOLCETHAIR, son of Ronán, son of Uladth of Cill Malchedair, near the shore of the sea to the west of Brandon Hill. He was of the race of Fiatach Finn, Monarch of Erin."

In the locality thus clearly indicated are to be seen at the present day three very remarkable buildings; two of them known as "oratories," and the third as "the church" at Kilmalkedar, a structure the work of two different periods. Disregarding the bee-hive huts, the evident predecessors of the series, and other works of later date, I shall confine this Paper to a brief review of these three buildings, and show that they form but consecutive steps in the development of one style of building, which culminated in the early part of the twelfth century; and show that the date of the oratories is not likely to be so very remote as many suppose.

The oratories are rectangular structures of dry masonry, stone-roofed on the corbel principle; that is, the stones are horizontally bedded, but over-lapping, so that the side-walls meet and are covered by a course of flags and heavy stones to form the ridge. They are provided with a door in the west, and a small window in the east end, but are entirely destitute of architectural detail.

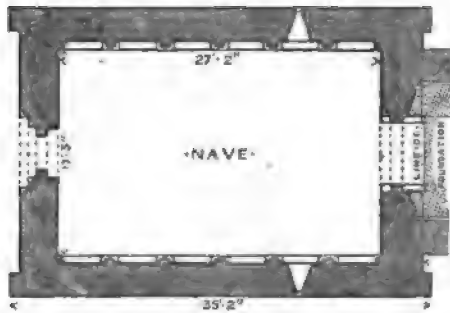
The first, and nearest to Kilmalkedar, is considered to be one of the most ancient Christian buildings in the

country. It is of remarkable appearance, the inclination of the gables, as well as the side peculiar ogee form of the roof inside; as described and illustrated in a Paper by Du Noyer, published in the "Journal" January 1864, Vol. v., second series, p.

The other stands about a mile below is called the Oratory of Gallerus; it is a splendid specimen of dry masonry, nearly upright, and the roof is in the pointed arch, springing gently from the ridge. Several illustrations of it may be found in the "Ecclesiastical Architecture" from which I take the following description.

"This oratory is wholly built of the green stone, externally 23 feet long, by 10 feet broad [internally on the outside to the apex of the pyramid. The height in its west wall, is 5 feet 7 inches high, 2 feet 4 inches and 1 foot 9 inches at the top; and the walls are on a base. Each of the gables was terminated by a socket, the sockets of which now remain."

The east window is round-headed inside, while the window of the other oratory is with a horizontal lintel, and the jambways, so that the narrowest part of the middle of the wall.



Plan of Kilmalkedar Church

The third building to which I refer is the church at Kilmalkedar, is a richly

the Celtic style, with the characteristic features of sloping jambs to both window and door-openings. The church, as will be seen by the plan on the preceding page, consists of a nave and chancel, the latter being an addition made at a period previous to the introduction of pointed architecture into the country. The nave, which is considerably larger than either of the oratories, was originally terminated to the east by a small arched recess or apse 5 feet wide, most likely intended to contain the seat of the priest, the altar standing, as that in Cormac's chapel must have done, independently from the walls, and as is also the custom in the Greek Church to the present day.

At 3 feet 3 inches from the nave are to be found one or two courses of a wall across the opening, partially covered by two rude steps built with round stones, evidently recent work, and buried considerably below the present surface of the ground. The accompanying Plate shows a section of that portion which now remains. At each side parts of two arched niches remain, which have been mis-called windows by several observers; windows they could not have been, as they are constructed altogether within the thickness of the wall, as shown by the dotted line. At A. A. are two pair of holes, probably intended at some period to carry a screen across the archway. The chamber was ceiled with a barrel vault, and finished externally by a simple gable, which was removed, on the addition of the chancel, in order to form the entrance thereto from the nave. The arch is extremely ornamental in its character, and closely resembles the west door of Ardfert Cathedral, and the north porch of Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, in some of its details.

The entrance doorway, which, as usual in all early buildings in this country, is in the west end, is formed with an arch in two "orders" richly carved, with shafts, &c., and the archway is filled with a tympanum carried on independent piers. The interior of the nave is decorated with a series of half-round pilasters that divide the side walls into panels; and the windows, of which there are two, occupy opposite bays. The nave had a stone roof constructed on the same principle as the oratories; on the inside the form was curved, commencing immediately above the panels which decorate the side-walls, but externally

Section through  
Chancel Arch.  
Kilmelchedere.  
Co. Kerry.

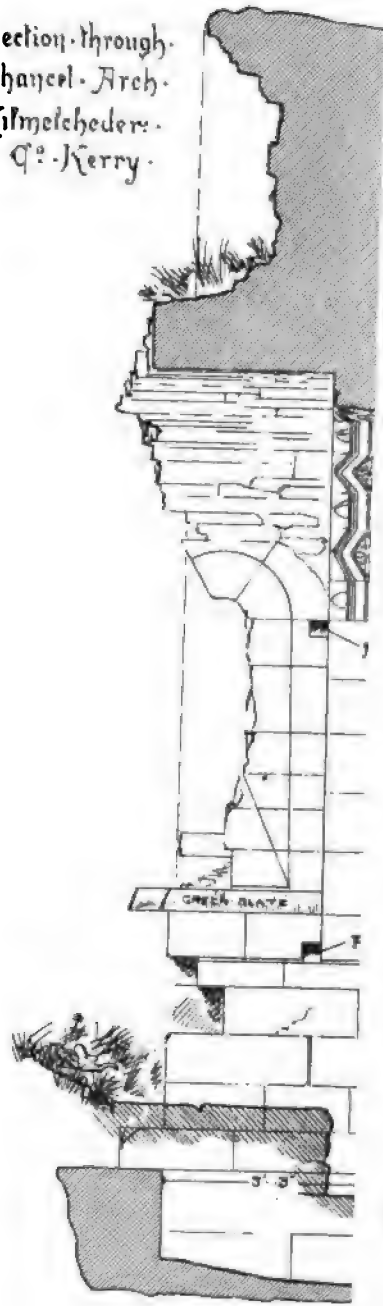


Photo Lithographed by Whittman & Bassie



the side walls are carried up to a height of about 14 feet, and terminated by a string course, from which the roof went in a double slant to the ridge, instead of curving gradually from the ground ; thereby producing a far more architectural effect, but in no way changing the principle of construction.

The chancel, also stone-roofed like the other buildings, in its detail affords a marked contrast to the nave ; the east window, instead of being a simple opening with sloping jambs, is constructed with parallel jambs moulded on the exterior, and is much higher in proportion to its width ; and the exterior has its quoins formed without buttresses, and bears a projecting band worked in the solid along the line of the gable ; which feature is also to be seen in the eastern gable of Cormac's Chapel.

Though greatly in advance in architectural taste, the construction of this church is nearly identical with that of the oratories ; the leading idea in both being to produce a gabled building, roofed in stone, without the employment of the arch. The decorative portions are nothing but additions, without which the "church" would simply be called an "oratory." Two conclusions may be drawn from this identity of form, either the buildings are contemporary, the difference in their style being due to the different purposes they were designed to fulfill, or else the oratories were built at a time when the ability to execute stone carving did not exist in the neighbourhood. On the other hand this period could not have preceded the date of the church by many generations ; for had it been so it is not likely that the method of stone roofing employed would have been so nearly identical with the oratories as it is.

The nave of Kilmalkedar church must date from the beginning of the twelfth century, and the attempt to impose a higher antiquity on this building, or others of its class, is unreasonable, knowing as we do, that fine jointed masonry and carving were not in use in England or Normandy before that date ; and it being far from likely that the most western point of Europe took the lead of those countries in the art of building. The chancel could not have been built later than seventy or a hundred years afterwards, as it is entirely free from any Gothic influence such

as was introduced into the country in the thirteenth century. And we may conclude that the oratories did not precede the building of the church by a period much longer than that during which it in its turn was succeeded by the addition of the chancel. The probability then is, that neither of the oratories were built prior to the year One Thousand of our era.

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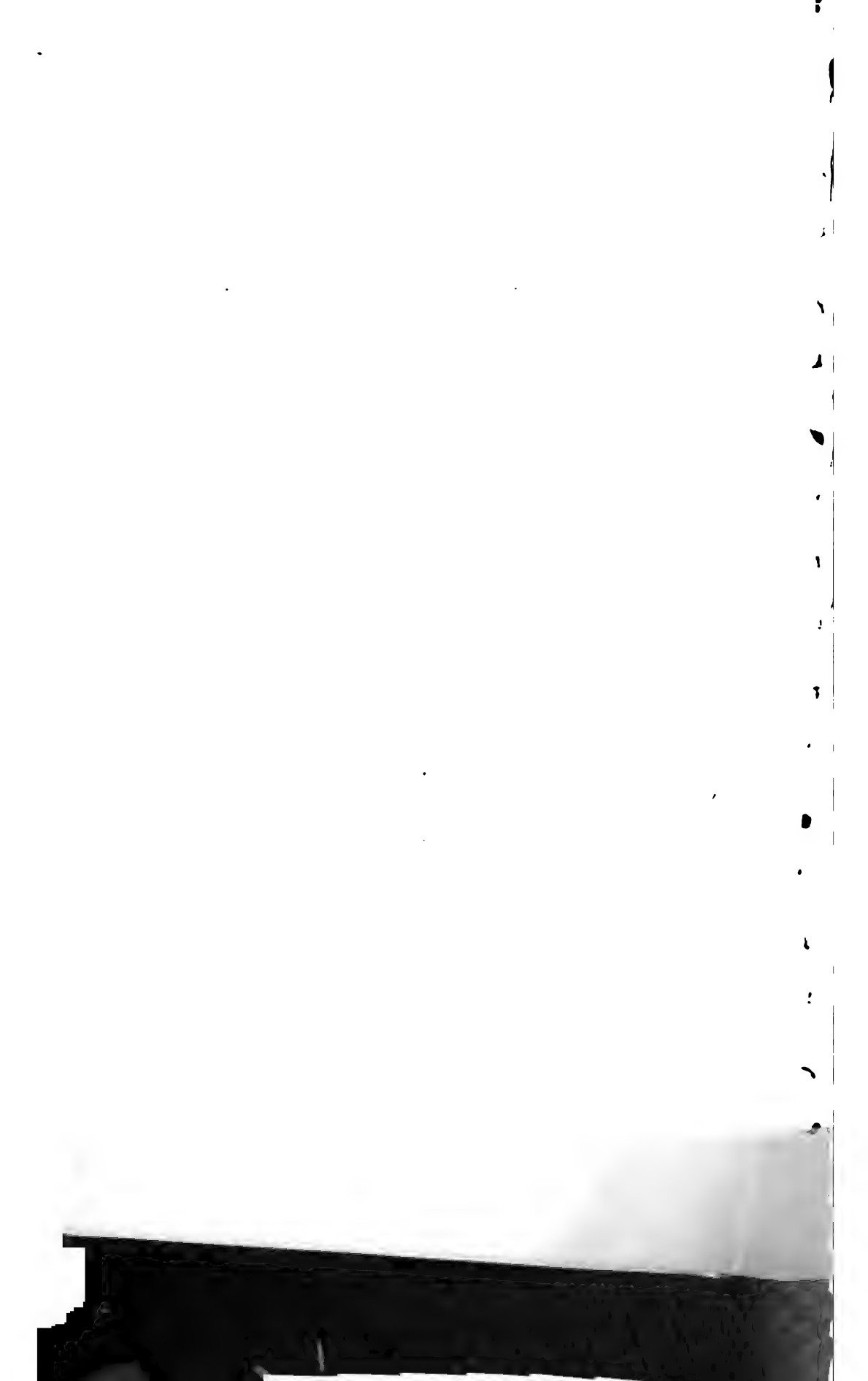
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CORRIGENDA.

Page 5, line 44, *for* 1865 *read* 1866.

- 515, in the heading, *for* THE EARLS OF DESMOND *read* UNPUBLISHED GERALDINE DOCUMENTS.
- 517 to 529, in the heading, *for* THE EARLS OF DESMOND, *read* APPENDIX.
- 550, line 56, *for* Geraldine's *read* Geraldines.
- 551, — 55, *for* Matie's *read* Maties.















B.C. 31. 18 1913

